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VOLUME LXXIII

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SIR ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

(Frontispiece)

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
SIR ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

IN MEMORIAM

A. W. P.-C.

ὦ σοφίας φέγγος, ψυχὴ σὺ πολύτροπε, χαῖρε
πᾶσι Φιλέλλησιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τε φίλος·
Μουσάων ἄρ' ὁπαδὸς ἔφυς αὐτῆς δ' ἀκόλουθος
Μελπομένης, τραγικῶν προστάτιδος μελέων.
ἐν γὰρ γράμμασι σοῖσι πρόχειρα τὰ πάντα θέατρον
δῆλον Ἀθηναίων ὅσα ποεῖν δύναται
γνωτὸν σοι σκῆνη περὶ αἰετοῖ τ' ἡδὲ λογεῖον
καὶ πίνακές γ', εἰς φῶς ὁππόθ' ἕκαστ' ἐφάνη·
ἔγνως αὐτ' ὥδ' αὖς τε χόρων, ῥήσεις τε προσώπων,
εἶδεά τ' ἐσθήτων οἷα φορεῖν ἐφίλουν.
οὐδ' ἔμελ' ἐν σοὶ μούνα παλαιῶν ἔργα ποητῶν,
ἀλλ' ὅσα γὰρ ἡμῖν πουλυβότειρα φέρει.
δένδρεα πάντ' ἦδεις, καὶ τάνθεα δαίδαλ' ἐν ἀγροῖς
οἷά τ' ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων χειρὶ τραφέντα πρέπει·
ὀρνίθων σοὶ γνωτὰ γένη τὰ τε μικρὰ πετεινά,
ψυχὴ παιδρωπὸς σῆς τε βλάβη γ' ἐρίων·
ἀλλὰ μάλιστ' ἀγαπητὸς ἔην δολόμητις ἀράχνη·
σοὶ τόδε παιδί πάλαι κῆδος ἐφῆψε πατήρ.
νῦν δ' ἄρα χαῖρε, Πρόεδρε· θανὼν σὺ γὰρ οὐχὶ τέθνηκας
ἐν μνήμῃ δὲ φίλων ζῆς ἔτι καὶ θαλέθεις.

C. B.

THE GENERALS IN THE HELLESPONT, 410-407 B.C.

I. POLITICS AND STRATEGY

THE course of Athenian military operations after the battle of Kyzikos is not to be explained by considerations of strategy alone. Immediately after their victory the Athenian commanders acted briskly enough, building a fort and instituting a tithe at Chrysopolis, but instead of following up the annihilation of Mindaros' fleet by the capture of Sparta's bases on land, they then lapsed into an inactivity hard to excuse in generals who had just shown such capacity in action, and apparently alien to the temperament of Alkibiades. The whole history of Greek naval warfare shows that no power can maintain control of the sea while the nearby seaboard remains in the hands of the enemy, and by thus neglecting the coastal towns Athens allowed Sparta bases in the Hellespont for the ships which Pasippidas and Klearchos collected from the allies (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 32, 36, 3. 17) and even opportunity for new construction (*ibid.* 1. 25-6, 3. 17). The Hellespont was in any case vital to Athens, the area in which a defeat could lose the whole war for her, yet though Thrasylos had gone home months before the battle to get reinforcements for the Hellespont, nothing was sent there, and when Thrasylos did collect a force he took it to Ionia.

To get a clear picture of these events, one must first make a definite choice between rival chronologies. It is increasingly evident that the right chronology is the one adopted and defended by Ferguson in *CAH* V: the battle of Kyzikos in March or April 410, Thrasylos' expedition to Ionia in summer 409, the recovery of Byzantium and Kalchedon in 408, Alkibiades' return to Athens in 407, the battle of Notion late in 407 or early in 406.¹ The only serious objection to this chronology is the length of time—December 411 to April or May 409—for which Thrasylos lingers in Athens, and the length of time—spring 410 to winter 409/8—for which Alkibiades and his colleagues do nothing in the Hellespont. It will not do to say that they were busy collecting money,² for that did not hamper them at Kyzikos and they had no new financial resources when they began the campaign of 408, and to say that Alkibiades was busy in Thrace³ tells us what he was doing but not why. These were generals who knew their business, yet they did not attack Kalchedon till they were joined by Thrasylos and his troops: the troops must be the explanation, the fact that until winter 409/8 they had not the hoplites to combat the force available on the Spartan side, and I believe the reason why they were kept short of hoplites is that their political enemies were in power at home. The history of the years 410-407 is much more easily intelligible if we assume some sort of separation, even political tension, between the fleet in the Hellespont and the democracy at Athens.⁴

The position can best be analysed by taking the principal actors in turn. *Theramenes'* situation is clear enough. He was the main architect of the constitution of the 5000, who in September 411 replaced the 400 and recalled Alkibiades.⁵ As general of the 5000 he sailed not long afterwards to Euboia, Paros, Pydna (Diod. XIII 47. 6-8, 49. 1), in spring 410 he fought at Kyzikos, and thereafter he had charge of the fort at Chrysopolis (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 12, 22; Diod. XIII 49. 3-51, 64. 2-3). The restoration of full democracy in June 410 destroyed the constitution which he had created, he could hardly feel friendly towards the radical democrats or they towards him, and it is most unlikely that he was elected general at Athens in these years. We do not know what happened to him in 407, except that he was not one of the commanders left in charge in the Hellespont (Diod. XIII

¹ The decisive argument (*cf.* Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II², 2. 274) lies in Kyros' movements, which show that his meeting with Lysandros was fairly early in the year. Lysandros, then, crossed to Ionia in spring, and in Xenophon's connecting phrase, *Hell.* I 5. 1 πρότερον τούτων αὐτῶν χρόνων, the reference of τούτων is not to Alkibiades' autumn voyage to Samos (I 4. 23) but to the whole episode of his return to Athens (I 4. 8-23). But if in spring, then in spring 407—spring 408 would allow far too much time to Lysandros and Kallikratidas before Arginousai in August 406—and 407 must also be the year of Alkibiades' summer in Athens. The arguments set out by Ferguson in *CAH* V 483-5, and added to in his *Treasurers of Athens* 38-45, are cumulatively powerful, but something must be subtracted for Xen. *Hell.* I 4. 7, which is unequivocally against his chronology and only to be countered by saying that Xenophon was mistaken (unless one is prepared to read *ἡμῶν* for *ἐμῶν*). Androton F 45 Jac. is no help as the text stands. For the alternative chronology (Thrasylos in Ionia 410, Hellespont campaign 409, Alkibiades in Athens 408) see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III², 1529-32, Kahrstedt, *Forschungen* 162 ff.

² Ferguson, *Treasurers* 39.

³ E.g. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* 277-8, who ends by taking the inactivity of 410/9 merely as a fact to be used for the evaluation

of Alkibiades' character.

⁴ Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens* 354-5, and Beloch, *Attische Politik* 72, 77, 81, *Gr. Gesch.* II², 1. 391, 413, 2. 267, have developed the idea that the generals elected by the fleet at Samos in summer 411 continued for some years as a distinct board side by side with the boards of generals annually and normally appointed at Athens. To this form of the theory it may reasonably be objected that fleet and city were reconciled in autumn 411 (e.g., Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.* IV¹, 601), or that the city's generals received money at Samos in 410/9 (e.g., Hatzfeld, *REA* XL (1938), 117), but what I want to do is, so to speak, to take a fresh start at the point when full democracy was restored in summer 410. It has often been recognised that Alkibiades' position was irregular in these years—Hatzfeld 118 calls him 'stratège "à la gauche" du collège athénien'—and I wish to suggest that his colleagues in the Hellespont were equally irregular.

⁵ *Theramenes'* part in this is more heavily emphasised in Diodoros (XIII 38. 2, 42. 2) than in Thucydides or Xenophon. Diodoros' source—since the new fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchica* were published, it is still more evident that this was ultimately Kratippos—is throughout deeply interested in *Theramenes*, and friendly to him even after Arginousai.

68. 2) and does not show up anywhere else, but when Alkibiades fell from favour after Notion and a new board of generals was appointed, Theramenes was not among them, and at Arginousai he served as trierarch, exerting a powerful influence in the unhappy sequel at Athens. According to his enemy Lysias (XIII 10) he was elected general for 405/4 but rejected at the dokimasia. Only Athens' extreme need restored him to political power.

Alkibiades in the summer of 411 declared himself in favour of the 5000 but against the 400, and demanded the restoration of the council of 500 (Thuc. VIII 86. 6). When the 5000 came to power in the autumn, Alkibiades was recalled but the 500 were not restored—that bridge must have been crossed, Alkibiades must have acquiesced in the new constitution, and his position as general, which so far had only the authority of the fleet, must have been confirmed at Athens for the current year 411/0. Had the 5000 continued in power he would doubtless have continued general, but the board of 410/9 includes a man of his tribe (Pasiphon, *IG* I² 304. 35) and it is to be presumed that the restored democracy held fresh elections, cancelling or passing over any appointments the 5000 had made for 410/9.

His position in the following years is not directly attested, but the record of 407 shows that he was not the city's general. The return from the Hellespont should have been triumphal, yet Thrasyboulos remained in the north (Xen. *Hell.* I 4. 9), Theramenes somehow kept out of sight, Alkibiades approached the city only very indirectly and after gathering 100 talents in the S.E. to bring home with him (*ibid.* 4. 8, 11); Thrasylos alone came directly and openly home with the main force (4. 10). Xenophon is emphatic about Alkibiades' nervousness, and in 4. 10 uses the strange expression that the Athenians had elected as generals Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθεν: this cannot be literally correct if Alkibiades was restored to his rights in 411, but Xenophon is speaking of matters within his recollection and is likely to be true to the feeling of the time.

The fact is that Alkibiades' bitterest political feud was with the radical democrats, Hyperbolos whose ostracism he engineered, Androkles the main author of his exile, and though the direct evidence is more dubious we may add Kleophon—not that he got on much better with the oligarchs, but from the nature of his ambition he collided more conspicuously with the radicals.⁶ The restored democrats of 410 are more likely to have remembered his approval of the 5000 and his approval by them, than his ineffective advocacy of the council of 500 in summer 411. In spite of Kyzikos they did not elect him general for 410/9, and in 407 it was even uncertain, until the demos had fully committed itself at the elections, whether his recall from exile was still regarded as valid.⁷ The mere fact that he found reassurance in his election to the generalship (Xen. *Hell.* I 4. 12) shows that he was not general before.

In 407 he was, as Xenophon puts it, ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ so that it was quite in order for him to have a colleague from his own tribe, Adeimantos (*Hell.* I 4. 20, 21). About his fall from power after Notion, we hear in general terms of discontent in the fleet (Xen. *Hell.* I 5. 17), but the only individual named, Thrasyboulos of Kollytos (Plut. *Alc.* 36. 1), does not help us much towards analysis of the opposition. Very late statements (Himerios XXXVI 16, Photios *Bibl.* 377) that Kleophon preferred a charge against Alkibiades, have been referred to this period by Gilbert (*Beiträge* 366) and Beloch (*Att. Pol.* 84), and there is perhaps something to be extracted from the composition of the board of generals who took over after Alkibiades' fall (see below, under *Thrasylos*). Alkibiades himself appears no more except for his rebuff by the generals before Aigospotamoi.

Thrasyboulos, with Thrasylos, headed the counter-revolution in Samos in 411, and it was he who succeeded, against opposition, in persuading the fleet to recall Alkibiades.⁸ He was with the main fleet till the battle at Abydos, and again at Kyzikos, but before and for some time after Kyzikos he was at Thasos or on the coast of Thrace,⁹ and he took no part in the Hellespontine campaign of 408. In 407 he finally took Thasos, and Abdera, and was elected general in absence. Like Theramenes he was not a member of the next board of generals but served as trierarch at Arginousai, and with Theramenes he was involved in the trouble that followed, though he is not described as taking an active part in the trial of the generals. He appears no more during the war. The hero

⁶ I mean, his ambition to be the freely but effectively acknowledged leader of a democratic Athens. The trouble with Alkibiades was that he wanted Perikles' position without undergoing Perikles' apprenticeship or modifying the style of his personal amusements.

⁷ Kritias' decree recalling Alkibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 33. 1) is generally referred to 411 (recently, Wade-Gery, *CQ* XXXIX (1945), 24 n. 3), but I am not sure I agree, for a fresh decree in 408/7 would certainly have been a comfort to Alkibiades even if not technically necessary, and I do not like merely to dismiss Xen. *Hell.* I 4. 10 (quoted above). Kritias' words ἀρε γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ φύσιν, ἐγὼ ταύτης ἐν ἀπασιν εἶπον, καὶ γράμματα τοῦργον ἔβρασα τόδε: is it straining them too far to suggest that ἐν ἀπασιν means the full demos, not the 5000, or that the second line means Alkibiades actually reached home this time? Plutarch's πρότερον διακρίνοντο means only that the decree was

passed in an earlier assembly than the one which Alkibiades is now addressing. There is the further point that certain necessary acts had not been performed in 411, notably the lifting of the curse—not that the curse deterred the fleet from electing him in 411, but that was an emergency, the Eumolpidae were not available, and in 411 he did not set foot in Attica whereas in 407 he had to take up an official position in the city.

⁸ Thuc. VIII 81. 1, οἱ δὲ προσετώτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ μάχιστα Θρασύβουλος, αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς γαμῆς ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε κατὰγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, [καὶ] τίλος ἀπ' Ἰαθολοῖας ἔπεισε τὸ πλεῖθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, κτλ.

⁹ For details, see below under Neapolis and Thasos. Diod. XIII 49. 1, just before Kyzikos, describes him as τὸν ἀφηγούμενον τοῦ στόλου παντός, but the original intention was probably to distinguish Theramenes' squadron from the main fleet, not to designate Thrasyboulos as commander-in-chief.

of Phyle was no extreme democrat, before or after 403, and in the period under review his associations are all with Alkibiades and Theramenes, whose equivocal position he may be presumed to share.

Thrasyllos, the other leader of the counter-revolution, was not of this group. He, too, was with the main fleet till Abydos, but then returned to Athens with the news of victory and a request for ships and soldiers (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 8). Of his stay in Athens Xenophon reports only his repulse of an attack by Agis (*Hell.* I 1. 33-4: in 410?), after which the Athenians were 'even more eager' to give him the forces he had come for. Early in the summer of 409 he sailed for Ionia, and one would not easily guess from Xenophon that he had been at home since December 411. The strategic eccentricity of this expedition needs to be emphasised¹⁰ and cries out for explanation: it was for the Hellespont that he had asked reinforcement, and it was there that troops were needed. The Ionian campaign was not even a success, and after his defeat at Ephesos Thrasyllos sailed north and joined Alkibiades at Lampsakos.¹¹ Alkibiades' troops showed some ill feeling towards Thrasyllos' men (Xen. *Hell.* I 2. 15, 17), which is intelligible, for Athens and Thrasyllos had not served them well.

Thrasyllos with his hoplites took part in the Hellespont campaign, and in 407 he, alone of the named generals, went direct to Athens with the main force. We do not hear that he was general for 407/6, but unlike Theramenes and Thrasyboulos he was one of the board who took office after Alkibiades' fall, and Lysias XXI 7 speaks as if he was the leading figure opposed to Alkibiades: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐπαύσατε τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ Θρασύλλου δέκα εἰλεσθε, κτλ. Of the remainder, Leon Diomedon and Perikles are blameless democrats; Archestratos is said to have been a friend of Perikles' legitimate half-brother (Antisthenes ap. Athen. V 220 d, for what the passage is worth, cf. Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* I 68-9 n. 40); Aristokrates had helped Theramenes to put down the 400, but was not compromised by that association¹² and was one of the democracy's generals for 410/9 (*IG* I², 304. 35); Konon had been the city's own contribution to the board of 407/6 (Xen. *Hell.* I 4. 10) and was to survive worse storms than Alkibiades' fall; the rest are virtually unknown, but it is clear that unquestioned loyalty to the democracy was a necessary qualification for membership of this board. Thrasyllos himself was one of the six who returned to Athens after Arginousai, paying for his generalship with his life.

It seems clear that Thrasyllos stood well with Kleophon and the democrats, and was Alkibiades' enemy. I should guess that it was against his opposition that Thrasyboulos put through Alkibiades' recall to Samos (Thuc. VIII 81. 1, cited in n. 8 above). He was reckoned a general at the end of 411 (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 8), so presumably the 5000 had confirmed his appointment by the fleet, but this did him no harm: present in Athens (as Xenophon does not say) when democracy was restored, he was the leading member of democracy's first board of generals. His association with Alkibiades in 408 was doubtless unwilling, a *pis aller*. Passed over, so far as we know, for 407/6, he rises again when Alkibiades falls and Alkibiades' friends lose their posts.

The position for 410-407 is therefore something like this. The very completeness of the victory at Kyzikos was a political misfortune for the men who won it, for it relieved the mass of Athenians from that pressing sense of military insecurity which alone induced them to accept the constitution of the 5000. The first thought of the restored democrats was to safeguard themselves against another revolution, and they were in no mood to be fair to the men of the 5000—the decree of Demophantos gives the temper of the time, and Lysias XXV, 25-6, even discounting the speaker's prejudice. A new board of generals was elected, passing over Alkibiades and Theramenes, probably Thrasyboulos also.¹³ But it was a more tricky matter actually to replace these men in their command, for the fleet itself had chosen Alkibiades and Thrasyboulos, and under them and Theramenes had just won an exhilarating victory, so it was not clear that the fleet would be willing to accept the democrats' commanders and send Alkibiades and Theramenes home to face Kleophon. Their prospects in Athens would be at least uncertain, a matter of balancing the prestige of Kyzikos, now some months past, against the immediate hostility of the democrats to the 5000. But this fleet, possibly loyal to its victorious generals, was in possession of the sea passage through the Hellespont, without which Athens would starve. So the democrats, prudently, did not try to recall these generals—but neither did they send them reinforcements. The expedition to Ionia was their solution to the problem, and had an ideological as well as a purely military purpose: no doubt Thrasyllos

¹⁰ Most historians seem to accept it without surprise, but Ferrabino, *L'impero ateniese* 391-2, is an exception.

¹¹ According to the received text of Xen. *Hell.* I 2. 13, just before joining Alkibiades, Thrasyllos captured and stoned to death Alkibiades' cousin and namesake. This seems incredible, and of the degree of factual improbability that justifies emendation. Wolf proposed ἀνδρῶν for καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Prof. Wade-Gery points out to me that the singular καὶ ἀνδρῶν is unusual, and suggests κατέλε(ήσας ἀνδρῶν) on the analogy of I 5. 19 διέλαυντες ἀνδρῶν.

¹² Lysias XII 66, speaking before a democratic court and exerting himself to diminish Theramenes' credit, puts it in the form that Theramenes out of fear and envy περίεχε τῶν Ἀριστοκράτους ἰσχυρῶν. (Aristotle, *Ἄθῆν.* 33. 2, names Aristokrates

and Theramenes in that order as ἀνιδότατοι τῆς καταλύσεως.) It is nonsense, as Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* I 100 n. 3 pointed out, to make Aristokrates an 'aristocrat' in politics on the strength of the pun in *Ar. Aves* 126. His position is more clearly reflected in the fact that he was one of those who swore to the Peace of Nikias and the Spartan alliance of 421, Thuc. V 19. 2, 24. 1.

¹³ The name of Eumachos, one of the minor Hellespontine generals (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 22) would fill the gap in *IG* I², 304. 35-6, a general's name beginning with Ε (Hatzfeld, *REA* XL (1938), 116 n. 3: Meritt, *AFD* 96, allows space for a name of 8, not 7, letters, but cf. plates V-VI, which leave the question at least doubtful). But seven-letter names in Ε are not so uncommon that we need accept the restoration and make this colleague of Theramenes a general for 410/9.

honestly hoped to damage the Spartans and recover a rich area for Athens, but he also wanted to improve the city's position against the victors of Kyzikos, to show that loyal democratic generals could win their victories too. His failure greatly helped to resolve the political situation.

On their side the Hellespontine generals were not the men to start a civil war and openly coerce Athens. Civil war meant a Spartan victory, probably disastrous for Alkibiades and certainly unwelcome to Thrasybulos, I think also to Theramenes, though when it was inevitable he would try to profit by it; but quite apart from Sparta, civil war would destroy the possibility of unforced reconciliation between fleet and city, indeed if the generals won it could hardly fail to end in some form of tyranny, and neither Theramenes nor Alkibiades, much less Thrasybulos, were of the temperament to choose that solution. If they calculated that they had only to wait until the city felt the need of them, they calculated right, and meanwhile they let the corn ships through to Athens, perhaps some revenue also. They did not try to extend their sphere of power as against the city's, and if Alkibiades was busy on his own account in Thrace, he also sought to build up a land force he could use for the war—he has Thracian troops under him in 408 (Xen. *Hell.* I 3. 10), and is said to have offered Thracian help before Aigospotamoí (Diod. XIII 105. 3). So the anomalous and futile situation continued through the rest of 410 and the whole campaigning season of 409. It was rendered more absurd, though in a sense it was eased, by the arrival of Thrasylos the accredited general of the democracy to co-operate with Alkibiades. The Hellespontine victories of 408, contrasting with Thrasylos' failure in Ionia, convinced the Athenians for the moment that they must accept Alkibiades, and whatever other disasters followed, fleet and city were thereafter united.

2. THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

(a) Samos and IG I², 304A^{13a}

The problem of extracting information from IG I², 304A, the accounts for 410/9, is complicated by the fact that half-way through the year the tamiai ceased to record the eventual destination of their payments to the hellenotamiai. In the first five prytanies the purpose of each payment is stated but not the date within the prytany, and the recipients are always (after the Panathenaia) the board of hellenotamiai designated, for the first payment of each prytany, as Περικλεί Χολαργεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν. In the second half of the year the date is noted but not the purpose of each payment,¹⁴ and a different hellenotamias is named in each transaction, e.g. l. 19 ἡλλενοταμίαις: Σπουδία Φλυεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν. This last is a permanent change. Down to 410 payments to the hellenotamiai are normally to the board as a whole, listed in full in IG I², 296. 7-9, 32-4 (the first record after a change of system, see *ATL* III 329, 332), thereafter defined by the chairman's name καὶ συνάρχοντες. After 410 we have a different name (or set of names) for each payment, cf. IG I², 301, for 409/8 (but apparently without adding καὶ συνάρχουσιν, see ll. 24, 39, 41), 304 B for 407/6 (but there is no room for a name καὶ συνάρχουσιν in l. 69), 305 for 406/5; IG II², 1686, for 405/4 is too mutilated to show this feature.¹⁵ The reason for singling out a particular hellenotamias might simply be that he was on duty that day and signed the receipt, but if so I can see no pattern, tribal or otherwise, in the names and dates, and I prefer to suggest that particular groups of hellenotamiai habitually dealt with particular types of business—if so, the tamiai of 410/9 could stop recording the purpose of their payments because the name of the hellenotamias showed what the payment was for. Tentatively, this differentiation of hellenotamiai by function may be used in disentangling the record of the later prytanies of 410/9.¹⁶

Turning to particular payments, the only large sums are two which seem not to have passed through the hands of the tamiai at all but to have been collected at Samos for use in the field, 57 talents on prytany VI 30 (ll. 20-1 τὰ ἐξ Σάμο ἀνομολογέθε: ἡλλενοταμίαι: Ἀνατίοι Σφεττίοι καὶ παρέδροι [Π] | ολυαράτοι Χολαργεῖ) and over 38 T. on prytany IX 36 (ll. 34-5 τὰ ἐξ Σάμο ἀνομολογέσα[ν]το οἱ σὺ[ν]μαχο[ι] | : το[ι]ς στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σάμοι). A similar formula appears at prytany VI 11 for small sum just over ½ T. connected with Eretria (ll. 16-18 ἡ | λλενοταμίαις παρέδόθε Προχσένοι Ἀφιδναῖοι καὶ συνάρχουσιν στρατεγοῖ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας: Εὐκλείδει ἀνομολόγ[ε]μα), and in IG I² 301. 14-15 (see Meritt *AFD* 61, [ἐπετ]εῖο ἡδ οἱ χσύμμαχοι [ἀνο | μολογέσαν]το), and it seems to mean that these sums were paid by the allies to the generals, not brought back but reported to Athens and there

^{13a} I use the revised texts given by Meritt, *AFD*, 94-6, 119-22, 160-3 for IG I², 304A, 304B, 302.

¹⁴ Except the first three payments of prytany VII. The three ἀνομολογήματα (see below) are noted as such, but their eventual purpose is not stated.

¹⁵ For the singling out of one or two hellenotamiai before 409, cf. IG I², 365. 15-16, 366. 16 (see *ATL* II T72 d-e, III 329-32: receipts, not payments) in 435/4, 434/3; 302. 11-12, 31-2, 62-3, 77-9 in 418/4; 304A. 4 in 410. Presumably there was always a connexion between particular hellenotamiai and particular payments, but it was not regularly recorded till 409. There seems to be no significance in the occasional omission of καὶ συνάρχοντες, tempting as it is in the case of

IG I², 304A. 20, to suppose that a hellenotamias was detached to Samos (cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers*, 23 n. 1): if the omission meant that, IG I², 302. 77-9 would almost certainly compel Philomelos to be in two places at once. Cf. IG I², 301 generally, 304B. 74-5, 85-6.

¹⁶ There is a possible contrary instance in IG I², 304B (407/6), where Protarchos received three payments for the diobelia in prytany II (ll. 47-50, 61-3), and apparently a payment ἐς Θερσίων in prytany X (ll. 83-5), but before deciding whether this slightly uncertain case invalidates the hypothesis, it is worth trying it out on 304A. (For Thorikos cf. Xen. *Hell.* I. 2. 1.)

entered as nominally paid in to Athena and out again to the users (see *ATL* III, 365-6). The Samian ἀνομολογήματα, more than half the total expenditure of the year, must certainly represent the expenditure on Thrasylos' Ionian campaign, whose starting-point was Samos (Xen. *Hell.* I 2. 1-2: cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers*, 39-40). The earlier sum will be the first of the reimposed tribute (*ATL* III, 91-2), the later a collection made shortly before the campaign began.¹⁷ There are no recorded Hellespontine ἀνομολογήματα, though considerable sums must have been collected and paid. We cannot be quite sure that there are no unrecorded ἀνομολογήματα in prytanies I-V, for those we have are all in VI-X and the change in the system of book-keeping which took place at the end of prytany V might have included a decision to record these transactions for the first time. But the Hellespontine generals cannot have confined their collection of money to prytanies I-V, and their absence from the record of VI-X¹⁸ is quite enough to prove that they were acting independently of the financial system which covered Athens, Eretria, Pylos, and Samos.

Of the money which the tamiai actually handled, the only military payment recorded for prytanies I-V (except grain for the horses) is 6 T. in prytany III (ll. 9-10) for the commander at Pylos, so that if any expedition left Athens in the latter part of 410 it must have been financed in some way which does not appear in the accounts. In the second half of the year the diobelia must continue, and its scale clearly did not increase—not that the recorded payments (2 T in prytany III, 8½ T in IV, 4½ T in V, at least 2½ T in VII) suggest the scale very clearly. The payments of prytany VII are to Dionysios and Thrason, and it is tempting to suggest that the unspecified payments to these two in prytanies VI, VIII, IX are also for the diobelia: in prytany X Dionysios could perhaps be restored in ll. 38-9, but not Thrason,¹⁹ and this hypothesis would give 3½ T, 2½ T, 5½ T, over 5½ T, nearly 3 T as the totals for the diobelia in prytanies VI-X. The horses presumably still need grain, and ought to get another payment besides their 4 T on prytany VII 7: perhaps the last payment of all, 5½ T on prytany X 36?²⁰ The Pylos commander was perhaps already besieged before the end of the year and not available to receive money: Diodoros XIII 64. 5 is not very clear when the siege began, but Anytos' relief expedition sailed at latest in October (Ferguson, *Treasurers*, 25, 43). The payment to the general Oinobios recorded in *IG* I², 108. 47, can be identified with a payment of just over 3 T to Proxenos on prytany VIII 12 (see *BSA* XLVI (1951), 205). Proxenos also dealt with the general Eukleides 'from Eretria', the small ἀνομολόγημα of prytany VI 11, and it might be suggested that his business was military, that the small sums paid him on prytanies VII 16 and IX 12 are for other small local actions, the 5 T of prytany X 11 for something slightly larger. Little else remains to account for, and it is clear—indeed, it is clear without attempting detailed analysis—that within the financial sphere of the Athenian tamiai no military action of any importance was undertaken, except the expedition of Thrasylos to Ionia.

Samos, on the evidence of *IG* I², 304A, and Xenophon, was under the control of the city of Athens and served as Thrasylos' base. In the same area, Halikarnassos was thanked in a decree of prytany IX of 410/9 for services rendered [περὶ τὴν στρατιάν] καὶ τὴν πόλιν [τὴν Ἀθηναίων] (*IG* I², 110a. 7-8), not to Thrasylos, who waited at Samos only three days before beginning operations at Pygela, but to one of the generals of *IG* I², 304A. 35-7. The Hellespontine generals did not send in their accounts to Athens.

(b) *Neapolis and Thasos*: *IG* I², 108, 301

Literary sources give the following Athenian interventions in the area of Thasos:—

(i) About May of 411 Diitrephes put down the Thasian democracy and replaced it by an oligarchy. Shortly afterwards Thasos set about revolting from Athens (δευτέρῳ μηνί, Thuc. VIII 64. 3, i.e. June or July: for the actual revolt see *Hell. Oxy.* II 4). The Athenian force in this area was defeated before the revolt (*Hell. Oxy.* II 4, schol. Aischin. II 31), and clearly could not be replaced either from Athens or from Samos.

(ii) After Abydos, at the very end of 411, the Athenian commanders scattered ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν outside the Hellespont (Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 8), and just before Kyzikos, March or April 410, Theramenes arrived at Sestos from Macedonia, Thrasyboulos from Thasos, ἀμφοτέρω ἡργυρολογηκότες (*ibid.* I. 12). This is a very imperfect description of Theramenes' actions, which are described more fully in Diodoros XIII 47. 6-8, 49. 1, and need be no better for Thrasyboulos, but Diodoros is no help here: XIII 49. 1, 3 merely gives Thrace as the scene of his operations.

(iii) After Kyzikos, i.e. about May 410, Diodoros XIII 64. 3 takes Thrasyboulos back περὶ

¹⁷ The date can hardly be the date of payment to the generals and trierarchs, who had presumably scattered for ἀργυρολογία; conceivably the date when the whole sum was assembled at Samos; more probably the date when it was entered on the books at Athens, for by Prytany IX 36 Thrasylos should have begun actual operations (cf. Xen. *Hell.* I 2. 1, 4).

¹⁸ They are not to be discovered lurking among the unidentified payments of prytanies VI-X, for no conceivable combination of unidentified sums is large enough to be connected with the upkeep of their fleet.

¹⁹ Similarly, in *IG* I², 304B (407/6) one might associate Lysitheos with the diobelia, rather than make him chairman as (tentatively) *ATL* I, 570: he occurs in each surviving prytany, and in II of 407/6 and I of 406/5 it is the diobelia he is paid for.

²⁰ If the number of horses is constant, the quantity of grain should be constant, though the price would vary seasonally. The recorded payments reveal no system: they probably reflect the financial difficulties of the tamiai.

Θράκη, where he 'brought over the cities in these parts'. Xenophon does not mention him again till the time of Alkibiades' return to Athens: *Hell.* I 4. 9, Thrasyboulos had gone towards Thrace and there recovered some cities, including Thasos which was in a poor way from war and faction and famine; *ibid.* 4. 10, he was elected general in absence. Diodoros XIII 72. 1-2 says Thrasyboulos went to Thasos with fifteen ships (Xenophon says 30), won a battle, took Thasos by siege, then brought Abdera over. He gives this as part of the actions of the generals after they left Athens (late 407), but clearly it is the same campaign that Xenophon reports, indeed the same which Diodoros himself mentions by anticipation in XIII 64. 3. Thrasyboulos, who does not figure in the Hellespont campaign of 408, must have been in the Thraceward area continuously from May 410 till late in 407.²¹

From Athens, no squadron other than Theramenes' can have gone north before Kyzikos, and it is unlikely that ships could be spared for this area later in 410; but that the city maintained or re-acquired a link with Thrace is proved by *IG* I², 108, the decree in honour of Neapolis passed in January 409, and by *IG* I², 301. 114-20, the accounts of 409/8 which show that gold from Skaptesyle reached Athens in that year.

The Neopolitans²² are praised, in the sixth prytany of 410/9, first of all for having stood by Athens and resisted a siege by Thasians and Peloponnesians, then (presumably) for some other service whose record is lost where the upper fragments break off. The lower fragments refer to two financial transactions: (i) l. 25 καὶ χρῆσαι ΤΤΤΤΧΧ[- -] is a loan, or the offer of a loan, from Neapolis, and the clause ending at l. 30 ἀποδοθῆναι has some reference to its eventual repayment; (ii) ll. 31-3 speak of a free gift to 5 T 4800 dr. at the present moment, perhaps brought by the ambassadors themselves. Below the first decree, in l. 47, a second hand has added Οἰνοβίοι Δεκελῆσιν στρατεύοι ΤΤΤ[²³Η[ΔΔΔΗ-Η-ΗΗΗ]], which can be identified with a sum paid to the hellenotamiai on prytany VIII 12. The second decree, proposed after the war with Thasos is over (late 407?) by Axiochos (Alkibiades' uncle?), praises the Neopolitans for their share in the siege of Thasos and in a sea-battle and throughout the war generally.

Moving on to 409/8, the gold totals of *IG* I², 301. 92-124²³ contain two references to gold from Skaptesyle. The larger amount in ll. 103-8, to a silver value of 21 T 3700 dr., was taken over by the tamiai of 409/8 from their predecessors and there is no knowing how long Athena had held it.²⁴ The smaller sum in ll. 116-20, worth $\frac{1}{2}$ T silver, was part of the income of 409/8, and must have come from the north during the year.

This evidence shows that both Thrasyboulos' squadron and Athenians from the city were active in the Thraceward area in these years, but does not quite permit us to disentangle the relations of the two parties or the detail of what happened. The siege and relief of Neapolis precede January 409, might lie as far back as Thrasyboulos' incursion into these waters before Kyzikos, or may belong to the summer of 410. Late in 410 Neapolis sent an embassy to Athens, offering both a gift and a loan of money and asking (presumably) for military assistance.²⁵

There can be no question here of competition between the city and Thrasyboulos—the second decree emphasises the continuity of the operations against Thasos—and I imagine that the embassy had Thrasyboulos' goodwill: he reckoned, no doubt, that the sacrifice of a little Neopolitan money was worth while if it meant that he could attract fresh troops to an area in which his operations made pretty slow headway, and he may perhaps have thought that collaboration in the field with the city's generals would improve the chances of reconciliation with the city.

In fact, collaboration in the field was probably achieved between Oinobios and Thrasyboulos some months before Thrasylos joined Alkibiades at Lampsakos. The reason for inscribing the payment to Oinobios on *IG* I², 108, must be that he went to Neapolis: the size of his force is not to be judged from the size of the payment—Thrasylos took still less from Athens—but in view of the general state of Athens' resources and the presumption that everything the city could afford went with Thrasylos, it probably was not large. The eventual success of the Thraceward campaign was ascribed to Thrasyboulos, and we must suppose that his force bore the main burden. The sea-battle in which the Neopolitans fought is not to be identified, but it was probably against the Thasians

²¹ Xen. *Hell.* I 1. 32 speaks of a revolution in Thasos (in 410?—the chronology is in his most disjointed style) in which the Laconisers and the Spartan harmost were thrown out; subsequently Pasippidas was charged at Sparta with having engineered the revolt in conspiracy with Tissaphernes. This revolution has often been connected with Thrasyboulos' activities (in which case Thasos must have excluded the forces of both sides till 407, or another and unattested revolution must have brought the laconisers back before 407), but Beloch's protest against τὸ ὄνομα is surely justified (*Gr. Gesch.* II², 2, 246, *Philol.* XLIII (1884), 268: what would Tissaphernes gain by turning the Spartans out of Thasos, which was beyond his own reach?), and Kahrstedt's proposal of τὴν ἰστίαν (*Forschungen* 176 n. 17) gives a satisfactory alternative, a city which Tissaphernes might hold for himself.

²² For the text and interpretation of *IG* I² 108 see Meritt and Andrewes in *BSA* XLVI (1951), 200-9. I use our

numbering of the lines.

²³ For their restoration and disposition see Wade-Gery, *Num. Chron.* 1930 16-38: for Wade-Gery's revised figures in ll. 103-8, *ibid.* 333-4.

²⁴ Part or all of it might have come in during 410/9, but it does not seem very likely, and is certainly not necessary. Similarly, some of the staters of ll. 92-103, 120-3 might have come in from the Hellespont, but need not: staters, especially Kyzikene, might arrive from many places besides the area of their origin.

²⁵ I assume the loan is prospective. It is unlikely that any force from the city had visited Neapolis in the summer of 410, and the general tone of the decree makes it unlikely that the Neopolitans are trying to interest the city in the repayment of money they had lent Thrasyboulos, so the transaction is probably still in the future, a matter of helping with the maintenance of any troops the city could manage to send.

and in 409, and was followed by a long siege which at last reduced the Thasians to the plight which Xenophon describes in *Hell.* I 4. 9, and so to surrender. Meanwhile, Athens got half a talent's worth of gold from Skaptesyte. It has been noted (Wade-Gery, *loc. cit.* p. 24) that this is exactly Thasos' quota for Athena: Thasos was not indeed in Athenian hands, but is this perhaps what Thrasyboulos and Oinobios thought they might properly spare to the *tamiai* of the goddess at Athens? ²⁶

(c) *The Campaign of 408*: IG I², 106, 107

With the arrival of Thrasyllus, and perhaps some of his colleagues, to join Alkibiades late in 409, the position became in some sense more regular, since the city had now at least one authorised general with the Hellespontine fleet, though the unauthorised generals seem to have effective command of the joint force. To this period I would assign two decrees of the city which mention the Hellespont and imply collaboration with the generals there.

IG I², 106, a proxeny decree of considerable length, in ll. 16–19 instructs the generals at Athens (hoi ἐνθάδε στρατηγοί) to send Polykles and his companions to the Hellespont to the generals there (ἐς [δ] ἐ[λ]λέσπο[ντον] ὅς τὸς στρατηγός[ς]) ²⁷ on a trireme as quickly and safely as possible to assist and advise. Some way below the last line appears the end of a word [- -]ελυθόντων, below this again is unscripted surface. This is presumably a description of the decree above it (possible parallels are IG I², 170, 171) and will have read [τὸν ἐκ - - - ἐξελ]ελυθόντων or the like: IG I², 106 a. 6–8 seems to refer to a general decree for the ἐξεληλυθόντων ἐκ τῶν π[όλεων]. Wilhelm's explanation (*Jahresh.* XXI/XXII (1923), 153–4) seems the most likely, that Polykles and his friends had been expelled from some Hellespontine city when the Spartans took it over, and might now be of service to the Athenian commanders for the campaign of 408.

IG I², 107, is too fragmentary for reconstruction. In l. 2 ENTEΛENE is quite clear, the suggestion in IG I² that ἐν τελε(ι) is intended seems to me incredible, but I have no alternative to offer. The phrases in l. 3 στρατηγῶν ἐν τῷ [Ἑλλεσπόντῳ?] and l. 6 [στρατηγός] hoí eloi ἐν Ἑλλεσπόντῳ[τοί] perhaps suggest some diffidence about the status of the Hellespontine generals (the letters in *rasura* in l. 6 are cut by the same hand, probably a word had been omitted by accident). The restoration suggested for l. 7 in IG I², [μέ]χρ[ις] ὁ πόλε[μος], is not very hopeful: there is no doubt about the *chi*, and Χρ[υ]σπόλε[ι] or Χρ[υ]σπόλε[ος] would fit, which makes the fragment more tantalising (Chrysopolis was the site of the fort and δεκατεκτήριον established after Kyzikos, and the place where Alkibiades swore to Pharnabazos' representatives his oath ratifying the agreement about Kalchedon, Xen. *Hell.* I 3. 12). In l. 9 the reading should be προθυ[μός]τα[τα], possibly part of an oath.

(d) *Daphnous and Selymbria*: IG I², 117, 116

The last phase, the legitimisation of the Hellespontine generals and their *acta*, is represented by the two decrees ratifying their agreements with Daphnous and Selymbria. For Daphnous we have the opening, IG I², 117. 3–6 [τὰς ξυνθήκας] ἡς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ[οῖς οἰκίσασ]ι Δαφνῶντα, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]να κτλ. For Selymbria the opening is lost, but the text of the agreement was set out on the stone and ends (IG I², 116. 24–6) by saying that it was sworn to by the generals and the other Athenians present. In both it is Alkibiades who proposes the ratification, which therefore took place during the summer of 407. The agreements were originally made by the generals on their own authority and for immediate local purposes, that with Selymbria in the summer of 408.

The epigraphic record does not of itself support the hypothesis of a political separation between Athens and the Hellespontine fleet, except to the extent that IG I², 304A, shows the Hellespontine generals standing outside the financial system operated from the city. But the inscriptions do not conflict with it, and they illuminate it by defining for us more exactly the informal division of spheres

²⁶ The non-Attic inscriptions rather need elucidation from this history than contribute to its disentanglement. Briefly, I note the following: (a) IG XII, 8. 262 (cf. Picard, *Rev. Phil.* (1912), 30, noted in IG XII, suppl. p. 150) needs a longer line, is not securely dated, and seems to me to belong to the restoration of democracy rather than the establishment of an oligarchy. (b) IG XII 5. 109 (cf. Feyel, *Rev. Phil.* XIX (1945), 141–52) is a treaty of reconciliation (cf. ll. 12–13 [τ]ῶν πολεμίων) involving Thasos, Neapolis, and some non-Thasians living in Thasos (l. 25, cf. 17) who may be Neopolitans: Paros may be the mediator of the treaty, not a party to it, and I should be surprised if it belonged to 411. (c) IG XII, 8. 264 (cf. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* II 30—his text is in IG XII, suppl. p. 152—Feyel, *loc. cit.* 133–41) under a democratic constitution admits a group of persons to privileges at Thasos: Wilhelm guessed they were Neopolitans. (d) IG XII, 8. 263 (now rediscovered, Picard, *BCH* XLV (1921),

145, cf. IG XII, suppl. p. 151) records the confiscation of the property of Apemantos and other Thasians, also of two Neopolitans, by order of the 300: this is no doubt the Apemantos of IG II², 6 (cf. II², 33. 26). The theoroi of XII, 8. 263 reappear in the catalogue XII, 8. 277D. 81–3. (e) The 360 of XII 8. 276 cannot, as the lists appear to run, have any very close connexion with the 300 of XII, 8. 263, nor does it seem *a priori* likely that bodies called 'the 300' and 'the 360' should occupy this sort of position simultaneously. But the principles and arrangement of the catalogues of the theoroi are far from clear.

²⁷ The surface at the beginning of l. 16 is very worn: ΕΣ. ΕΕ. ΨΕ. . . O is clear enough from a squeeze, fainter traces agree with the letters given in IG I², and one might be tempted to add the 8. No distinction in status between the two sets of generals can be deduced from the phrasing (for hoí ἐνθάδε στρατηγοί, cf. IG II², 17. 26–7).

between the two authorities, making more precise the impression which we receive from the literary sources of the position in which Alkibiades, Theramenes, Thrasyboulos found themselves. They acted with some magnanimity and self-control. The firm behaviour of the men of the 5000 in this difficult situation helps to explain the admiration which Thucydides felt for their régime, the Oxyrhynchus historian for Theramenes, and if the political strife, which in Thucydides' view ruined Athens, owed much to the faults of Alkibiades and Theramenes, they had compensating virtues and abilities and in these years deserved well of the city.²⁸

A. ANDREWES

²⁸ I wish to express my great gratitude to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where this article was written, and especially to Prof. B. D. Meritt, who gave me most valuable help. I am also grateful for suggestions from Prof. H. T. Wade-Gery, Mr. N. G. L. Hammond, and Mr. D. M. Lewis.

Prof. Wade-Gery draws my attention to *Lysias* XX 21, a reference to supporters of the 5000 who were with the fleet at the time of speaking; and XX 29, presumably men who had come home with Thrasyllus.

NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM CAUNUS

THE site of Caunus has been much neglected by the field archaeologists. The ruins at Dalyan have been known and identified for more than a hundred years, since Hoskyn found there an inscription mentioning 'the Council and People of the Caunians'.¹ In this period they have been

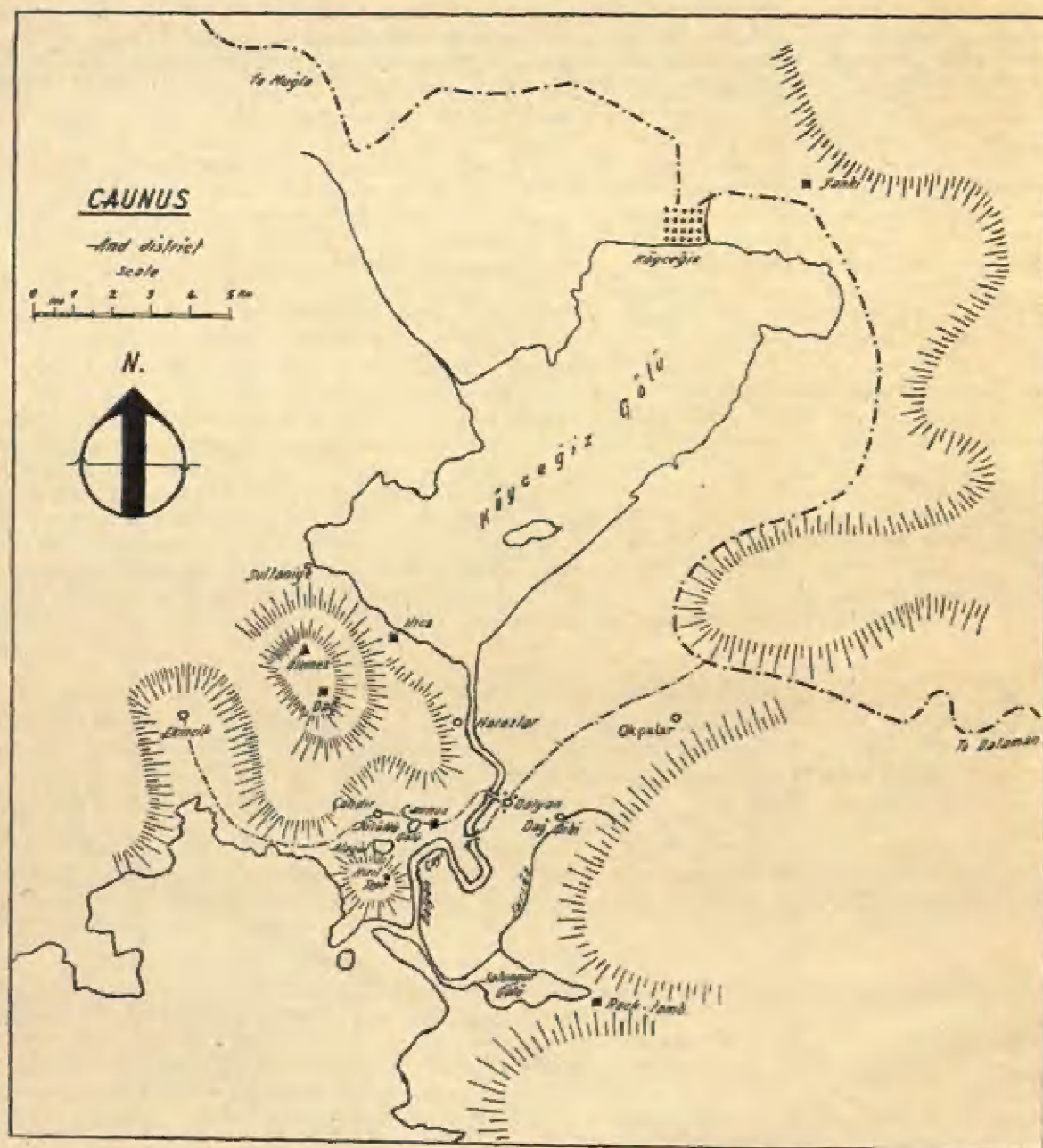


FIG. 1.

visited and described twice, by Collignon in 1877 and by Maiuri in 1920.² These descriptions are confined to the obvious visible remains; no excavation, and little research, has yet been undertaken. In particular, the inscriptions hitherto published have been few and undistinguished.³

¹ *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* XII (1842), 143 sqq. Quoted as (a) in n. 3 below.

² BCH 1877, 338–346, *Annuario* III (1921), 263 sqq. Hula and Szanto also passed through Caunus in 1894, but confined their activities to 'einige Collationen' (*Sitzb. Akad. Wien* cccxxi, 33). Philippson in 1904 went direct from Marmaris to Köyceğiz by the west side of the lake without visiting Caunus (*Petermann*

Mitt. Ergänzungsheft 183, 85-6). See also Robert *Et. Anat.* 503-4 and *ATL* 1, 499.

¹ They are: (a) Hoskyn, *loc. cit.* (cf. *Pros. Imp. Rom.*², II 121, no. 519), Γάιον Κάσιον Σαλαμάρων ἐπίτροπος Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρωνα Τραϊανῶν Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος δὲ Κορινθίων καὶ ἡ γερουσία. Omitted in *IGR*. I checked the text in 1950:

The material for the present article was collected during a series of visits to Dalyan from 1946 to 1952. I am much indebted to the active help of the accountant to the fishery, Bay Muharrem Türköz, whose intelligent interest in the antiquities of Caunus was of the greatest assistance at all times. Many of the inscriptions were actually discovered by Ali Demir of Çandır.

1. THE CITY

Among the standing ruins of the city, the greatest attention has naturally been drawn to the very fine series of rock-cut tombs, illustrated in Maiuri's article. In the published descriptions it seems not to have been observed that the largest of these (Fig. 2, top right) is evidently unfinished, and affords an interesting illustration of the method of work.⁴ The roof and pediment are virtually completed; the capitals and upper shafts of the columns are merely blocked out in square outline; below this, the rock-face has been smoothed, but no other work done. This is the only tomb with four columns.⁵

But these are not the only types of tombs at Caunus. There are also built tombs,⁶ rock-cut chambers with stone-built façade, one of which carries the inscriptions 18 and 18a, and 'Carian' tombs with rock-cut grave-pit and separate lid. Of these last the main group is at C in Fig. 3, with a cluster of votive niches in the rock wall below; similar graves are to be seen in and above



FIG. 2.—CAUNUS. ROCK-TOMBS.

the village of Candır. There is also a single rock-tomb in the hill across the river, fifteen minutes south-east of Dalyan.

The long wall, G-L in Fig. 3, has been described, at least partially, by all previous observers; as its date is of some interest, I give here a supplementary description.⁷ From G to H the curtain wall is consistently polygonal (Fig. 4); from H to J it is consistently isodomic ashlar, prominently bossed and evidently Hellenistic (Fig. 5). But from this point to the top at L it exhibits surprising variations, changing its style every few score yards (Figs. 6, 7, 8); towards L the same isodomic ashlar reappears as in the stretch H-J. At K is a short stretch of massive polygonal, one block measuring as much as 2.46 by 1.56 by 0.83 m. in maximum dimensions; several others are not

there is no doubt of the name Σαλαμίναν, but the lapicide went astray among the succession of similar letters and wrote at first ΛΛ in place of Μ. The stone is some 20 yards north-east of the building mentioned in (d) below. (b) Lebas-Waddington no. 512, Collignon, *op. cit.* 345, Maiuri, *op. cit.* 267, SEG II, no. 534, τούτο τὸ μνημὸς ἔστιν Ἀητοδῶρου καὶ Πιστοφάνου καὶ Πομπήλου τῶν Πιστοφάνου τοῦ Ἀητοδῶρου Κωσμηίων 3δων. Repeated in the same words on a neighbouring tomb. The demotic Κωσμηίος has not reappeared in the new inscriptions. (c) Collignon, *op. cit.* 346, republished here as No. 19 below. (d) Collignon, *op. cit.* 343, fragment of 'dedication' found in a 'Hellenic' building on the ridge north of the theatre (see p. 14), --Ι|--ΩΝΗ|--ΩΕΩΗΣ|--ΚΝΩΝ. (e) Maiuri, *loc. cit.*, SEG II no. 535, on a tomb, Βασιλὶς Γαίου, γυνὴ δὲ γενομένη Ἐκάρωνος δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου, χρηστὴ χαίρει. I have not seen (d) and (e).

⁴ Maiuri observes of this tomb: 'nella tomba maggiore --- a grossi pilastri e capitelli quadrangolari di forma musitata, i loculi sono scavati nello spazio degli intercolonnii all' altezza

dei capitelli', regarding it evidently as a finished work.

⁵ Collignon, speaking of these tombs, observes rightly (*op. cit.* 344: there are in fact exceptions, but the statement is true in the main) that they are arranged in two horizontal rows, the upper row temple-tombs comparable with those of Lycia, the lower row simple chambers with plain doors. Büchner in *RE* s.v. 'Kaunos', quoting Collignon, says the tombs have two storeys like the tombs in Lycia. In fact, there is no tomb of this type at Caunus; Büchner's statement is presumably due to a misreading of Collignon. The error is unfortunate, as tending to confuse the question of the relation between the rock-tombs of Caunus and of Lycia; on this, see Maiuri, *op. cit.*

⁶ A fine specimen, but badly ruined, at B² in Fig. 3.

⁷ The descriptions given by Collignon (from Duchesne's notes) and by Maiuri go only as far as the point where the wall turns at right-angles to the east (J in Fig. 3); Hoskyn appears to have seen the whole wall, but says merely that the masonry is Hellenic near the port, Cyclopean on the hills.

much smaller. The thickness of the wall averages about 2.20 m. in the lower parts;⁸ above J it is rather greater, averaging 2.60–2.85 m. From the upper end of the wall at L the ground falls precipitously to the river.

Collignon and Maiuri agree in the opinion that the polygonal masonry from G to H represents the original wall, and is older than the Hellenistic ashlar HJ. But there are considerable arguments against this view. The markedly bossed faces of the polygonal blocks have a self-conscious look that is hardly suggestive of early date; and in one part, not far from G, some of them have actually

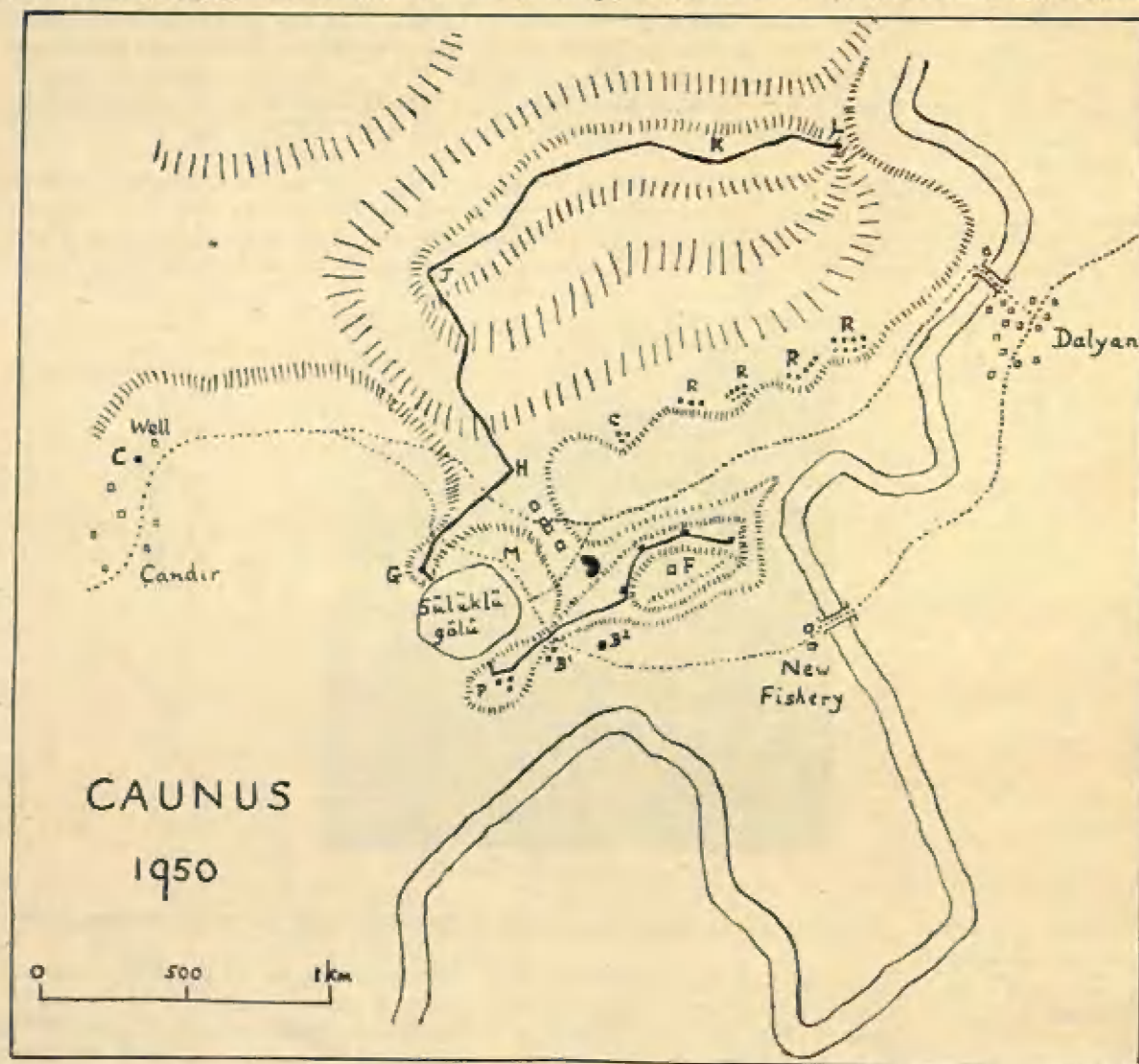


FIG. 3.

B. Built tombs. C. 'Carian' tombs. F. Fort on Acropolis Hill. GHJKL. Long Wall. M. Mausolus inscription. P. Pigeon-hole tombs. R. Rock-tombs.

drafted and 'combed' borders (Fig. 4, lower centre and right). These at least can hardly be dated to the fourth century.⁹ The assorted masonry from J to K appears undoubtedly to be earlier than that between G and J. How many different periods it represents is not easy to say. The variety appears greater than is consistent with a single building programme, though each of the individual styles is exemplified in the fourth century, and the isodomic trapezoidal (Fig. 8) is characteristic of that period. However this may be, the most probable account of the whole wall seems to be that the upper, eastern portion is the remains of the fourth-century wall of the 'Carian' city;¹⁰ the bossed isodomic ashlar at HJ and near L represents a reconstruction in the third century, thus falling into line with the general refortification of this coast in the Hellenistic period; the 'fancy' polygonal in the lowest stretch GH is latest of all.¹¹

⁸ Maiuri's 4.60 m. (*cf.* Collignon's '4 mètres au moins') applies only to the part of the wall he is there describing.

⁹ Fancy polygonal work of this kind dates elsewhere in Asia Minor to late Hellenistic or Roman times, e.g. at Gnidus (Scranton, *Greek Walls*, 166) and Balbura (Petersen-von

Laschan, *Reisen* II, 183, and Pl. XXIX).

¹⁰ Ps.-Scylax 99, Καῦνος Καρχηδονίως (ca. 350 B.C.)

¹¹ This view is the outcome of a discussion by correspondence with Dr. Scranton, for whose willing help I am very grateful.



FIG. 4.—CAUNUS. THE LONG WALL NEAR G.



FIG. 5.—CAUNUS. THE LONG WALL, SECTION H-J.



FIG. 6.—CAUNUS. THE LONG WALL, SECTION J-K.



FIG. 7.—CAUNUS. THE LONG WALL, SECTION J-K.



FIG. 8.—CAUNUS. THE LONG WALL, SECTION J-K.



FIG. 9.—CAUNUS. LATE BUILDING.

Of the public buildings of Caunus, apart from the theatre, not very much is standing. On the low ridge running north-west from the theatre are a church, a baths, a reservoir, and a building apparently regarded by Collignon as a Hellenic temple (*op. cit.* 342-3). Fig. 9 shows the west and north sides of this building, each of which contains a door; neither this arrangement nor the interior cross-walls are at all suggestive of a temple. Hoskyn correctly called it 'a late building'.¹²

The small lake Sülüklügölü at the foot of the acropolis hill has been recognised by all observers as the λιμὴν κλειστός mentioned by Strabo (xiv, 651). If confirmation were needed, it is afforded by the customs inscription No. 38 below, found close to its shore. Among the woods above this lake are extensive ancient remains, though practically nothing is standing above ground; in this quarter, the centre of the ancient city, many of the following inscriptions were found. When Caunus is eventually excavated, this will be the place to begin.¹³

Caunus is at present separated from the sea by a distance of about three kilometres; the condition of affairs in antiquity has caused some uncertainty. Strabo says (xiv, 651): εἶτα Καῦνος καὶ ποταμὸς πλυσίων Κάλβις βαθύς, ἔχων εἰσαγωγὴν . . . ἔχει δ' ἡ πόλις νεώρια καὶ λιμένα κλειστόν. The Calbis can evidently be no other than the Dalyan Çayı, connecting the large lake of Köyceğiz on the north with the sea on the south. This is a genuine river, with a good current, affording the only outlet for the numerous streams that flow into the lake;¹⁴ but there is a considerable tide from the

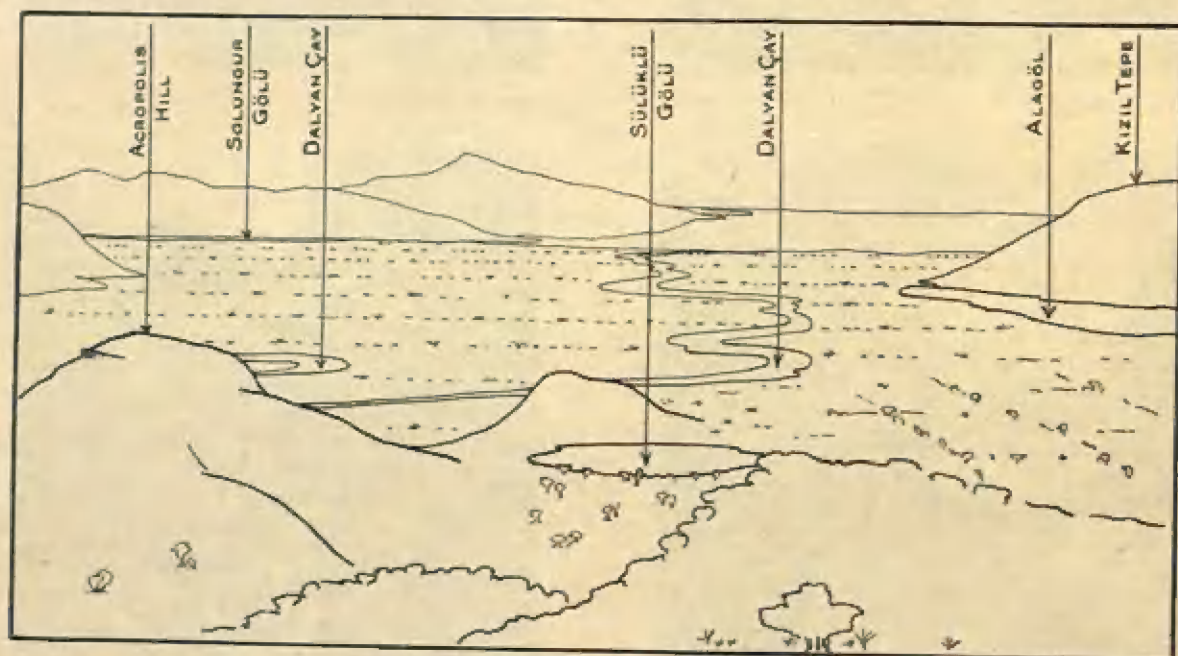


FIG. 10.—PLAIN OF CAUNUS.

sea, and the direction of the current changes regularly twice a day. The salt water comes up normally about to the village of Dalyan, but with a strong sea-wind it not infrequently reaches the lake, of which the water is in consequence slightly brackish.¹⁵ The depth of the river is said to vary considerably, but to be in places as much as ten metres; in breadth it averages perhaps a hundred yards. Its present tortuous course may be seen in Fig. 10.¹⁶ Between the city and the sea the ground is not firm land at all, but an expanse of reeds holding together a little soil. It seems virtually certain that in antiquity all this area was sea, and that Caunus stood actually on the coast.¹⁷ The view has, however, commonly been held that this was not so, but that the river, or a channel branching from it, led from the sea to the harbour. This curious view is apparently

¹² The fragmentary inscription (d) in n. 3 above was thought by Collignon to be the dedication of the temple. [τ]ῶν is more suggestive of an epitaph. (Another epitaph, No. 40, was found close to this building, where there are many re-used stones.)

¹³ The small lake is called by Collignon and Maiuri Ana Göl, but this name is not now used locally; the name Alagöl is given to the larger lake to the south-west. The lakes are correctly named on the GS map (1946) Fethiye sheet. λιμὴν κλειστός is understood by Maiuri to mean an 'enclosed' or 'sheltered' harbour; I take it to have its normal meaning 'closed with a chain'.

¹⁴ A sluggish and marshy stream called Sarıöz flows down the eastern side of the plain into Solungur Lake, but has no connexion with the lake of Köyceğiz and does little in the way of drainage.

¹⁵ The *dalyan* or fishery itself, in the form of a barrage of posts and wire netting across the river, was originally opposite the village, but in 1947-48 a new and more up-to-date structure was erected further down stream, close under the acropolis hill. For the possibility of a *dalyan* in antiquity see No. 20 below.

¹⁶ Fig. 10 was very kindly drawn for me by Mrs. Michael Gough from photographs taken on the hill north of the city.

¹⁷ So Maiuri: 'una città eminentemente marittima'. Since the recess on the north-east, on the side opposite to the harbour, must also have been sea, the acropolis hill formed a peninsula joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus; such sites are particularly common on the west coast of Asia Minor: cf. Lebedus, Aerae, Myonnesus, and the site (Marathesium?) near Kuşadası.

inspired by Strabo's words *ἔχων εἰσπρωγὴν*.¹⁸ But Strabo says that the Calbis flowed *πλησίον*, from which it would hardly be inferred that it fed a harbour at the foot of the acropolis. I suspect that in ancient times the Calbis entered the sea some way further to the east, and have wondered if the marshy bed of the Sariöz may perhaps mark its ancient course.¹⁹ The words *ἔχων εἰσπρωγὴν* mean simply 'having a navigable channel', that is from the sea to the lake, not from the sea to the city. Twenty- and twenty-five-ton caiques still pass regularly between the sea and Köyceğiz.²⁰

The notoriously unhealthy climate of Caunus²¹ has improved considerably in recent years, especially since 1948, when the Turks began a serious attempt to combat malaria. The fertility of the soil is as striking now as ever; sesame and maize are the chief products, and fruit and vegetables are abundant. The vine, however, is lacking, and figs, for which Caunus was famous in antiquity, are not remarkable either for quantity or for quality.²²

II. THE ENVIRONS

As the vicinity of Caunus has remained hitherto virtually unexplored, and as a number of topographical identifications have been conjecturally made without actual knowledge of the existing antiquities,²³ it may be well to give here a short account of all the ancient remains that I have found in the neighbourhood.

In October 1949 I walked from Büyükkaraağaç by Ekincik to Caunus. The fine bay of Karaağaç has been widely accepted as a likely situation for Pynus, which is named by Pliny (v, 104) after Caunus—the even finer bay of Marmaris being securely appropriated to Phiscus.²⁴ The village of Büyükkaraağaç is a wretched hamlet of ten families, but it boasts a quay and the offices of the company managing the neighbouring chrome-mines. Ruins are marked there on Admiralty Chart no. 1886, but their existence is now denied, and in a short visit I saw no ancient stone of any kind.

The village of Ekincik comprises a few scattered houses, with a square mile or two of fertile land between it and the sea. The bay has a landing-stage and a sandy beach. I was unfortunate in finding no responsible guide; the *muhtar* was away, and his son declared there were no 'old stones' in or near the village. I had, however, noticed a broken column-stump in his garden, and perseverance revealed the existence of a fair number of antiquities. In the eastern part of the village are two built tombs of well-squared blocks, with mouldings and a shield in relief. Lower down to the south-east, near a large isolated pine-tree, are more carved blocks and the oil-mill, 1.60 m. in diameter, shown in Fig. 11. At the southern foot of the neighbouring hill, Dikmentepe, is a similar oil-mill, with its millstone lying close by. In the cemetery are column-stumps and other ancient blocks. There seems to be justification for placing a small ancient site here.

By the fountain at Mezargedigi on the road from Ekincik to Dalyan are the remains of a built tomb with the Carian inscription No. 1 below.

Kızıltepe is a steep hill 200 m. high, overlooking the mouth of the river and the whole plain of Caunus. A path leads from Çandır to the saddle on the south-west, across which runs a wall of unworked stones 2.00–2.05 m. thick. Above this point the hill is so densely overgrown that complete examination was impossible, and I had to be content with cutting a way to the summit. Here I found a rectangular fort some 65 m. long by something under 20 m. in width, with walls about 2.05 m. thick, of isodomic ashlar with a tendency to the trapezoidal, prominently bossed. The tower at the south-east angle is well preserved (Fig. 12), and has vertical draft-lines at the corner. Lower down the hill on the west side is a dry rubble wall, now largely reduced to a heap of stones; the thickness is again about 2 m. It appears to be a ring-wall encircling the hill, but I was only able to follow it for a hundred yards. There would, I think, be no objection to locating here the acropolis of a maritime neighbour of Caunus such as Carpasya.²⁵

Learning of the existence of rock-tombs at the east end of Solungur Lake, I visited the spot in 1948. Close to the landing-stage and facing east is a rock-cut temple-tomb similar to those at Caunus, but unfortunately unapproachable, even in August, owing to bog. Another such tomb

¹⁸ Collignon, *op. cit.* 342, 'le Kalbis était navigable à son entrée (*ἔχων εἰσπρωγὴν*). Les navires avaient en effet à franchir une certaine portion du fleuve avant d'entrer au port'; *ib.* 340, 'le port était alimenté par le fleuve.' *ATL* I, 532 n. 4, 'the river was navigable up to Kaunos.' Even Maiuri accepts that this was the case in Strabo's time. *LS* s.v. *εἰσπρωγὴ* IV translate 'channel of entrance to a harbour', quoting Strabo xvii, 801 and *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 37; in neither of these passages is any harbour in question, and the translation looks like a reminiscence of Strabo xiv, 651 (Caunus), which however is not quoted.

¹⁹ This is a question for the geologists. M. X. de Planhol kindly informs me that, so far as he can judge from a rapid visit, the above suggestion is possible, or even probable.

²⁰ The *dalyan* is opened for an hour or so several times a week to let boats through; for the rest of the time priority is given to the fish.

²¹ Strabo xiv, 651, Dio Chrys. xxxii, 92: re-emphasised by

Maiuri, *loc. cit.*

²² *Cic. de div.* II, 40, 84. It is, of course, possible that the figs were called Caunian because they were shipped from Caunus, being grown elsewhere, just as the figs of the Maeander valley are to-day called Smyrna figs. Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements*, 128, even appears to suggest that the Caunian figs were these same figs from the Maeander: 'it is to be noticed that Caunus was the harbour of export, not Smyrna as at present'. On the face of it, this seems improbable in the extreme.

²³ E.g. Imbros, Carpasya, and Pasanda in *ATL* I, Pynus, Tarbelos, and Pasada on the maps of Kiepert and Philippson.

²⁴ Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 57.

²⁵ It must be remembered that the intervening ground between Kızıltepe and Caunus was in antiquity sea; there appears no particular reason for a Caunian fort at this point. For the spelling of Carpasya see No. 5 below.

is reported in the hills about an hour and a half to the south-east, but there are said to be no other ruins in the neighbourhood. There is at this point a considerable area of fertile land, now supporting some twenty scattered families; its melons are highly esteemed. The lake is salt, and was undoubtedly sea in antiquity; its fish are said to be exceptionally rich and tasty.

At İlica, on the south-west shore of the lake of Köyceğiz, is a tiny thermal establishment round a medicinal spring, said to be good for rheumatism and much patronised not only locally but even by visitors from a distance. Column-stumps and other ancient fragments, and the remains of a small stone jetty now submerged, suggest that the waters were used in antiquity also. Here I found the inscription No. 12 below.

At Yankı,²⁶ close to the main road some three kilometres from Köyceğiz, where the mountains descend to the plain around the head of the lake, is a hill some 75 or 80 m. high, carrying on its lower slopes a conspicuous medieval fortress known as Yankı Asarı. The top of the hill is enclosed by a ring-wall of good polygonal masonry, closely fitting, still over 2 m. high in places. Its blocks are not large, one or two barely reaching a metre in maximum dimension. On the east and south this wall supplements the precipitous rock-face. Inside the enclosure, which is perhaps 100 m. across, are abundant remains of walls and foundations of buildings, and many carefully squared blocks. Outside the enclosure, on the side facing the road, is a rock-cut tomb some 2.30 m. high, with a rock-cut porch and rough gable roof; the inside is plain. Sunk into the floor just inside the entrance is a single grave-pit. At a house close by I found the epitaph No. 42 below. This



FIG. 11.—EKİNCİK. OIL-MILL.



FIG. 12.—KIZILTEPE. FORT ON SUMMIT.

site appears to be a Caunian fort protecting the rich and vulnerable territory around the northern end of the lake.²⁷

Hearing from my friend Muharrem Bey that considerable ancient remains existed on the summit of Ölemez Dağ north of Caunus,²⁸ I made the ascent of the mountain in September 1947. It has two peaks, a northern and a southern, joined by a saddle; the northern is slightly the higher,²⁹ but the principal remains are on the southern. Here are the ruins of a very considerable fortress. The ring-wall encloses a blunt oval perhaps 350 m. in length by 150 m. in width; the masonry is dry rubble of rather rough appearance (Fig. 13), but with fairly regular courses at many points. I counted nine towers in the circuit; these are of much more regular work, with vertical drafting at the corners (Fig. 14). The curtain wall is about 2.15 m. thick; the largest block I saw, in a tower on the west side, measures 1.58 by 0.62 m. Inside the enclosure is a fair quantity of unsquared building-blocks and plenty of sherds of characterless type, but I saw no remains of buildings, apart from a large cistern in the north-east corner. This is circular, with a curious double wall, of which

²⁶ Or Yangı: k and g are virtually interchangeable in the peasants' speech.

²⁷ I presume that this is the same site as that described by Cousin in *BCH* 1900, 43: 'à l'endroit appelé Yangı s'étagent du bord du lac jusqu' au sommet de la colline qui surplombe, des ruines qui avaient été visitées par mon ami M. Deschamps. En haut, quelques pierres taillées mêlées à d'autres; en bas, beaucoup de ruines anciennes, mais aucune ne mérite qu' on s'y arrête. Il est possible que ce soient les restes de murailles unissant la ville et le lac'. The name Yangı is evidently the same, but the hill I visited could not be said to overhang the

lake, nor do I know of any site in this neighbourhood to which the term 'ville' could be applied. The contemptible ruins 'en bas' might be the medieval castle, but the rest of the description does less than justice to the site. Hula and Szanto (*Sitzb. Akad. Wien* cxcxii, 33) also thought poorly of Yankı: 'das von dort [Yüksekkum, i.e. Köyceğiz] besuchte Castell Yangı bot nichts Wesentliches.'

²⁸ Called Evlemez Dağ on the 1946 GS map, but the local name is Ölemez, 'Immortal'.

²⁹ 937 m. on the GS map; my aneroid registered 865 m.

the inner portion has now largely collapsed. The diameter is about 7 m., the present depth about 4 m., but the bottom is filled with earth and stones. This fort directly overlooks Caunus, and the view embraces the whole country from Köyceğiz to the sea.³⁰ On the northern peak is a much smaller fort, some 30 m. in diameter. The wall is in general similar to that on the southern peak; on the west side, where it is best preserved, it is more regular (Fig. 15). It is here 1.40 m. thick. There are also some slight traces of a wall on the saddle between the peaks. In spite of the absence



FIG. 13.—ÖLEMEZ DAĞ. DRY RUBBLE WALL.



FIG. 14.—ÖLEMEZ DAĞ. TOWER IN RING-WALL.



FIG. 15.—ÖLEMEZ DAĞ. FORT ON NORTH PEAK.

of any inscription or other direct evidence, there can, I think, be little doubt that these ruins represent the fort Imbrus; see on No. 5 below.

III. HISTORICAL

As a background to the following inscriptions, I give a short summary of the history of Caunus, in so far as this appears to be determined. Detailed discussion would exceed the reasonable limits of this article.

Caunus is generally reckoned a Carian city, and is in fact expressly so called by pseudo-Scylax (99; about 350 B.C.). Herodotus, however (I, 171-2), gives a somewhat different account. He judges the Caunians to be indigenous—though they themselves claimed to come from Crete—with a language of their own which in course of time had become assimilated to the Carian. He dis-

³⁰ The fort is in fact discernible (once one knows it is there) from the southern part of the lake.

tinguishes them both from the Carians and from the Lycians. The new inscriptions (see below Nos. 1 and 2) tend to bear out this account.

The city's first appearance in history is in the sixth century, when it was reduced by Harpagus after a heroic resistance (Hdt. I, 176). When the Ionian cities revolted from Persia, Caunus, after some initial hesitation, joined the rebellion (Hdt. V, 103: about 497 B.C.).

As a member of the Delian Confederacy, Caunus was at first assessed at half a talent; but in 425 B.C. this moderate tribute was increased at a blow to ten talents—equal, for example, with Miletus. The reason for this startling increase is not known; in *ATL* I, 499, it is explained as representing a project of drawing on the wealth of the plain north of the lake around Köyceğiz. In the latter part of the Peloponnesian War the port of Caunus was used at various times both by the Spartans (Thuc. VIII, 39, 42) and by the Athenians (*ibid.* 108).

After falling back into the power of Persia, the city came under the domination of the Hecatomnids,^{30a} and was presumably given by Alexander, together with the rest of Caria, to Ada (Arr. I, 23). Later in the fourth century we seem to have a mention of a king of Caunus,³¹ perhaps the only one who ever reigned there, for in 313 B.C. the city was taken by Antigonus (Diod. Sic. xix, 75), from whom it was captured four years later by Ptolemy.³² After the battle of Salamis in 306 it passed back into the hands of Antigonus and Demetrius. Its fate after Ipsus in 301 is not specifically recorded; it might well be supposed to have fallen to Lysimachus, but in 286 we find Demetrius still able to make use of it (Plut. *Demetr.* 49, 5). Perhaps, then, like Miletus and Ephesus, it remained in his hands, coming only into Lysimachus' power after 285 B.C.

The next datable mention is in 197/6 B.C., when Caunus appears among a number of cities 'allied to Ptolemy', whose 'freedom' was secured by the Rhodians against the menace of Antiochus' invasion.³³ It is not known when it became Ptolemaic, but we have perhaps a record of the event in Polyaeus III, 16, where it is related that Philocles, the general of Ptolemy, attacking Caunus, bribed the corn-inspectors to announce that the issue of flour to the soldiers would be made in the city; the troops accordingly left the walls unguarded while they drew their rations, and Philocles was able to capture the city.³⁴

The Rhodian action in 197/6 left the status of Caunus unchanged. Whatever Livy may have meant by the 'freedom' of the Ptolemaic 'allies', he uses the same term *libertas* to describe both their previous and their resulting condition. Shortly afterwards, Caunus became a Rhodian possession in an unusual way. It was purchased from the generals of Ptolemy for 200 talents. Polybius, who records this event,³⁵ gives no date, but it is obvious that it must have happened before 189 B.C., when Caunus would have passed to Rhodes in any case by the Peace of Apamea, and there would have been no need to buy it.³⁶ According to Appian (*Mithr.* 23), the Caunians became 'Ροδίοις ὑποτέλεις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ. This means presumably 'at the time of the war against Antiochus', and refers evidently to the same event. A date about 191–190 will probably not be far from the mark.

From 189 till 167 Rhodes was mistress of Caria and Lycia. But her new subjects were far from content, and in 167 Caunus joined the general revolt against her. Although the Rhodians

^{30a} It is possible that Caunus later made an attempt to free herself from Hecatomnid control. It has been inferred from *TAM* I, 45 that Pixodarus was assisted in a war with Caunus by Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara, and Cadyanda; but the text is very fragmentary—no mention of a war is actually preserved, and the inference depends solely on the fact that Caunus is named (if indeed the name is correctly read) separately from the four Lycian cities. The conflict in question cannot be considered an established fact; Kalinka in *TAM*, loc. cit. implies that Herodotus' mention of the Caunians as holding 'eine selbständige Stellung' between Carians and Lycians supports the view that they maintained their independence of the Hecatomnids; this point is now, in view of the present Nos. 3 and 4, no longer valid.

³¹ Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos* 109, no. 53: Φιλέρατος Ἀριστίδα βασιλεὺς Καίου, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάτης, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐβόρυσσε. For the date see the note *ad loc.* This 'King of Caunus' is surprising and rouses suspicion; for a quite different interpretation of this text see below on No. 37.

³² Diod. Sic. xx, 27 (309 B.C.): εἶτα τῇ Καίῳ προσπλεύσας τὴν μὲν πόλιν περιέλαβε, τὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις φρουρούμενας τῇ βίᾳ κατασχέσας τὸ μὲν Ἡράκλειον ἐξέλε, τὸ δὲ Περσικὸν παραδόντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο. On the question whether this is the same exploit recorded by Polyaeus III, 16 see below n. 34.

³³ Livy xxxiii, 20: *illam alteram curam non omiserunt* (sc. Rhodii), *tuerent libertatis civitatum sociarum Ptolemaei, quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminerebat. nam alias auxiliis juverunt, alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis; causaque libertatis fuerunt Cannis, Myndii, Halicarnassensibus Samiisque.*

³⁴ Holleaux (*BCH* 1893, 64 = *Ét. d'Ép. et d'Hist. Gr.* I, 420) referred this stratagem to the Ptolemaic capture in 309 B.C., observing that Polyaeus' account may explain Diodorus' words concerning the capture of the Persicon. But the

Persicon (one of the two parts of the acropolis hill, probably the lower western part) is close above the city; the impression one receives is rather that the soldiers in Polyaeus were brought down to the city from the long wall running over the hill to the north. Indeed, since Philocles was attacking by land (προσπολεῖται), it seems certain that this must be the wall in question; the acropolis hill was in antiquity almost entirely surrounded by sea. In 309, on the other hand, Ptolemy came by sea, and even then did not attack the acropolis until he had taken the city (n. 32 above). This last detail is in fact fatal to the identity of the two events; how could the traitorous sitophylaces distribute rations to the Caunian defenders ἐν τῇ πόλει when the πόλις was in the enemy's hands? Unless the details of Polyaeus' narrative be rejected as mythical, it seems that Philocles must have taken Caunus from Lysimachus after 285 B.C. If Beloch's belief that Philocles was originally Demetrius' general is correct (though recent opinion tends to be unfavourable), this view becomes a necessity. If Holleaux is right, the occasion after 286 B.C. on which Caunus became Ptolemaic is quite unrecorded.—I have suggested that the Persicon was the lower, western part of the acropolis hill. I suppose that Ptolemy, having the lower city in his hands, would proceed to attack the main portion of the acropolis immediately above; when this fell, the defenders of the western hill, isolated and no longer defensible, might very naturally surrender of their own accord.

³⁵ xxx, 31: more accurately, he records that the Rhodian envoy to the Senate in 166 B.C. made the statement. Its truth is doubted by Magie, *Roman Rule*, 880, n. 73; on this, and on the whole question of the Rhodian acquisition of Caunus, see Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea*.

³⁶ In any case, there could hardly be any question after Apamea of their buying it 'from the generals of Ptolemy'.

were quickly able to suppress the rebellion, they were immediately afterwards compelled, on the orders of the Senate, to evacuate the lately acquired territory, and Caunus became a free city (Polybius xxx, 21).

In the first Mithridatic War the Caunians threw in their lot with the king, and the murder of the Roman residents in the city was apparently carried out with especial ferocity (Appian *Mithr.* 23). By the settlement of Dardanus in 84 B.C. Caunus was restored by Sulla to the dominion of Rhodes.³⁷ This state of affairs was no more popular than it had been a century before, and some time between 70 and 60 B.C. the Caunians appealed to the Senate to be allowed to pay tribute to Rome instead of Rhodes. The result of this appeal is not recorded;³⁸ but whether as a result of it or from some other cause, Caunus was in fact detached from Rhodes during the first century B.C., since Pliny (on the authority presumably of the Augustan *formula provinciae*) records it as a free city (*NH* V, 104).³⁹

This second period of freedom lasted apparently about a century. By a date not later than ca. A.D. 75 Caunus was once more subject to Rhodes.⁴⁰

IV. INSCRIPTIONS

1. Carian inscription. At Mezargedigi, about one hour from Caunus on the road from Gandir to Ekincik, just below the top of the pass on the side overlooking the sea, is a wayside fountain; immediately above this are the ruins of a built tomb, now completely overthrown. The door was formed of a single block (Fig. 16) measuring 1.65 by 1.19 m. Among numerous fragments strewn



FIG. 16.—MEZARGEDIĞI. BLOCK FORMING DOOR OF TOMB.

on the slope below the road is a broken lintel-block with two *fasciae*, 0.48 m. high, 0.39 m. thick, and now 0.66 m. long. On the upper *fascia* is an inscription in Carian, published from my photograph and squeeze by Robert *Hellenica* VIII, 18 no. 14, with Plates VI, 3, IX, 1, XXVIII, 1.

It seems almost certain that the inscription is complete. There appears to be a blank space at the left in ll. 2-3, and the preserved text is symmetrically arranged.⁴¹ For the interpretation the division into words should be of service. I note that two letter-groups, both complete words, are common to this inscription and that at Taşyaka (*TAM* I, 151), namely, (a) the second word here and the seventh to twelfth letters at Taşyaka⁴² and (b) the last word here and the third to sixth letters in l. 3 at Taşyaka.⁴³

2. Carian inscription. In the woods above the point M in Fig. 3, and therefore in the very centre of the city, I found the longest Carian text yet discovered. It is published from my photograph and squeeze by Robert, *Hellenica* VIII, 20-1, with Plates XXVIII, 2, XXIX and XXX.

³⁷ Cic. *ad Q.F.* 1, 1, 33. Strabo xiv, 652 seems also to refer to this occasion.

³⁸ J. W. Cohoon on Dio Chrys. xxxi, 124 infers from Dio's words there that it was rejected; this overlooks the period of freedom that intervened; see below.

³⁹ A likely occasion for the loss of Caunus would be the Rhodian resistance to Cassius in 42 B.C., as is suggested by Jones, *CERP*, 77.

⁴⁰ Dio Chrys. xxxi, 125 (early years of Vespasian): of γῆ (sc. the Caunians) δουλεύουσιν οὐχ ὅτιν μόνους (sc. the Rhodians) ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀνάγκης καὶ μοχθηρίας

ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῖς τὴν δουλείαν κατασκευάσαντες. This period of freedom and its subsequent loss are now confirmed by the new inscriptions Nos. 37 and 38.

⁴¹ A search revealed another piece of the lintel, but this bore no writing.

⁴² Reading from left to right in both cases and restoring M rather than V for the first letter of l. 2 at Taşyaka. If this is correct, the left-to-right reading is established, contrary to the suggestion implied in Robert's n. 2 on p. 18.

⁴³ I have a squeeze of the Taşyaka inscription, which is at the disposal of anyone interested.

See also F. Steinherr and H. Th. Bossert, *Jahrb. für Kleinasiatische Forschung* I, 330-3, where it is suggested that the text may be in rhyming verse. Robert points out that several letters are peculiar to this inscription, and sees in this fact evidence of a Caunian dialect of Carian, which would agree well with Herodotus' words in I, 172.

3. Beside the lower path to Çandır, at the point M in Fig. 3, a plain rectangular base 0.41 m. high, 0.99 m. wide, 0.68 m. thick, of fine-grained purple limestone; two footholes on top. Letters 20-25 mm. high, stoichedon. Photograph Fig. 17. (Nos. 3 and 4 briefly noted in *AJA* LI 193 and *REG* LXII 143, No. 177.)

Ἑκατόμνων Ὑσσάλλωμου
Καύνιοι ἀνέθηκαν [.]

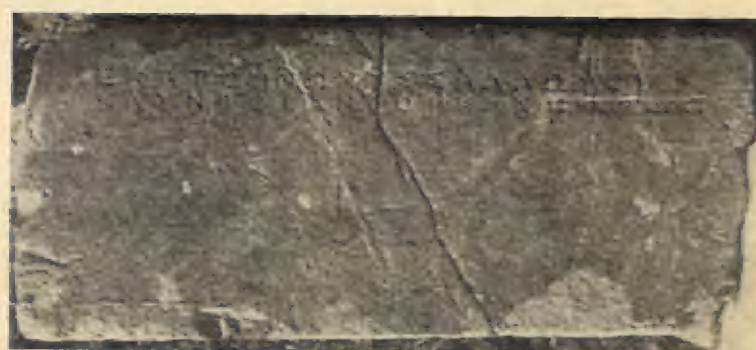


FIG. 17.—INSCRIPTION NO. 3.

4. Close beside No. 3, a similar base of the same stone 0.46 m. high, 0.99 m. wide, 0.685 m. thick; two footholes on top. Letters 20-22 mm. high, stoichedon. Squeeze Fig. 18.

Μαύσσωλλον Ἑκατόμνω
Καύνιοι ἀνέθηκαν [.]

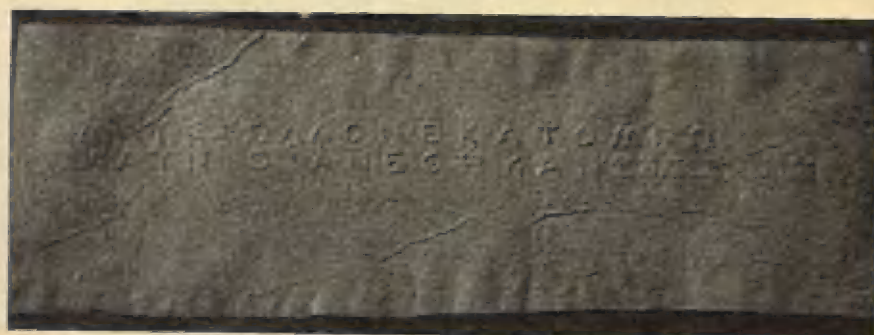


FIG. 18.—INSCRIPTION NO. 4.

The Hecatomnids and their appearances in epigraphy have recently been discussed by Robert, *Sinuri* I, 99-102; the present inscriptions confirm entirely the observations there made. Except for purposes of dating, the dynasts add no title to their names. The name of Hecatomnos' father was already known.⁴⁴ It is a not uncommon name in Caria, appearing generally in the form Ὑσσάδωμος or Ὑσσέδωμος: the present No. 3, in which the double *lambda* is perfectly clear, shows that Robert was right in suspecting that in this as in other Carian names -λλ- and -λδ- were interchangeable.

The erasures at the end of both inscriptions are puzzling. The stoichedon arrangement shows that six letters are erased in each case; each erasure is exactly 0.21 m. long, and as the two bases are evidently a pair, it is hardly doubtful that in both cases the same word stood on the stone. In this position one would naturally look for the name of a deity in the dative case;⁴⁵ but why this should be erased is not easy to understand.⁴⁶ A further peculiarity is the fact, apparent in Fig. 17 and confirmed by measurement, that the erasure in No. 3 (though not in No. 4) is in general two or three millimetres less in height than the surviving letters. This is the case even directly under

⁴⁴ Robert, *Sinuri* I, 99, no. 76, cf. *Ét. Anat.* 372.

⁴⁵ Ἀθηνᾶ is the obvious suggestion, and it is in fact easy to imagine that one recognises on the squeeze of No. 4 the traces of a round letter in the second place and of two upright strokes in the fourth place; but no reliance can be placed on this.

⁴⁶ Was the dedication for some reason displeasing to the dynasts? Is it conceivable, if the erased word was in fact

Ἀθηνᾶ, that Mausolus' anti-Athenian policy of 357 B.C. and following years was the cause? I note, if only as a coincidence, an exactly similar erasure, though of very different date, at Assus (*Papers of the Amer. Sch. at Athens* I, 58, no. XXIX): Ἰουλιανὸν Δόμωνα Σ[ε]βαστήν, μητέρα κάστρων, ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀσσιῶν [. . .]. The editor restores ἀνέθηκαν, for which, if the drawing is reliable, there is certainly not room.

the letters above, where the erased letters presumably stood. What may be the explanation of this phenomenon I do not know.⁴⁷

It is interesting to find these two inscriptions in good stoichedon Greek script at the very period when pseudo-Scylax calls Caunus Καρική πόλις, and Isocrates (*Paneg.* 162) says that Greeks dwelt along the coast 'from Cnidus to Sinope'. We have evidently an early sample of the Greek culture which the Hecatomnids themselves were zealous in spreading in Caria. That these texts were cut by a Greek lapicide there can be no doubt.

5. Seen in 1947 in a field across the path from M,⁴⁸ a plain block of fine-grained purple limestone 0.575 m. high, 0.29 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick; in the upper surface is a dowel-hole and lead-channel, in the under surface a dowel-hole. The inscription begins close to the top edge of the stone, and is complete at the bottom. Letters 9-10 mm. high, *omicron* and *theta* somewhat smaller. Squeeze Fig. 19.

- [. . .]στέλης Νικοστρ[άτου]
 [Πα]σανδεύς
 [ῬΟΛ]υμπίόδωρος Ἐπιγόνου
 Περδικίαθεν
 5 Θεόδωρος Ἑρμῶνακτος
 Πτολεμαίεύς
 Θεόδοτος Ζήνω[υ]ς
 Περδικίαθεν
 Μένανδρος Σφηκίωνος
 10 Περδικίαθεν
 Ἀντίπατρος Ἀγρεοφώντος
 Ἰμβριος
 [Δ]ιονύσιος Μοσχίωνος
 Πασανδεύς
 15 Μένων Μένωνος
 [Π]τολεμαίεύς
 [Ἀ]γ[ρ]εοφῶν Ἑρμῶνακτος
 [τοῦ] Νέωνος Καρπασυανδεύς
 [Ἰ?]ατροκλῆς Λητοδώρου
 20 Περδικίαθεν
 [Ἀρ]τεμίδωρος Βασιλείδο[υ]
 Περδικίαθεν
 [οἱ ἄρ]ξαντες ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ ἱερέως
 [Ἀπολ]λωνίου ἐνιαυτῷ

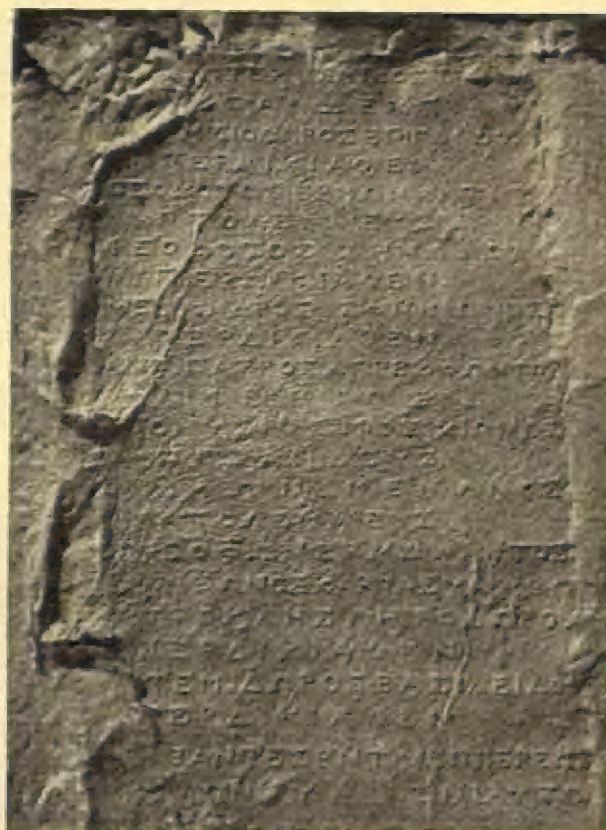


FIG. 19.—INSCRIPTION NO. 5.

Of the personal names in this list, Iatrocles (if correctly restored), Basileides, Letodorus,⁴⁹ and especially Agreophon,⁵⁰ are characteristic of this part of Asia Minor. For the dating by an eponymous priest compare Nos. 6, 7, and 21; no evidence has yet appeared to identify him as the priest of a particular deity.

In l. 23 the first visible letter, though not completely preserved, is unquestionably *xi*. We have accordingly a college of magistrates⁵¹ making a collective dedication on the expiry of their term of office. It follows that the persons named are citizens, and the place-names must be regarded as demotics of Caunus, not as ethnics of independent towns; that is, the places in question were at the date of the inscription incorporated in the city of Caunus. Of the five names, Pasanda, Carpasyanda, Imbrus, Ptolemais and Perdicia, none is actually new, and the first three at least are already known in close connexion with Caunus; but the site of none of them has hitherto been satisfactorily established.

In the Athenian tribute-lists Carpasyanda and Pasanda occur close together with Caunus. The former appears as Καρπασυανδῆς or Καρπασυανδῆς παρὰ Καῦνον, the latter as Πασανδῆς and in one place probably as [Πασανδῆς ἀπὸ] Καῦνου.⁵² Carpasyanda, so far as I am aware, makes no other

⁴⁷ There seems no reason at all why the name of the deity should be written smaller than the rest, but I see no other likely way of filling the erasure. If the Caunians had in error added a title, such as βασιλεία, which the Hecatomnids never used, the erasure would be explained; but the position of the word at the end is unnatural, nor can I find a likely title of the required length. The ethnic Μυλασία is even less satisfactory. The artist's signature might well be written small, but would hardly follow without interval on ἀνέτηκαν.

⁴⁸ I saw the stone again in 1952 in a neighbouring field, and arranged to have it carried for safe keeping to the fishery.

⁴⁹ See Robert, *Ét. Ép. et Phil.* 211.

⁵⁰ See Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 486; it is among the commonest names at Caunus.

⁵¹ At least eleven: the inscription may be incomplete at the top, where the name of the deity may also have been written.

⁵² *ATL* I, Register and Gazetteer s. 59.

appearance either in epigraphy or in literature. Pasanda is little less shadowy, but the name is restored with some probability in three passages of literature. (1) Diod. Sic. xiv, 79: Φάραξ . . . κατέπλευσε τῆς Καρίας πρὸς Σάσανδα, φρούριον ἀπέχον τῆς Καύνου σταδίους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα (vv. ll. ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι, ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀκτὸν); Robert⁵³ suggested that Πάσανδα may be the true reading. (2) Stephanus s.v. Πάσσα mentions a Πάσανδα near Adramyttium and adds: τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πασσανδεὺς τῷ τῆς χώρας τύπῳ. These last words suggest Caria, and Meineke suspected a lacuna, e.g. <καὶ πόλις Καρίας>. (3) The *Stadiasmus* 264-5, coming from the south, has: ἀπὸ Κυμαρίας εἰς Πάσανδαν στάδιοι ξ' ἀπὸ Πασάδης εἰς Καῦνον στάδιοι λ'. This Pasada is undoubtedly Pasanda. The distance of thirty stades from Caunus disagrees with the figure in Diodorus for 'Sasanda'; on this point see Robert *loc. cit.*⁵⁴

On the strength of the notice in the *Stadiasmus*, *ATL* I, 532 locates Pasanda 'about four miles due south of Kaunos'. I could learn of no ancient remains on the present coast at this point. The spot at the east end of Solungur Lake, described on p. 15, is exactly thirty stades from Caunus in

a straight line; but on other grounds its claims to be the site of Pasanda can hardly be called strong. Until 425 B.C. Pasanda paid the same tribute as Caunus, half a talent. As Caunus was evidently at all times the more considerable city, the modest wealth of Pasanda came presumably from the sea.

Carpasyanda is tentatively located in *ATL* I, 495, 'opposite Pasanda', that is, on the coast south-west of Caunus. At this point is the hill of Kızıltepe with a ring-wall and a fortress described above, p. 15; but there is no real evidence for an identification with Carpsyanda.

Imbrus, on the other hand, may now, I hope, be located with some confidence. There are two ancient notices which refer to it in connexion with Caunus. (1) Strabo xiv, 651: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ὕψει φρούριον Ἰμβρος. (2) Quintus Smyrnaeus VIII, 78: ὅς τ' ἐνὶ κοίλῃ Καύνῳ ναιετάασκε διειδέας ἀρχόθι λίμνης, Ἰμβρῶ ὕπο νιφόεντι παρὰ ποσὶ Ταρβήλοιο. Collignon and Maiuri agree in taking Imbrus to be the acropolis hill of Caunus itself.⁵⁵ The editors of *ATL*, while not rejecting this solution, prefer an identification with the great Sandras Dağı, 2300 m. high, away to the north-east beyond the lake of Köyceğiz.⁵⁶ Neither of these



FIG. 20.—CAUNUS. FORT ON ACROPOLIS HILL.

proposals seems to me at all attractive. Sandras Dağı is much too far away from Caunus; the acropolis hill, on the contrary, is actually a part of the city. Moreover, the names of the two acropolis peaks, or rather of the forts on them, are known from Diodorus.⁵⁷ What is evidently required is a site on a hill outside the city but not far from it. The fort on the summit of Ölemez Dağ, described on p. 16, answers the requirements perfectly. The remains clearly indicate a permanent habitation, and their considerable extent entitles them to be a deme of Caunus. Looking down on Caunus from the southern peak it is impossible to feel any serious doubt.⁵⁸

There remain Perdicia and Ptolemais. The former is known as the name of a place on the coast of Lycia south of Telmessus.⁵⁹ If this is the same as the Perdicia of our inscription, it must represent a Caunian enclave on Lycian territory. This is perhaps possible,⁶⁰ but the name is one that might well be liable to recur, especially on this coast where partridges abound. It is also remarkable that as many as five of our eleven magistrates come from Perdicia. A second place of this name nearer to Caunus is not to be excluded.

⁵³ *Ét. Anat.* 504 n. 2; cf. *ATL* I, 532.

⁵⁴ Strabo xiv, 651 has: Κάλυδα πόλις εἴτα Καῦνος καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον Κάλβης βαθὺς, ἔχων εἰσγωγὴν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Πισίλιαν. In *ATL* I, 532 n. 4 this Pisilis is boldly identified with Pasanda. μετὰ must apparently mean 'between Calynda and Caunus-cum-Calbis'; the reader might well understand 'between Caunus and the Calbis'.

⁵⁵ Collignon regards this as certain: 'il n'y a pas de doute sur le nom antique de cette imposante forteresse; c'est à coup sûr Imbros, l'acropole des Kauniens' (*BCH* 1877, 339). There are in fact remains of a small fort on the summit of the acropolis hill, shown in Fig. 20; it is remarkable that neither Collignon nor Maiuri advances these as the ruins of Strabo's φρούριον. They seem indeed to have been overlooked.

⁵⁶ In *ATL* the question is made to depend on the value to be attached to the epithet 'snowy'. Since Nicander (*Theriaca* ad fin.) can apply the same epithet to Claros, that value may be thought to be nil.

⁵⁷ xx, 27, quoted in n. 32 above. Note that they are both

neuter adjectives with the article; that is, they are *forts* (φρούρια). There is no room for a third φρούριον here.

⁵⁸ For the identification of Tarbelus I have no evidence to offer. There are several possibilities. (1) The hill north of the city over which runs the long wall. (2) If Imbrus is the name of the fort, Tarbelus may be Ölemez Dağ itself. (3) Kızıltepe is hardly attractive, as in antiquity it lay about two miles from Caunus along the coast. (4) The acropolis hill is also a possibility, if Quintus is thinking of where the man dwelt rather than where Caunus lay. (This is not inconsistent with Diodorus: τὸ Ἡράκλειον may quite possibly have been on the hill Tarbelus.)

⁵⁹ *Stadiasmus* 251-2, among several unknown places between ἱερὰ ἄκρα and Telmessus. Cf. Steph. Byz. Περδικία οὐδενίτιδος, χώρα καὶ λίμνη Λυκίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Περδικαῖος. It is marked conjecturally on Kiepert's map.

⁶⁰ Compare the isolated Rhodian enclave around Daedala (Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 55).

The occurrence of Ptolemais as a Caunian deme is interesting. A Carian Ptolemais was already known from *I. v. Magn.* 59: κατὰ τὰ [αὐτὰ δὲ ἐξηφίσαντο] Ἀντισοχεῖς - - - Εὐρωπεῖ[ς] - - - Ἀλινδεῖς - - - Πτολεμ[αι]ε[ῖς] πρὸς] Κῶ[.]ωι.⁶¹ There can be little doubt that this is the same city mentioned here. Its site is quite unknown. The Ptolemais of *I. v. Magn.* 59, which issues a decree on its own account about 205 B.C., is apparently an independent city; its status must therefore have changed between the dates of the two inscriptions. There is nothing unlikely in this; see on No. 6 below.

For the date of the inscription there seems at present no evidence beyond the style of the lettering, always a precarious criterion. The chief indications of earlier rather than later Hellenistic date are the absence of apices and the form of *nu*, which has fairly consistently the right-hand upright shorter than the left.

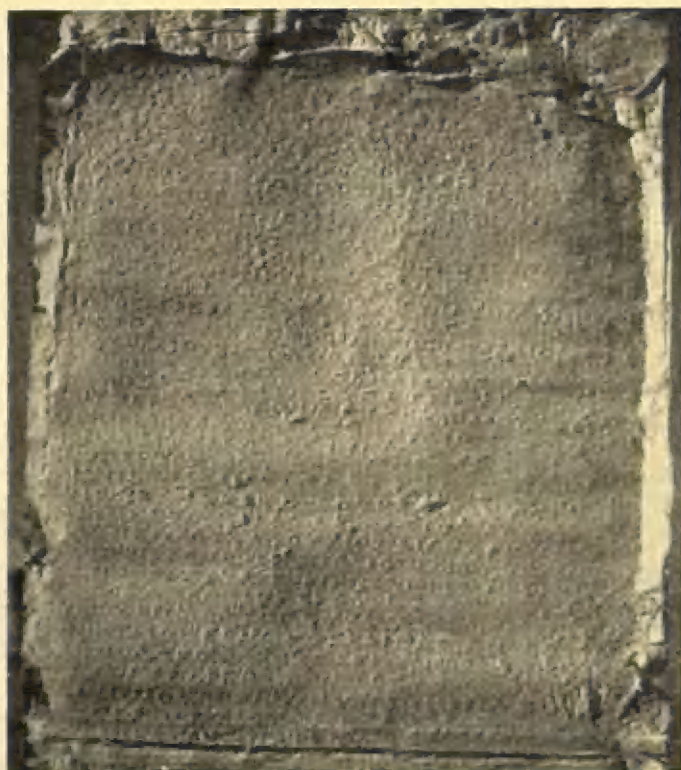


FIG. 21.—INSCRIPTION NO. 6.

6. Lower part of a limestone stele with plain moulding at the bottom; present height 0.48 m., width 0.42 m.; letters 6-7 mm. high. When I saw it in 1947 the stone was lying in the open in the village of Sultaniye (Küçükaraağaç) in the south-west corner of Köyceğiz Gölü; through the good offices of Muharrem Bey it was subsequently transferred to the school at Köyceğiz. The inscription is badly worn and not easy to read. Squeeze Fig. 21.

	[- - - - -] Ἀπολ[- - - - -]	
	[- - - - -] Π]ολυαρεύς	
	[- - - - -] Ἀπολλωνιάτ[η]ς	
	[. . . .] φάνης Ἀγρεοφ[ῶν]τος Πανδαξεύ[ς]	
5	[. .]νων Μη[. . . .]ου Πολυαρεύς	/E
	[. . . .]τος Δρά[κο]ντος Πολυαρεύς	/E
	[. .]ίσιος Θήρωνος Περιδικίαθεν	
	Μηνόδοτος Μηνόδοτου Κορριτίας	/E
	[. .]νων Ἀπολ[λ]ωνίδου Πολυαρεύς	E
10	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ	/E

⁶¹ Discussed by Robert, *BCH* LXX (1946), 518 n. 2, and with reference to the present inscription *Hellenica* VII, 189-90. For the possibility of reading [πρὸς] Κῶ[ν]ωι or [πρὸς] Κῶ[ν]ωι in *I. v. Magn.* 59 see the discussion in *Hellenica*, *loc. cit.* Robert suggests in *BCH*, *loc. cit.*, on numismatical evidence, a possible identification with the rather dubious city of Astyra, described by Stephanus as πόλις Φωνίης κατὰ Ῥόδον (Holstenius κατ' Ἀράβον attractively). The site of this Carian Astyra, if it really existed, is equally unknown; but

if Stephanus' Φωνίη is Strabo's Φωνίη, it must have been on the Loryma peninsula, in the heart of the incorporated Rhodian Peraea. This is no place for a Caunian deme.—Tod in *JHS* LXXII (1952), 50, referring to Robert's mention of the present Nos. 5 and 6 in *Hellenica*, *loc. cit.*, says: 'two inscriptions from Caunus refer to Ptolemais in Caria (Lebedus)'. This was written without knowledge of the actual text of the inscriptions; Lebedus is, of course, an even more absurd situation for a deme of Caunus than the Loryma peninsula.

	καὶ τοῦ ἄλλ[ου υἱ]οῦ Δρά[κ]οντος	/E
	Πύργων Δημητρίου 'Ιο[.]δεύς	/E
	Λητόδωρος 'Ηρα[κ]λείδου Πασανδεύς	/E
	Ξενίας 'Αγρεοφῶν[το]ς Παράβλιος	/E
15	'Αντίπατρος 'Αγρεοφῶντος Παρά[β]λιος	/Δ
	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Λέοντος	Δ
	Ζήνων [.]υ[.] . .] Πτολεμαίεως	
	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σωπάτρου	
	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου υἱοῦ Μενάνδρου	
20	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου [υἱ]οῦ Ζήνωνος	
	Μένανδρος 'Αγρεοφῶ[ν]τος	
	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ	
	καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλο[υ] υἱοῦ	Γ
	Δαμόνικος Βασιλείδου Καλ[υ]νδεύς	Γ
25	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Βασιλείδου	
	[κ]αὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου υἱοῦ Διονυ[σ]ίου	/Γ
	[κ]αὶ οἱ ἐπανγειλάμενοι ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σωσιγένους, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ[ι θι]-	
	[ά]σῳ Θεοδότου τοῦ 'Αντιπάτρ[ο]υ, εἰς τὴν ἐπα[ύ]ξησιν τοῦ θι[ά]σου	
	'Αγρεοφῶν 'Αντιπάτρου	
30	Πύργων Πλουτογένους	Δ
	Δημήτριος Ἑρμῶνος Καρπασσανδε[ύ]ς	
	'Αθηνόδωρος 'Αντιπάτρου Παράβλιος	
	Τρωίλος 'Ανδρέου Α ΝΙ ΙΚΕΥΣ	
	Μένιππος 'Απολλωνίου Συμβρεύς	
35	[κ]αὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ	
	[.]ηνόδωρος 'Αντιπάτρου	

It appears from ll. 27-8 that we have a list of subscribers to a *thiasus*.⁶² As the members of a *thiasus* need not by any means be citizens of Caunus, the place-names in the present list are, or may be, in different case from those in No. 5.

Of the twenty-two persons (excluding the sons) whose subscriptions are recorded, four have no toponymic. It would be desirable to know the status of these, since a good deal turns upon this point. In lists of this kind, where toponymics are added in some cases but not in others, the principle of insertion or omission is not always easy to determine. In the present case there are two obvious possibilities.

The first is that the *thiasus* belongs to one of the demes of Caunus, and that the four persons in question are members of this deme. In this case nothing can be inferred as to the status of the others, who may equally well be citizens of other demes, or foreigners, or a mixture of the two. In favour of this view is the fact that the stone was found at Sultaniye, some distance from the city of Caunus.⁶³ But in this case the proportion of outsiders seems unusually and unnaturally high, as much as nine to two. In similar cases they are normally in a small minority.⁶⁴

The other possibility is that the four persons are understood to be Καῦνιοι. In this case the others are foreigners, and our inscription is exactly parallel to a similar list of subscribers to a *thiasus* at Cnidus,⁶⁵ in which out of twelve names ten are foreigners; the other two, who have no designation, are certainly understood to be Κνίδιοι, and the *thiasus* is a public or city-*thiasus*. If this view be accepted, it results that four of the places named, Pasanda, Carpasyanda, Ptolemais, Perdicia (each occurring once only), have changed their status since the date of No. 5, in which they were seen to be Caunian demes.⁶⁶ There is nothing essentially improbable in this, and it may even be possible to assign a cause for the change. Caunus was Rhodian from ca. 190 to 167 B.C., and again after 82 B.C. The other large city on the mainland possessed for a time by Rhodes was Stratonicea; here there is some evidence to show that the Rhodian policy was to detach from the city her demes

⁶² I am indebted to Prof. L. Robert for the decipherment from my squeeze of these two lines; a subsequent charcoal reading of the stone entirely confirmed it.

⁶³ On the other hand, Sultaniye is close to the shore of the lake, and it is perfectly possible that the stone may have been transported from Dalyan. I could learn of no other ancient remains at Sultaniye.

⁶⁴ I quote a few examples. In *IG* II², 2358, a list of *eranistae*, out of ninety-two names four have demotics added. In *IG* XII, 1, 1442 = *SGDI* 3761, among twenty-nine names one demotic is added. In Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 30, no. 17, out of twenty-five names wholly or partially legible, four have a

demotic. In *IG* XII.1, 4 about one in four has a demotic. The only case I have found which seems to afford a parallel to the present is *IG* II², 1335 (Piraeus), a list of *eranistae*, of whom thirty-six have a demotic, thirteen have an ethnic, and four have no toponymic.

⁶⁵ *GIBM* 795 = *SGDI* 3510 = Michel 1005. Sums range from 300 to 5 dr., but the bottom is missing.

⁶⁶ I take it as certain that No. 6 is considerably later than No. 5. There seem to be no indications of early date in the style of the script. Many of the letters have distinct apices, particularly *tau*, which has a noticeable downward turn at each end of the cross-stroke.

and neighbouring possessions, and to leave them in enjoyment of a considerable measure of independence.⁶⁷ It is natural to suppose that a similar policy would be pursued at Caunus.⁶⁸

It is noticeable that the places named in the present inscription are neither large cities nor, in so far as they can be identified, far removed from Caunus.⁶⁹ The impression received is that they are all small places which looked to Caunus as their urban centre. But it would probably be unsafe to infer from this that they cannot have been politically independent of Caunus. It is not surprising that a city so notoriously unhealthy should have been unpopular with migrating foreigners. Resident aliens from the large cities are in fact conspicuously absent from Caunian epigraphy, in striking contrast to the case of Rhodes.

If these places, or even a majority of them, could be accepted as Caunian demes, we should have an impressive picture of the extent of Caunian territory; if they are foreign towns (as I should prefer to believe), we have probably an indication of Rhodian policy in this part of her subject Peraea. In this unsatisfactory state of ambiguity I must leave the question, hoping that other scholars will be able to bring more certitude to it. I proceed to consider the individual places in the order in which they occur.

Polyara (ll. 2, 5, 6, 9) is known from Stephanus, who calls it πόλις Καρίας. He gives the ethnic as Πολυαρεύς, which is here confirmed. The present is its first appearance in epigraphy.

Apollonia (l. 3, and ? l. 1). A Carian city of this name⁷⁰ is recorded by Pliny *NH* v, 109; it is by general consent located at Medet near Tabae.⁷¹ This is more distant from Caunus than the other places mentioned here (so far as they can be determined), and the name is so common that another Apollonia nearer Caunus should perhaps be admitted as a possibility.

Pandaxa (l. 4) is totally unknown; the reading is reasonably certain. For the termination compare Araxa and Arymaxa, both in western Lycia.

Kορριτίος (l. 8) is very dubious. Repeated examination of the stone and squeeze seems to establish the first two and the last four letters, and the third is nearly certain. As an ethnic or demotic the form of the word is peculiar,⁷² and I can offer no suggestion for an identification with any known name.

Ἰο. δεύς (l. 12) is reasonably assured apart from the third letter, which is destroyed. An Ionda occurs in the text of Diodorus (xiv, 99) in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; but it has aroused some suspicion (see the Teubner text *ad loc.*), and is hardly likely to come in question here.

Parablia (ll. 14, 15, 32) is known from one other inscription,⁷³ in which the *koinon* of the Tarmiani honours a Rhodian γενομένου ἀγεμόνος ἐμισθοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρτούβων καὶ Παραβλείας. Nothing can be inferred from this as to the situation of Parablia beyond the fact that in the first century B.C.⁷⁴ it lay in the Rhodian Peraea, which means in effect anywhere south of Stratonicea as far as Caunus. There is no reason to suppose that it was a member of the league of the Tarmiani. The occurrence of as many as three Parablans in the present list may be thought to suggest a site in the southern rather than the northern part of this region.

Calynda (l. 24) is the best known of the places mentioned here, and has something of a history of its own. The Calyndians make an appearance in Herodotus,⁷⁵ and again, in the form Κλαυνδῆς, in the Athenian tribute-lists, where they pay one talent, or twice as much as Caunus.⁷⁶ Calynda is not mentioned by pseudo-Scylax, but in the middle of the third century it appears as an independent city under Ptolemaic suzerainty.⁷⁷ It was visited by the Delphian theori about 200 B.C., so was presumably still independent at that time.⁷⁸ Soon after this it must have fallen under Caunian control, since in 164 B.C. it revolted from Caunus with Rhodian aid, and was granted to Rhodes by the Senate.⁷⁹ After this date it has virtually no history, though its rare coins are attributed exclusively to the second and first centuries B.C.;⁸⁰ the rise of Caunus was evidently accompanied by a corresponding decline of Calynda. When the province of Lycia and Pamphylia was finally established by Vespasian, Calynda became a member of the Lycian League.

The approximate site of Calynda, not far from Caunus to the east or south-east, is clear from the ancient notices.⁸¹ In this position is the site described by Davies and Arkwright in *JHS* XV

⁶⁷ See Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 127-8.

⁶⁸ This need not necessarily mean that the present inscription dates to a period of Rhodian control over Caunus; the demes, once detached, might have continued independent after that control came to an end.

⁶⁹ Such is not the case in the parallel document from Cnidus, in which the ten foreigners comprise a Libyan, a Phrygian, a Thracian, two natives of Myndus and one each of Aradus, Soli, Selge, Seleucia, and Samos.

⁷⁰ Not included among Stephanus' twenty-five places of the name.

⁷¹ See Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, p. 26, Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 332 n. 1; in Hierocles 689, 2 Apollonias is next to Tabae.

⁷² Can it be a simple genitive in place of the usual *τῆ* + genitive? Is there a parallel for such a phenomenon?

⁷³ *SGDI*, 4275, found at Mugla.

⁷⁴ For the date see *SGDI*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ VIII, 87-8, where they furnish one ship to the Persian fleet at Salamis. It is further clear from I, 172 that they were

neighbours of Caunus.

⁷⁶ Until 425 B.C., when the Caunian tribute was raised to ten talents.

⁷⁷ *P. Cair. Zen.* 59341 a, b (247 B.C.), cf. 59340. Zeno was himself a Caunian and had family connections with Calynda (59341 c).

⁷⁸ *BCH* XLV (1921), 6, where it appears in the singular form *ἡ Καλύνδων*. Jones, *CERP* 50, says Calynda had been absorbed by Caunus by the end of the third century, but the theori would hardly visit a town which was actually incorporated in another city.

⁷⁹ Polyb. xxxi, 5. Our Calyndian has the Rhodian name *Δαμόνικος*, but the significance of this is dubious; *P. Cair. Zen.* 59341 b is addressed to a certain Damonikus, who may also have been a Calyndian.

⁸⁰ *BMC* Lycia xlvī, 48.

⁸¹ Hdt. I, 172; Strabo xiv, 651; Pliny, *NH* V, 103; Ptolemy, V, 3, 2. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 493 n. 2 says it is 'tout à fait incertain'; this is perhaps unduly pessimistic.

(1895), 97, which they suggest may be Calynda.⁸² No coin or inscription has yet been found to identify it, and I was no more fortunate;⁸³ while this decisive evidence is lacking, doubt must remain, but on other grounds the case is undeniably strong. The site is a good one for a city of moderate importance, overlooking and controlling the wide valley of the Indus (Dalaman Çayı); at its foot is the small Kargın Çayı, apparently the ancient Axon. It is at an appropriate distance in the right direction from Caunus, and the distance from the sea agrees closely with the figure given by Strabo.⁸⁴ Moreover, the extant ruins are suggestive of a city that, like Calynda, had its best days early; the total absence of visible Roman remains is very striking.

For ANI KEYΣ (l. 33) I can suggest no plausible restoration, and the reading is very uncertain. Only the first two and the last three letters are beyond doubt; before -εϋς, *gamma* is equally possible.

Symbra (l. 34) is mentioned by Ptolemy (v, 3, 5), and occurs in the list of Lycian cities benefited by Opramoas of Rhodiapolis in the time of Hadrian (*TAM* II. 3. 905, xix c 3). It was evidently in western Lycia, but beyond this its site is quite unknown. In *TAM*, *loc. cit.*, where the names are



FIG. 22.—KOZPINAR. ENCLOSURE-WALL ON SUMMIT.



FIG. 23.—KOZPINAR. TOWER ON SUMMIT.

roughly grouped geographically, Symbra comes between Crya and Arneae. A site in the west of Lycia is also indicated by Ptolemy's placing, and by the apparent fact that it joined the Lycian League only at a late date;⁸⁵ its occurrence in the present inscription also suits this location.

⁸² I visited this spot in 1946 and again in 1950, and was much impressed by its suitability as the site of Calynda. It is now easily accessible, as the new Muğla-Fethiye road passes the foot of the hill. It is called Kozpinar, from the abundant spring which issues by a coffee-house at the roadside, 4 km. from Dalaman Çiftliği towards Fethiye. The site as a whole is more impressive than I had realised from the description in *JHS*. At the top of the hill is the enclosure described by Davies; the style of its wall may be seen in Fig. 22. On the south-east side are two towers of more regular masonry. This wall is now surmounted by another of medieval date. In the north-east corner of this enclosure is a tower or small fort 12.25 by 8.00 m. in area, of good regular Hellenistic masonry, with vertical draft-lines at the corners. In the north-east side of this tower is a door 1.06 m. wide, with corbelled arch (Fig. 23); the wall is here 1.57 m. thick. But a much greater area than this was walled in. Lower down the hillside considerable stretches of a good polygonal ring-wall are preserved, especially on the east side, where it stands to a height of 2-3 m. for a length of over 200 yards; the thickness is 2.10 m. This wall (Fig. 24), though its blocks are more or less polygonal, shows a marked tendency to regular coursing; and 'coursed polygonal' work seems confined to the early Hellenistic period. (Scranton, *Greek Walls*, 52, 69, 165-6. Dr. Scranton, in a private letter, kindly informs me that this wall at Kozpinar does in fact fall within the category of 'coursed polygonal' as he uses the term in his work.) On the west side of the hill, at a lower level, is another stretch of wall 2.50 m. thick, rather more massive and perhaps of earlier date, but apparently part of the same ring-wall. On the north is a vertical precipice in which are the pigeon-hole tombs mentioned by Davies; even above this precipice fragments of wall are visible, as

they are also on the south. The ring-wall, after encircling the hill on the west, runs up to form an angle on the south-east at the top of the hill; in this angle is the inner enclosure described above. The whole area thus enclosed is strewn with immense quantities of building-blocks, many of them carefully squared; numerous foundations of houses, rock-cut and otherwise, are to be seen, and on the east side is a doorway cut in the natural rock. The peasants have dug in several places for treasure, and great tales were told by my guide of the gold and silver that had been found on the hill; about 1939 or 1940 a gold dagger is said to have been dug up, having a female figure on one side and on the other a boar and a snake. My informant spoke only from hearsay; the dagger was apparently sold to an antique-dealer. I saw no remains of public buildings, and in particular nothing that was evidently of Roman date.—In the west face of a low hill called Aladağ near Dalaman Çiftliği is a single rock-cut temple-tomb similar to those at Caunus; it is uninscribed, but presumably belongs to the city at Kozpinar.

⁸³ Among half a dozen coins brought to me at Dalaman was a bronze of Cassander; the others were rubbish.

⁸⁴ 60 stades in Strabo, 6 miles = 9.6 km. on the modern map. Pliny *NH* V, 103 has: *Crya fugitivorum, flumen Axon, oppidum Calynda, amnis Indus*. Between Crya on the gulf of Fethiye and the Kargın Çayı no stream at all enters the sea; since there is no ancient site between the Kargın Çayı and the Dalaman river (*amnis Indus*), we may well suppose that Calynda was on the Axon; if so, this testimony and that of Strabo combined lead precisely to the site at Kozpinar.

⁸⁵ See Jones, *GERP*, 107-8: Crya, Calynda, and Symbra are all in the same case, and were probably not far removed from each other geographically.

Müller proposed (on Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*) to identify it with the city of Xanthus; Ruge in *RE* s.v. rejects this as highly unlikely, and observes that the alternative identification with the ruins at Çukurincir, some 5 km. west of Xanthus, is equally uncertain. A site outside the Xanthus valley to the north-west seems probable.⁸⁶

The subscriptions for each year were apparently arranged, as usual, in descending order of magnitude. The higher figures in ll. 29 sqq. are lost; the Δ in l. 30 may not be the complete sum. The sign for drachma is not exactly paralleled in the list in *Avi-Yonah Abbreviations* 114.⁸⁷

7. Lying in the woods behind M is the large stele concerning the team of judges sent by Caunus at the request of Smyrna, published from my squeeze by Robert *Hellenica* VII, 171 sqq. with a general commentary. The text is very long and repetitive; ⁸⁸ I repeat here only a few points which concern Caunus.

The Caunian decree beginning in l. 60 is headed thus: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μηνοδώρου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου, [μ]ηνὸς Ἰλαστηριῶνος, ἔδοξε Καυνίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· πρυτάνεων γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ κτλ. For the dating by an eponymous priest see Nos. 5, 6, 21. The month Hilasterion is, as Robert notes,



FIG. 24.—KOZPINAR. RING-WALL.

hitherto unexamined. The stele is to be set up (l. 102) ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ: as the stone is unlikely to have been moved far,⁸⁹ the temple of Apollo is no doubt to be looked for in the near neighbourhood.

8. At Candır, lying partly buried in a field some 200 yards to the north of the well marked in Fig. 3, is the upper part of a stele, broken and so worn that most of the inscription has totally disappeared. Present height 0.92 m., width 0.58 m., thickness about 0.18 m. Letters 9 mm. high. Above the text were five crowns (as in No. 7), four of which are still visible. Squeeze Fig. 25, showing only the upper and less illegible part of the stone.

- [ἔδοξε] τῇ βουλ[ῇ] καὶ τῷ δή[μ]ῳ, στρατ[ηγῶν] καὶ τοῦ δεινός τοῦ δεινός
[γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ] τοῦ δήμου πέμπαντος [πρὸς Καυνίους τὸν αἰτησόμενον]
[δικαστήριον, ὁ δῆ]μος ὁ Καυνίων, [φίλος ὑπάρχων καὶ εὖνους τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ]
[προαιρούμενος] ἀπὸ παν[τ]ὸς τοῦ βελτίσ[του] συντελεσθῆναι τὰς κρίσεις,
5 [τὴν πᾶσαν σ]π[ου]δὴν καὶ φιλοτιμ[ί]αν π[οιησ]άμενος [περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν]
[δικαστῶν, ἀπέσ]τειλεν δικαστάς, ἀνδρας [κ]αλοὺς [καὶ ἀγ]αθ[οὺς, τὸν δει]-
[να τοῦ δειν]ός, Ζ[ή]νωνα Κ[-], τὸν δεινα τοῦ δεινός, οἵτινες παραγε]-
[νόμενοι τ]ὰς [μ]ὲν διεδίκασαν τῶν δικῶν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως [καὶ κατὰ τοὺς]
[νόμους, τὴν] πᾶσαν κακοπαθίαν καὶ φιλοπονίαν προσενε[γκάμενοι, τὰς δὲ]
10 [καὶ διέλυσαν] σπου[δάξο]ν[τες] καθ' ὅσον ἦν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τοῦ[ς] δ[ὲ] διαφορομένους]
[τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ὁμόνοια]ν κ[ατέσ]τησαν· ὅπ[ω]ς οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος] φανερός ἦ]
[τοῖς e.g. προσφιλῶς ἐχ]ο[ύσι]ν ἀποδιδούς τὴν καθήκουσαν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν]

⁸⁶ A certain Ἐπιπλος Συμβρεὺς is a member of a Rhodian καὶόν including numerous foreigners in *JG* XII.1. 127, l. 77 (ca. first century B.C.).

⁸⁷ Another unusual sign for drachma in No. 22 below.

⁸⁸ Two small points in the text: (1) in l. 8, καθ' ὅσον ἦν εἰ[ν] ταυτοῖς should perhaps be rather εἰ[φ] ταυτοῖς: cf. No. 8,

l. 10; (2) in l. 10, ἐπειδὴ for ἐπειδὴ is anomalous: on further examination of the squeeze I fancy the lapicide wrote *πε* and corrected it to *καθ*.

⁸⁹ In general, the stones at Caunus have been very little disturbed; there has been no wholesale removal of blocks for building purposes.

- [τύχηι ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι ἐπηνῆσθαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κ[α]υ[νίων ἐπὶ τῇ αἰ]-
 [ρέσει καὶ εὐνοίαι ἢ ἔχων]διατελεῖ [πρ]ὸς τὴν πόλ[ιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποσ]-
 15 [τεῖλαι δικαστὰς ἀξίους ἀμφοτέρων τ]ῶν πόλεων, πε[ρὶ] πλ[είστου τοῦ δίκαιον]
 [ποιουμένους, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν κτλ.]



FIG. 25.—INSCRIPTION No. 8.

The text is restored from that of No. 7, with which it is for the most part identical, though a little less prolix. So close is the resemblance that the author of this decree also can hardly be other than the city of Smyrna. Above the crowns are indistinct traces of lettering which I cannot read.

L. 12. The corresponding passage of No. 7 has τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς προσφερομένοις τῇ εὐνοίαι.

9. Part of a limestone stele, broken at top and bottom, complete on right and left, now 0.81 m. high, 0.38 m. wide, 0.11 thick, formerly in use as a doorstep in a house in the village of Çandır. The stone was transported to Muharrem Bey's office in Dalyan, but when this was converted into a customs-house it appears to have become lost. Letters 10–11 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 26.

[18 lines almost totally illegible]

- [- - - - -] ΟΣΑΥΤΟΙΕΥΧΟ[- - - - -]
 20 [- - - - -]ΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΕΙΝ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΛΙΑΙΓΟΣΕΙΛ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Α . Α . ΠΑ . ΑΕ . ΥΘ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Α . Μ . ΙΝ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΝΟΙ . ΥΟΝ . ΑΤ[- - - - -]
 25 [- - - - -]ΝΤ . ΕΜΡΕΓ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΤΑΡΑΡΑΝΤΙΤΟΥ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Α . . . ΑΜΕ . . . ΚΑΥΝ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΚΑΙΛ . . ΕΝΕΦ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΙΤΑΣΚΕ . . ΛΛΕΙΓΑΝ[- - - - -]
 30 [- - - - -]ΝΟΝΑΕ . . ΤΟΝΚΑΘΩΣ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΣΕΧ . . ΕΝΟΥ . ΙΝΚΑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΑΝΑΙΣΥ . ΣΓΑΙΓΟΣΕΙΔΩ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΜΙΤΙΛ . Τ . . ΙΔΙΑΡΟΛΛΩ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΔΕΤΩΙΑΡΟΛ[- - - - -]
 35 [- - - - -]ΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ v. ΕΡΕΙ[- - - - -]

[- - - - -]ΤΟΝΝΕΟΝΤΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΚΑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΝΧΡΗΣΕΙΚΑΙΕΝ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΟΝΤΟΝΑΕΙΧΡΟΝΟΝ[- - - - -]
 40 [- - - - -]ΕΙΝΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΕΙΝ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΝΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΩΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΓΕΙΘΟ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΜΡΕΙΝ v. ΕΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΤΙΝΙΟ[- - - - -]
 45 [- - - - -]ΑΥΝΙΟΙΕΥΝ[- - - - -]



FIG. 26.—INSCRIPTION No. 9.

The wretched condition of this text is much to be regretted. I need not say that, in the absence of any connected phrase, the reading of the individual letters is very uncertain. The lines contained on an average about thirty-six or thirty-seven letters. From the recognisable words, notably καλλιερειν (ll. 20, 40), ευχομενοις (l. 37, cf. l. 19), πεμπειν (ll. 35, 43, cf. l. 25), Ποσειδων (ll. 21, 32, 41), Ἀπόλλων (ll. 33, 34), we have evidently a *lex sacra* relating to the performance of sacrifices and processions. Καύνιοι seems also to recur (ll. 27, 45). In l. 33 Ἀ[ρ]τ[έμ]ιδι would suit the traces; before it, ΜΠΙ is comparatively clear: ? [Θέ]μιτι. In l. 41 [Ποσειδῶ]γι Ἀσφαλείωι seems assured. In l. 42, ΓΕΙΘΟ is suggestive of Aphrodite Peitho. In ll. 35, 43 πεμπειν evidently ends a clause.

10. In the woods near M, a large statue-base with two foot-holes on top; height 0.63 m., width 0.96 m., thickness 0.74 m. The inscribed surface is badly damaged in the middle. Letters 20-22 mm. high in ll. 1-2, 12-13 mm. in ll. 3-12; omicron and theta smaller. Squeeze Fig. 27.

- [ὁ δῆμ]ος ὁ Καυνίων
 [Ἄν]τι[λέον]τα [Με]νάνδρου
 τοὺς ἀγαθοῦ[ς]ΝΟ[. . .]ΩΣΠΟ[. .]Σ ἄδε παρ' ἐστῶν
 [.]ΕΙΔΚΛΥΣ[. . .]ΤΟ[. .]ΑΣ χάριτας
 5 ὁσσα ΔΕΧΩ[.]καλὰ καὶ φίλα δάμωι
 ἀτρεκέες Ε[.]Ε λίθου
 τὸν δορί Γ[.]ΛΕΥ[.]Λ[.]Α σύμ βασιλεῦσιν
 Βακχιάδαις Ι[.]ἀγεμόσιν
 Ἄντιλέοντα ΔΕΤΑ[.]Ε[. .]ΛΕΟ[.]ΤΑ Μενάνδρου
 10 ὀλβος Ε[.]Ε[.]γεράων
 ὅς δέ ΚΑΙΕ[.]Λ[.]δρου
 ὥρεξεν [.]Λ[.]οισι φίλος

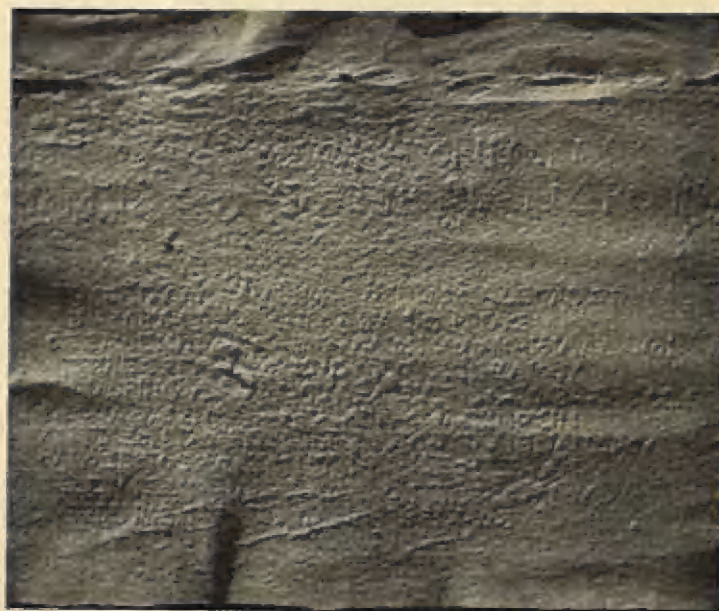


FIG. 27.—INSCRIPTION NO. 10.

L. 2. Restored from l. 9. L. 3. π[ό]λ[ι]ς ἄδε? L. 4. [ἄ]ξια καρύσ[σει]?

The use of the Doric dialect is remarkable; I hardly know whether it may be explained by the allusion to the Bacchiadae in l. 8. There can be no question of Rhodian influence, unless the inscription is later than I think it is; I should judge it to be of the third century.

This is the only metrical inscription yet discovered at Caunus.



FIG. 28.—INSCRIPTION NO. 11.

11. Fragment of a round base of white marble, broken on all sides, among the ruins near M. Height 0.29 m., width 0.47 m. Letters 15-16 mm. high in ll. 1-2, 8-9 mm. in ll. 3-5. Squeeze Fig. 28.

[- - - - -]
 [- -] η ἀρε[τῆς ἐνεκα]
 [κ]αὶ εὐνοίας τ[ῆς εἰς - -]

Ἐπίχαρμος Μελί[- - - καὶ]
 Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐπιχάρ[μου Ῥόδιος ?]
 ἐποίησαν

The two Epicharmi whose signature occurs here can hardly be other than the father and son already well known from Rhodian inscriptions. In all other cases their joint signature runs: Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς, ὧι ἁ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται, καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐπιχάρμου Ῥόδιος ἐποίησαν.⁹⁰ The son's signature does not otherwise occur, but earlier works by the father are signed either Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς, ὧι ἁ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται⁹¹ or merely Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς.⁹² This last signature is evidently the earliest, used before the grant of ἐπιδαμία at Rhodes, and dates *ca.* 150–140 B.C. In the present inscription the father apparently uses his patronymic, of which this is the first evidence. The reason for this proceeding is not immediately obvious. It seems virtually certain that Epicharmus senior obtained the ἐπιδαμία before his son began to be associated with him, and therefore possessed it when he signed the Caunian base. Considerations of symmetry make it unlikely that ὧι ἁ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται was added in l. 3, but the possibility cannot perhaps be entirely excluded. If it was added, Caunus must have been Rhodian at the time, and the inscription dates after 82 B.C., giving the father a very long career. No reason appears for varying the normal formula in this way, and it seems infinitely more likely that Caunus was not Rhodian at the time in question; Epicharmus senior falls back on his patronymic because nothing else is available: Σολεύς alone would be misleading, and Ῥόδιος incorrect, and mention of the ἐπιδαμία would be inappropriate in a foreign city. I take it that the inscription dates before 84 B.C., perhaps considerably before.⁹³

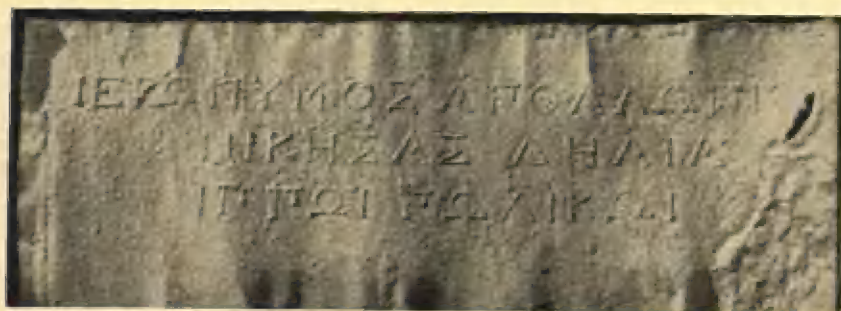


FIG. 29.—INSCRIPTION NO. 12.

12. At Ilica, a damaged marble block 0.46 m. high, 0.77 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick, built into a late wall, and possibly brought from Dalyan for the purpose. Letters 20–22 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 29.

Ἱερώνυμος Ἀπολλωνίου⁹⁴
 νικήσας Δήλια
 ἵππῳ πωλικῷ

Horse-racing on Delos was first instituted by the Athenians in the fifth century, according to Thucydides (III, 104), but allusions to it are rare.⁹⁵

It appears that during the period of Delian independence, 314–166 B.C., the Delia were not celebrated, but reappear towards the end of the second century;⁹⁶ the present inscription belongs naturally to the later period, and to judge by the style of the script, to the earlier part of it.

13. Built into the bottom corner of a late wall near M, a limestone block of good quality 0.45 m. high, 0.63 m. wide, 0.56 m. thick; the upper surface is not visible. Letters 13–15 mm. high, 9–10 mm. in l. 7. Squeeze Fig. 30.

⁹⁰ *IG* XII.1. 43, 47, 66, 846 (= *SGDI* 3779, 3792, 3802, 4200), Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II 197 g, 246, 281 a.

⁹¹ *Lindos* II 232, 235, 236.

⁹² *IG* XII. 3. 103 (Nisyros), *Lindos* II 234.

⁹³ Holleaux in *Rev. Phil.* XVII (1893), 176 (= *Ét. d'Ép. et d'Hist. Gr.* I, 387), arguing from recurrence of names, concluded that the Epicharmi might be working together about the beginning or towards the middle of the first century B.C. This seems certainly too late, and inspires doubts as to

the validity of this method of argumentation.

⁹⁴ The final *upsilon* was visible in 1946 on a separate fragment, since lost.

⁹⁵ The victory Δήλια ἄρματι recorded in *IG* II² 2971 (late fourth century) is now taken to refer to the Delia at Tanagra: see the note *ad loc.* and in *Syll.*³ 319. For an epigraphical reference to the hippodrome see Roussel, *Delos Col. Ath.* 157.

⁹⁶ Roussel, *Delos Col. Ath.* 208–210, cf. Laidlaw, *Hist. of Delos*, 48.

Πολύξενος Φιλάγρου
 νικήσας τοὺς ποιητάς
 τῶν τραγωδιῶν δις
 ἐν τοῖς τιθεμένοις ὑπὸ
 5 τοῦ δήμου Λητοῖ καὶ Ῥώμῃ
 πενταετηρικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
 Κλέαρχος Κλεάρχου Καύνιος ἐποίησεν

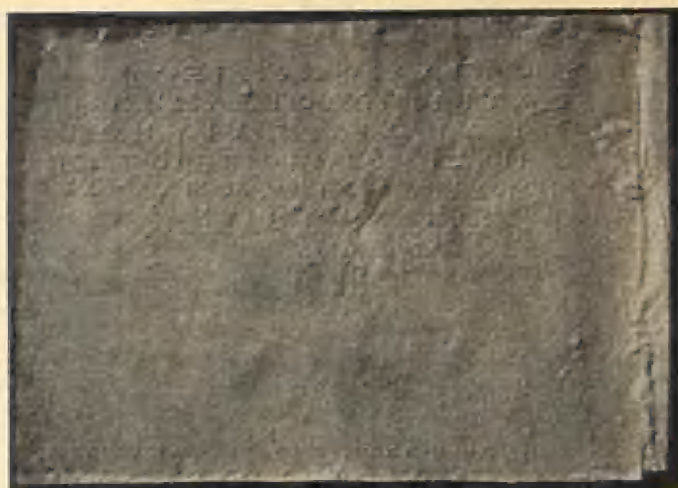


FIG. 30.—INSCRIPTION NO. 13.

The cult of Leto was widespread in the south-west corner of Asia Minor, especially of course in Lycia. In the neighbourhood of Caunus it is attested at Physcus (Strabo xiv, 652; *SGDI* 4266) and at a point on the coast below Calynda not yet identified (Strabo xiv, 651), also on the island of Syme (*SGDI* 4287). For the personal name Λητόδωρος at Caunus see Nos. 5, 18, and (b) in n. 3.

The cult of Dea Roma was established in many Asiatic cities during the second century,⁹⁷ but I know of no other example of such a coupling of the cult with that of a Greek deity.⁹⁸

The sculptor Clearchus is, so far as I am aware, otherwise unknown; but he is not the only Caunian artist recorded: see *IG* XIV, 1232 (Andreas and Aristomachus) and Kaibel's note *ad loc.*

14. Standing beside No. 4 at M, and perhaps *in situ*, a base 0.76 m. wide, 0.58 m. thick, and at least 0.75 m. high. Letters 18–19 mm. high: *zeta* has the form *Ι*. Squeeze.

Μηνοφῶν Ζήνωνος
 [Μη? Ζη?]νοφάνην Μηνοφώντος
 τὸν υἱόν

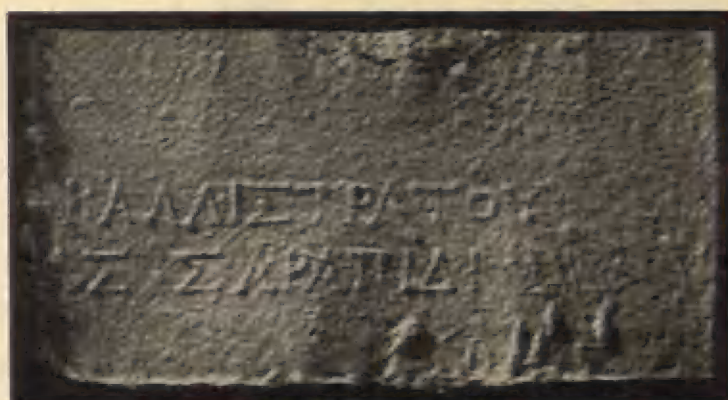


FIG. 31.—INSCRIPTION NO. 15.

15. In the village of Dalyan, built into a bridge over a stream beside the market-place, a rectangular block 0.21 m. high, 0.55 m. wide, 0.32 m. thick. Letters 20 mm. high, *omicron* smaller. The inscription is complete except on the left. Squeeze Fig. 31.

[ὁ δεῖνα] Καλλιστράτου
 [ιερατεύς?]ας Σαράπιδι

⁹⁷ List in *Magie, Roman Rule*, 1613.

⁹⁸ It seems hardly possible that we are meant to understand

two separate festivals, at each of which Polyxenus won one victory.

16. On a loose block, broken right and left, found close to the south side of the theatre; height 0.19 m., width 0.435 m., thickness 0.21 m. The inscription is complete on the left, uncertain on the right. Letters 26–27 mm. high, *omicron* and *omega* smaller. Squeeze.

Ἀπόλλωνος

Date about the beginning of the Empire. For the cult of Apollo at Caunus compare Nos. 7, 9, and 12; it is evident that his sanctuary was among the important ones in the city (Robert *Hellenica* VII, 178).

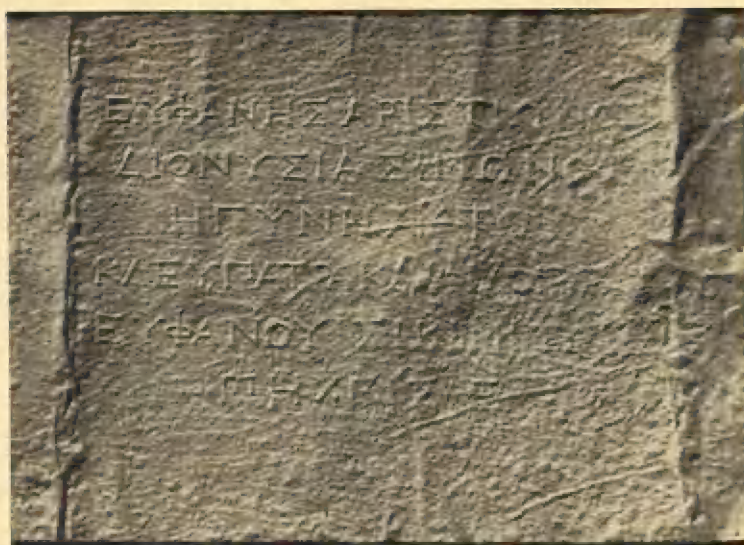


FIG. 32.—INSCRIPTION No. 17.

17. Rectangular block 0.47 m. high, 0.34 m. wide, 0.14 m. thick, found at the southern foot of the western extension of the acropolis hill; now in the customs-house at Dalyan. Letters 13–15 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 32.

Εὐφάνης Ἀριστίωνος,
Διονυσία Σίμωνος
ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ,
Κλευπάτρα καὶ ΦΙΛΟΓΛ[- -]
5 Εὐφάνου Σικιμίται,
πήχεις ε'

L. 4. Φιλοπά[τρα]?

L. 5. The reading Σικιμίται seems assured, and relates presumably to some small place near Caunus otherwise unknown. Σικιμίτης occurs a number of times in Josephus⁹⁹ as one of the various forms of the ethnic of Sichem in Samaria, but it seems unlikely that Euphanes and his family came from there.¹⁰⁰ (Stephanus Byzantiū, referring presumably to the same town, has: Σίκημος, πόλις Ἀραβίας . . . τὸ ἔθνικόν Σικήμιος καὶ Σικημίτης.) Σικινίται is not a possible reading.

L. 6. Of πήχεις ε' two explanations suggest themselves. The first is that the inscription is an epitaph and that the five cubits defines the area round the tomb which is reserved and may not be occupied by others. But there are several reasons against this. First, no tomb is to be seen at the place where the stone was found; there is a group of three or four plain pigeon-hole tombs in the face of the hill near the top (P in Fig. 3), but the stone can hardly belong to one of these. Second, πήχεις ε' alone seems an inadequate indication of extent. In similar cases the area is normally defined with greater precision.¹⁰¹ Finally, the names in the nominative alone, without a verb, are not in accordance with epitaphic practice at Caunus, so far as this is at present known.¹⁰² The second explanation is that Euphanes and family erected at their own expense a five-cubit stretch of some public construction. If this is the meaning, the construction in question might possibly be the city wall which runs over the hill, and from which the stone might have rolled to the spot where it was found.¹⁰³ But there is about half-way up the eastern slope of the hill a levelled space

⁹⁹ As Dr. P. M. Fraser pointed out to me.

¹⁰⁰ For the general absence of foreigners, at least from distant cities, at Caunus see above p. 25.

¹⁰¹ For example: *IG* XIV, 1771, ἡ θύαν πόδες ι', ἡ πλευρὸν πόδες ια'; *ibid.* 1911, τόπος ἐκαρίσση . . . μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς θύρας τῆς κοινῆς, in *fr(ontem) p(edes)* XVI, in *ag(rum) p(edes)* XVII; Judeich, *Altortümer von Hierapolis* no. 116, ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος μήκους πήχεις ε', πλάτους πήχεις η'; cf. *ibid.* nos. 159, 262, *IG* XII. 1. 736.

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¹⁰² The Caunian formulae are: (1) genitive alone (Nos. 18, 19, 43); (2) τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον (ἡρώων etc.) (ιστῶν) τοῦ εἰσινος (Nos. 41¹, 44, 45 and (b) in n. 3); (3) ὁ δεινὸς χρηστὴ χεῖρ (Nos. 18a, 39, 40 and (e) in n. 3). Nos. 41¹ and 42 are somewhat different.

¹⁰³ I should add that this wall is clearly much older than the date of the inscription, so that we should need to suppose Euphanes contributed to a repair, of which I saw no evident signs.

supported on the north by a wall of good ashlar masonry; here are visible the foundations of a good-sized building which may perhaps be that which Euphanes helped to construct.

18. At B¹ in Fig. 3 are two rock-cut tombs side by side; the interiors are plain rectangular chambers. That on the right had a handsome marble façade, which is now completely thrown down, but parts of it are lying close by. On the three *fasciae* of the lintel-block, broken on right and left, is the following inscription in letters 5 cm. high. Squeeze Fig. 33.

[τοῦ δεινός] τοῦ Ἰάσονος ἱμβρίου κα[ι]
[Κλευτ?]άτρας τῆς Οἰκοδάμαν[τος]
[μ]ητρὸς δὲ Λυσιμάχου πατ[ρός].

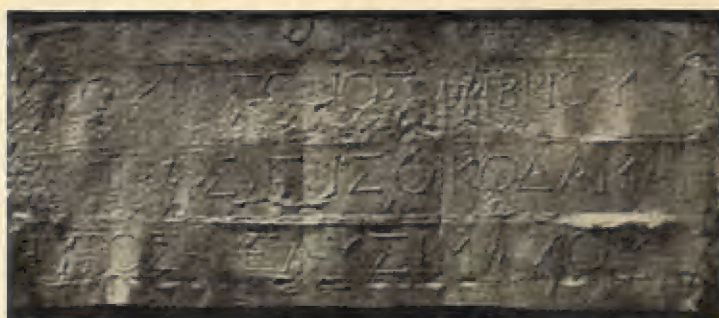


FIG. 33.—INSCRIPTION NO. 18.

The above restoration may be incomplete. For the demotic ἱμβριος see Nos. 5 and 21. For the family see No. 19.

18a. On the left-hand upright of the door of the same tomb, written across the *fasciae*, is a late inscription in fairly regular letters 18–20 mm. high. Squeeze.

Ναύκρ	ατις	Κλει-
νίου	καὶ	
Λητό	δωρε	
Δοκί	μου	
χρησ	τοῖ χ	αίρε-
	τε	

I have not elsewhere seen Naucratis as a personal name.

19. At Dağdibi, some 45 minutes east of Dalyan, now serving as support for a bridge over the Sarioz, is a lintel-block similar to No. 18 carrying the inscription published inexactly by Collignon in *BCH* 1877, 346. The lintel has three *fasciae*, line 1 being written on the frame above. Letters 4 cm. high. Squeeze (ll. 1–2 only) Fig. 34.

Ἡδίστη[ς] τῆς Πτολεμαίου, προμαίας δὲ
Λυσιμάχου Ἡδίστης τῆς Οἰκοδάμαντος,
καὶ Ἰερωνύμου τοῦ Ἰάσονος
καὶ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἰάσονος

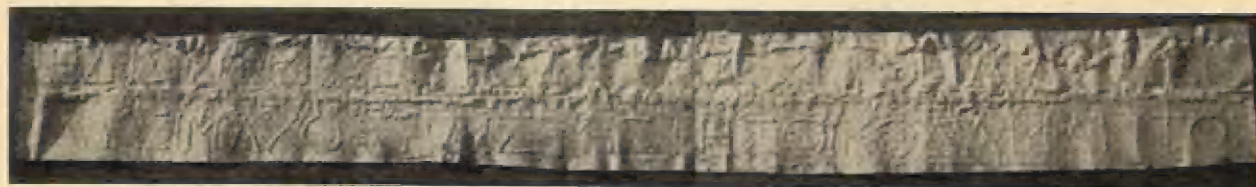


FIG. 34.—INSCRIPTION NO. 19.

The reading in l. 1 is quite assured. πρόμαια appears to be ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, meaning presumably 'great-grandmother'. Since μαία = 'grandmother' is a peculiarity of the Doric dialect,¹⁰⁴ we have apparently one of the few traces of Rhodian influence observable in the inscriptions of Caunus.

¹⁰⁴ *LSJ* s.v., quoting *IG* XII. 3. 1120 (Melos). Cf. *SGDI* 3802 = *IG* XII. 1. 66. On the other hand, in *IG* XII. 1. 1029 (= *SGDI* 4317) (Carpessus), ὑπὲρ τῆς μάας Φύσιος Ἀλεξανδρίδος, it has evidently the usual meaning 'nurse, foster-mother';

Φύσιος is clearly a slave-name. The difference of spelling may correspond to a difference of meaning, since this particular interchange of vowels is otherwise unknown in Rhodian epigraphy (*SGDI* 4317, cf. Thumb-Kieckers, *Handb. der Gr. Dialekte*, 187).

Nos. 18 and 19 are evidently not far removed from each other in date, and the occurrence of three names in common leaves no doubt that both relate to the same family. That Hediste is called 'great-grandmother of Lysimachus' might appear to suggest that Lysimachus was a distinguished man; but the form of the inscription is probably no more than a concise way of mentioning all the five generations.

From the style of the lettering (notably the *pi* with short right-hand stroke) and the Doricism *πρόμαα*, the two inscriptions may be judged to date from the period of Rhodian domination in the first century B.C.

(To be continued)

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE 'HELENA' OF EURIPIDES

THE 'Helena' remains a strangely misunderstood play. Although it has attracted rather less than its fair share of editorial attention in recent years,¹ it has come in for some incidental judgements of marked asperity²; otherwise it generally escapes with nothing better than qualified praise, and indeed one may suspect that it is remembered by many more for the exegetical extravaganza which Verrall built round it³ than for its own content. In antiquity, however, the play does not seem to have given such offence; though in later times overshadowed by the notoriety of the *Andromeda*,⁴ produced in the same year, we know that the *Helena* made a sufficiently striking impression on its first appearance in 412 B.C., for in the following year Aristophanes drew freely on both these plays in his *Thesmophoriazousae* for material for as sustained and lively a passage of parody⁵ as any to be found in his extant works.

There may be little hope at this interval of time of discovering what the ancients may have seen in the piece that apparently escapes us, but a sympathetic attempt to see what Euripides was trying to do may lead to some modification of the prevalent opinion, and a juster estimate of the play.

Aristophanes called it τὴν καινὴν 'Ελένην⁶ and must by this have meant the 'new-fangled' play about Helen. This is usually taken to be no more than an allusion to the novel variant⁷ of the traditional myth that Euripides used here, whereby it was not Helen but a Phantom of her that went to Troy, while the real Helen is spirited away to Egypt, to lead a life of exemplary virtue. So critics often seem content for the rest with calling attention to the many similarities⁸ the play has with the *I.T.* which Euripides wrote at about the same time,⁹ the combined effect of which seems rather to tell against the 'novelty' of the *Helena*. There are, however, some marked differences which call for discussion, and chief among these (because it affects the whole presentation) is the sustained flavour of philosophical allusion, which, absent from the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, runs all through the first two-thirds of the *Helena*. In particular, as F. Solmsen pointed out,¹⁰ we have repeated references to the contrast of *δνομα* and *πράγμα*, brought out at least ten times explicitly and elsewhere indirectly. It is noteworthy that in his other extant plays Euripides does not seem to make much of this contrast,¹¹ but considerations of this mildly philosophical nature consort well with the train of thought suggested by the ghost-Helen story.

If this is on the right lines, other features of the play fall into place. Against an 'intellectualist' setting of this sort such matters as the pacifism of the first stasimon,¹² the antiquarian interest,¹³ and the aetiology¹⁴ are appropriate, and the total effect is such that we may believe that Euripides is here offering us a play in which the tense dramatic economy normal in the fifth century is subordinated to the effective presentation against the familiar tragic background of a set of ideas that were much in people's minds at the time. Though there is a lightness of touch in places, I conceive that a serious and at times piquant intellectual exercise is demanded of the audience. When to this is added the natural excitement aroused by the situation in which the characters are placed and by the working out of the escape-intrigue, we have a play interesting in itself and, in spite of all its formal similarities with the *I.T.*, original both in content and treatment.

Before amplifying these contentions by an analysis of the play itself, one difficulty must be met at the outset: how could an Athenian audience be sure that they were meant to take the play in this 'intellectualist' sense? Euripides would have been taking a grave risk if he had not given at least a clue to his purpose early in the piece; in fact, the prologue, spoken by Helen, supplies it. She first tells us who the notables in Egypt are: then she outlines her own ancestry and says how she comes to be there. On the story of Leda's egg her comment is 'εἰ σαφὲς οὗτος λόγος'—'if this

¹ Leaving aside J. T. Sheppard's elegant verse translation (1932), the last English edition is that by A. C. Pearson (1903), unpretentious but useful. Wecklein produced a German one on a similar scale in 1907, and this is the most recent apart from three in Italian (Terraghi, 1912, Taccone, 1931, and Camelli, 1935).

² As, for example, that of Wilamowitz: 'vercor enim ut ipse in tragoedia cuius ipsi numeri bitem mihi movent commoraturus sim' (*Analecta Euripidea*, p. 241) and later 'sed mittamus Helenam, in cuius ulceroso corpore desultoria opera parum proficit' (*ibid.*, p. 244).

³ *Four Plays of Euripides*, pp. 43 ff.

⁴ *Ar. Ran.* 52 and scholiast on *Ar. Ran.* 53; see also the story in Lucian *Conscr. Hist.* 1.

⁵ *Ar. Thesm.* 857 ff.

⁶ *Ar. Thesm.* 850.

⁷ This may be, as Pisani sought to show (*Ric. Fil. Class.* 56, 1928, pp. 491 ff.) good Indo-Hellenic folk-lore with a close counterpart in the Tenth Rig Veda, and so not an invention of

Stesichorus at all. The story was in Euripides' mind when he wrote his *Electra* (lines 1280-3) and may have been more familiar to a fifth-century Athenian audience than the comparatively few references to it in ancient literature might lead us to suppose.

⁸ See works cited by Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* II, p. 519, note 11.

⁹ It would materially assist our enquiry if we could determine which of these two plays was written first. Opinion is still divided (see references in Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 520, notes 3 and 4).

¹⁰ *Classical Review* 48 (1934), pp. 119 ff.

¹¹ We find it in *Eur. I.T.* 504 and *Or.* 390 (both cited by Solmsen).

¹² 1151 ff.

¹³ 865 ff., 1258 ff., etc.

¹⁴ 1665 ff. I hope to show in a separate paper that the 'Mountain Mother' chorus (1301-68) has in fact an aetiological significance that explains its relevance to the play.

tale is true' (line 21). Professor Kitto¹⁵ has called attention to the scepticism of this remark, and the point is sound: of course the audience did not believe the egg-story literally, and would find it surely a piquant intellectual novelty to hear Helen herself on the stage casting doubt on it too. A few lines further we get corroboration: 'Hera compounded a living Phantom out of sky and made it like me and gave it to King Priam's son; and he believes that he has got me. This is idle belief, for me he has not' (lines 33-6). The contrast of belief and reality is familiar enough, but is here followed shortly by the first reference to the contrast to which I called attention above: 'it was not I but my name that was put up to draw men to battle with Trojans' (lines 42-3) and she ends her speech with a variation on the same theme: 'I am a suppliant at this tomb . . . to the end that if I bear a name disgraced all over Greece, yet here my body at least may not incur shame' (lines 65-7).

With these considerations in mind, it is perhaps easier to see how Euripides accepted improbabilities in the opening of his play. We are asked to believe that Helen has been living for a number of years¹⁶ in Egypt, with no inkling of the fall of Troy, and that in spite of the presence in the palace of an omniscient prophetess who 'knows all that is and is to be' (line 14) in virtue of the gift of prophecy that runs in the family (προγόνου λαβοῦσα, line 15).

Slovenly craftsmanship by Euripides, one might think; but there is worse to come. The prologue over, Teucer enters on his way to Salamis in Cyprus. He appears for less than 100 lines, and all he has done¹⁷ before he goes off, to take no further part in the play, is to bring Helen up to date in regard to τὰ Τρωϊκά. It would have been much more economical to have made Theonoe speak a prologue that would have done the work not only of Helen's prologue but of the Teucer scene as well. But it would have been far harder by those means to strike the required note of abstract speculation had Theonoe spoken the introduction, and the Teucer scene has its purpose. His reaction here to the sight of what he conceives to be Helen's double is meant to foreshadow the similar situation a few hundred lines later when Menelaus will appear in his turn to be confronted by her. For the moment Helen's identity is not disclosed, but the stichomythia comes very close to home at at least one point, for when Teucer asks: 'Do you know one Achilles, Peleus' son' (line 98) she is visibly taken aback (as her *voi extra metrum* shows), but she recovers herself with the answer: 'He came once as a suitor of Helen's, so we hear.' Plainly she cannot tell Teucer about an old love-affair of hers, and reveal her identity, but how well this comes from her! For though Teucer comments on her similarity to Helen, in hardly flattering terms, he does not recognise her.

Incidentally, by misinforming Helen of Menelaus' fate (line 132) Teucer is dramatically useful, for this helps to make the subsequent recognition scene more exciting; also in lines 117 ff. we seem to have a reminiscence of Epicharmus¹⁸ (line 122), if the text is sound, with the problem of cognition cutting across the dialogue.¹⁹

Two sections of *Kommos*, separated by a speech of Helen, follow, and do not concern us here. Helen, pathetically concerned at what she supposes people to be thinking of her and depressed by her circumstances, accepts the chorus' remarkably practical suggestion²⁰ of going to consult Theonoe, and she and they leave the stage together to reappear some 130 lines later. It is essential to have them out of the way, for Menelaus now enters. Here he is portrayed not as the 'type of Spartan arrogance', as Jebb described him, quite accurately, when commenting on Sophocles' *Ajax*²¹ nor as the μάλακος αἰχμητής of the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*, a description taken up by Plato in the *Symposium*²² banteringly and by Athenaeus²³ quite seriously. Here rather he has a good deal of the 'Miles Gloriosus' about him. Like others of this eternal type to be found in all ages, he is somewhat limited intellectually, but an excellent man to do the right thing in a crisis, as indeed his part in the organisation of the escape later shows. He is now seen, however, somewhat at a disadvantage. He has been shipwrecked, and has left what is in fact the Phantom Helen in a convenient cave guarded by his surviving sailors; now attired in a piece of sailcloth (Aristophanes²⁴ supplies this detail) he has come to find out where he is and to get assistance.

Having proclaimed his identity with an outburst of genealogical information, he alludes to the morale and size of the force under his command at Troy, in characteristic style: 'For I believe that I marshalled the greatest seaborne host against Troy—and not in boast do I say it—as a commander governing with no force at all but ruling over the young men of Greece with their compliance'. This kind of naïve democratic propaganda was always popular in fifth-century Athens; there may be something Socratic in it, as a passage in Xenophon suggests,²⁵ though it is based on familiar enough thoughts in Thucydides.²⁶ A few lines later he stamps himself beyond question as the literary ancestor of the 'Miles Gloriosus' by his use of the first person singular in the phrase πύργους ἔπρεσα,²⁷ and goes on in a style consciously reminiscent of the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey* to tell of his escape upon the keel of his shipwrecked boat; the whole tone of this speech and its literary echoes are admirably attuned to the demands of the play.

¹⁵ *Greek Tragedy*, p. 319.

¹⁶ In lines 775-6 Menelaus gives it as seventeen.

¹⁷ The reference to Salamis in line 130 may have a veiled political point, but if it has, I cannot see that it is more than an incidental reference.

¹⁸ fr. 249.

¹⁹ Cf. Solmsen, *op. cit.*, p. 121. ²⁰ 325 ff.

²¹ On Soph. Aj. 1046. Cf. 100 Eur. *Androm.* 445 ff. (quoted by Jebb).

²² 174a ff.

²³ V, 178a.

²⁴ *Mem.* IV, 6, 12. ²⁵ *E.g.* II, 37, 2.

²⁶ *Thesm.* 934-402.

An Old Woman answers his knock, and the pair have a lively dialogue with plenty of colloquial idiom and scope for acting on both parts. Eventually Menelaus finds out to his dismay that he has come to Egypt, whose king is in the habit of killing any stray Greek visitors on sight because of the presence there of a certain Helen, daughter of Zeus. She is a Tyndarid and, to cap it all, came from Sparta before the Achaeans ever got to Troy (lines 470-6). This is altogether too much for Menelaus: 'I can't have had (οὐ τί πόν) my wife snatched from the cave, can I?' is his exquisite reaction, and on the Old Woman's exit he tries desperately to make sense of his situation in a thirty-line monologue. Its apparent incoherence in our manuscript tradition is surely genuine, and no lines need transposition or elimination.²⁸ We have the slow-witted Menelaus, confronted with a situation not envisaged in the ordinary experience of a military man, and embarrassed by miscellaneous thoughts crowding in upon him, all tending to increase his confusion rather than otherwise, so that in the end he gives the problem up. An undercurrent of philosophical terminology runs through the speech, and, as is to be expected, the identity of name is stressed: '... another woman having the same name as my own wife is living in this palace' (lines 487-8). She was, furthermore, Zeus' daughter (489), so he casts around for an explanation, but the best he can do is 'still, can there be a man with the name of Zeus by the banks of the Nile?' (490-1). The objection to this comes in a flash: 'No, the one in Heaven is a unity'—εἰς γὰρ ὁ γε κατ' οὐρανόν. This last piece of philosophical cliché comes very well from the not very clever Menelaus, as does line 494: 'and she is spoken of by the name of Tyndareus' child with qualification' (ἀπλοῦν, applied to the recurrent word ὄνομα). Bewildered by the direction in which his logic, such as it is, is taking him, he comes out with the further question, 'What land has the same name (ξυνώνυμος) as Lacedaemon and Troy?' Helplessly he concludes, 'Yes, apparently many people in the wide world have the same names,—city same as city and woman same as woman. One must be surprised at nothing'. Not even yet has he finished with the idea of ὄνομα, for he finally decides that no one is so uncivilised that on hearing his name, he will refuse him a meal. Once more we have the characteristic first person singular in line 523 (ἤψα), and thus, after a mention of the not very promising alternative plan of slinking away if the King looks forbidding, he brings his speech to an end with a commonplace couplet that recalls a fragment of the *Melanippe Sapiens*.²⁹

It is at this point that the chorus re-enter with Helen. She does not see Menelaus for a dozen lines or so, and it seems that he must be making the most of the acting situation by keeping the tomb between himself and her. This would then be a foreshadowing of the trick of acting which he certainly does employ some six hundred lines later after the entry of Theoclymenus. There, after the King has been on the stage for nearly forty lines, Helen points out Menelaus to him with the words 'τῷδ' ὑποπτήξας τάφῳ'³⁰—'cowering beneath this tomb', describing the attitude he must have been adopting since line 1165. Here, however, when she does see him, Helen first thinks that it is not Menelaus at all, but part of a plot by Theoclymenus to force her away from her tomb-sanctuary. Nevertheless, the recognition-scene in lively stichomuthia follows. She does her best to meet her husband's very natural perplexity by explaining to him about the Phantom, with a significant allusion to αἶθήρ³¹ ('space') as the creative principle of it, but Menelaus is not to be convinced. He is on the point of going away, in spite of her pathetic: 'Will you leave me and export a phantom bride?'³² when in the nick of time the First Messenger appears. In the set style of the messenger-speech, even quoting, as often, the last words of the departing character, he tells of the miraculous disappearance of the Helen in the cave (lines 605-15).

Next this worthy but obviously uneducated body is in his turn confronted with the real Helen, of whom he now catches sight. His surprise finds expression in some colloquial idiom, which perhaps imparts an exaggeratedly comic tone to his utterance. However the audience may have reacted, the messenger is giving us a realistic representation of the common man (Homer's τις) faced with a situation so paradoxical:

'O greeting to you, daughter of Leda,—you here, after all? And I telling how you had gone to the depths of the stars, with no idea that you had a winged form. I forbid you to chide us about this afresh, as you have caused troubles enough at Troy to your husband and his allies'. (Lines 616-21.)

There is an obvious reminiscence of Aeschylus³³ in the last line but one, but it is the colloquialism which proves infectious, and Menelaus cuts him short with his idiomatic³⁴ 'τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖνο'—'that's just it: her story is proved true', and a sentimental piece of lyric dialogue between husband and wife follows.

This over, we have an interlude in which the Messenger is allowed the privilege of reminiscence accorded by custom in all societies to an Old Retainer. He indulges in some sententious reflections on τύχη, the mutability of human affairs and the unpredictability of the Divine Purpose.³⁵ This motive occurs later in the second strophe of the first stasimon,³⁶ where it leads up naturally to the pacifism of the following antistrophe; here, however, the point is not so clear, and it may have

²⁸ Perhaps it is an improvement to read line 500 as a question.

²⁹ fr. 484 (Nauck²).

³⁰ 1203.

³¹ 584.

³² 590.

³³ A. Ag. 511.

³⁴ 622.

³⁵ 711-21. It is worth noting that the metaphor in lines

712-13 is generally misinterpreted. ἀναίρεσιν here refers to the moving of pieces on a draughts-board, as is shown by the use of φέρωσιν in Plato, *Rep.* 487b.

³⁶ 1137 ff.

had some reference to current thought that we cannot now reconstruct with certainty. He goes on (720-1) with lines which seem to contain an obvious echo of the often-quoted Palinode of Stesichorus, and then lives over again his part at Helen's wedding when he ran beside the bridal car; next he indulges in a not unfamiliar reflection about noble slaves, but in this instance interestingly worded: 'not enjoying the name of freedom, but free in outlook'.³⁷ Menelaus packs him off with orders for the other sailors, but the messenger has not finished yet: before his exit he treats us to as round and outspoken a denunciation of pseudo-prophecy as any in Euripides (745-57). This looks like a simple comment on the high feeling against prophets of all sorts caused by the failure of the Sicilian expedition of which Thucydides tells us,³⁸ and is easily understood in this play; interesting however, is his last line (757), γνῶμη τ' ἀρίστη μαντις ἢ τ' εὐβουλία, in which εὐβουλία has clearly-marked sophistic associations.³⁹

When the messenger finally does go, a discussion takes place between Helen and Menelaus. Apart from the two further occurrences of the ὄνομα-πρᾶγμα contrast (lines 792, 822), this passage is interesting for the manner of its presentation. In their efforts to think out a plan of escape, they employ a method of *reductio ad impossibile* (lines 802-42) which may be rightly associated with Gorgias.⁴⁰ They have been able to arrive at nothing better than the expedient of the pact of mutual suicide when the crisis suddenly develops with the entry of the omniscient Theonoe. At all costs Theoclymenus must not get to know of Menelaus' arrival, but there seems to be no way of preventing it. Meanwhile the prophetess' entrance is being staged with, as Musgrave pointed out long ago, precise attention to details of Egyptian custom.⁴¹ Seeing Menelaus, she tells him that a Council of Gods is now taking place to settle his fate; Hera has changed her view and is now friendly towards him, whereas Aphrodite (having had the worst of the bargain over Paris and Helen) is against his return home. This council of gods with its two catty goddesses reads like an anticipation of Lucian at his best: the motive must be a reflection of some 'advanced' theological views in vogue in Athens in about 412 B.C.

Two speeches follow, the first by Helen and the second by Menelaus, in which they plead for their lives, beseeching Theonoe not to tell her brother of Menelaus' presence. Both speeches are closely modelled on the form of Attic legal processes; before Menelaus, acting as the second speaker for the defence, comes to the most powerful part of his appeal (the speech has been very well paraphrased by Professor Kitto⁴²) he stoops to at least one deliberate orator's mannerism, for the line (976)

ἄ σοι παρέλιπεν ἤδε τῶν λόγων, φράσω.

is nothing more than a scarcely-veiled metrical version of a common phrase in the λογογράφοι.⁴³

Extremely careful writing is noticeable in this pair of speeches. Both show well-marked ring-form in this way: Helen starts hers⁴⁴ with the words 'ὦ παρθέν' . . . and begins the concluding five-line section which forms her peroration⁴⁵ with 'μὴ δῆτα, παρθέν' . . . Not perhaps over-tactful of her to stress poor Theonoe's spinsterhood thus, but it can be shown that the King's daughter is here, as not uncommonly elsewhere, thought of as Vestal,⁴⁶ and like the Pythian priestess in the old rhyme is:

'All unmatred
Because so consecrated'.

When his turn comes, Menelaus starts from the tear-motive: 'οὐτ' ἂν δακρυῦσαι βλέφαρα' (948), and then, observing the effects of his eloquence upon the weakening Theonoe, begins his peroration (also a five-line section) with 'τί ταῦτα; δακρυοῖς ἐς τὸ θῆλυ τρεπόμενος' . . . (991).

It is difficult to be sure how far this feature of ring-composition was a mark of the style of the early sophists and rhetoricians. We can, of course, make no inferences from the fragments, but there is an instance in the first speech of Antiphon the orator (Κατὰ τῆς Μητρίας) where it appears to be conscious. He opens with the trope about his youth: 'νέος μὲν καὶ ἀπειρος δικῶν ἔγωγ' ἔτι' and ends, apart from a short formal *coda*, with 'κάκεινος ἐμοὶ νέω ἔτι ὄντι ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν.'⁴⁷ This seems deliberate enough, but other traces in, for example, his tetralogies, may only be fortuitous. It can, however, be found in some passages of the *Prometheus Vincetus*,⁴⁸ which have been noted on other grounds for a rhetorical tendency, and it may well be that here Euripides is deliberately employing a feature of contemporary rhetoric.

This is not all. In our manuscripts Helen's speech runs from lines 894 to 943, that is fifty lines. Menelaus' lasts from 947 to 995, or forty-nine lines. One line of Helen's is, however, a blatant

³⁷ τοῦνομα' οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθερον | τὸν νοῦν δέ (730-1).

³⁸ Thuc. VIII, 1 and Plut. Nicias 13.

³⁹ Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* I³ p. 22 note 3, quoting Plato *Protag.* 318x, etc.

⁴⁰ Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* I³ p. 512 note 2 and p. 66 note 7. This method of argumentation recurs later in lines 1032 ff. of the play.

⁴¹ 865-872. Cf. Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 4 (Mor. 383a ff.).

⁴² *Greek Tragedy*, pp. 326-7.

⁴³ Cf. Antiphon Second Tetralogy 7 (init.) 'ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ ἀπεδείξαμεν . . .' *Lys.* XIV 3, et al.

⁴⁴ 894.

⁴⁵ 939.

⁴⁶ See J. G. Frazer in *Journal of Philology* XIV 145 ff. and especially 161 ff.

⁴⁷ Antiphon I. 30 (fin.).

⁴⁸ Cf. in Io's speech: the idea of falsehood in *P.V.* 685 echoes ἀπιστήσω in 640. The content of *P.V.* 786-7 has an echo in 816-7.

interpolation (line 905)—metre and sense cry out against it—and editors agree in excluding it. Thus both speeches are in fact of the same length. Such symmetry, either exact or with a difference of one or two lines, is not uncommon in other tragedies; several examples are recorded in the standard authorities,⁴⁹ the closest parallel to our scene being perhaps the pair of fifty-one-line speeches separated by two lines of the chorus in the *Hecuba*.⁵⁰ Numerical correspondence seems intentional in the *Helena* here, and a warning is thereby supplied to critics who sought to evict five more lines of Helen's speech⁵¹ and thus would have obliterated all trace of the design. Incidentally the lines impugned contain as good a set of intellectualist points as any in the play. Omitting the spurious line 905, they run:

μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν βίαν, τὰ κτητὰ δὲ
κτᾶσθαι κελεύει πάντας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς.
κοινὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐρανὸς πᾶσιν βροτοῖς
καὶ γὰρ, ἐν ᾗ χρὴ δῶματ' ἀναπληρουμένους
τάλλότρια μὴ σχεῖν μηδ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίαν. (903-8)

This is diametrically opposed to the common view taken up by Theognis in his comminatory lines:

τεθναῖν δ', εἰ μὴ τι κακῶν ἀμπαυμα μεριμνῶν
εὐροίμην, δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνίων ἀνίας·
αἴσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστί· τίσις δ' οὐ φαίνεται ἡμῖν
ἀνδρῶν οἱ τὰ μὰ χρήματ' ἔχουσι βίαν
συλήσαντες. (343-7)

It recalls, however, the position of non-violence taken up by Socrates in the *Crito*,⁵² where he leads up to the proposition 'οὐδ' ἀδικούμενον ἀρα ἀντιδικεῖν, ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἐπειδὴ γε οἰδαμὼς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν'. Certainly no cross-dating between our play and the time at which the thoughts may have been taking shape in Socratic philosophy is legitimate: all that can safely be said is that such a view must have been much 'in the air' in the Athens of 412 B.C., the Sicilian expedition being a particularly flagrant case of τάλλότρια σχεῖν, and the appropriateness of these once-impugned lines need not now be stressed.

Theonoe, in her answer, makes the most of her hieratic character. Her speech too shows ring-form, beginning as it does ἐγὼ πέφυκά τ' εὐσεβεῖν (998), and ending with δυσσεβῆς ἀντ' εὐσεβοῦς (1029). It also contains a foreshadowing of the doctrine of φιλαυτία, familiar to us from Aristotle,⁵³ and the remarkable metaphor of the 'Shrine of Justice in her nature' (1002) which has a long and not uninteresting literary history.⁵⁴ But most striking of all are these four lines

καὶ γὰρ τίσις τῶνδ' ἐστί τοῖς τε νεώτεροις
καὶ τοῖς ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· ὁ νοῦς
τῶν κατθανόντων ζῇ μὲν οὐ, γνῶμην δ' ἔχει
ἀθάνατον εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών. (1013-6)

Not only is the eschatology interesting, recalling as it does the myth of Plato's *Gorgias* and the Second Olympian of Pindar, but the notion of the survival of a spiritual element, while reminiscent of other Anaxagoreanist passages in Euripides,⁵⁵ is most closely echoed by the second of the three epigrams upon the fallen at Potidaea,⁵⁶ which reads as if it had been composed by Euripides himself:

Αἰθήρ μὲν φουχᾶς ὑπεδέχσατο, σώματα δὲ χθών
τῶνδε, Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλύθεν·
ἐχθρῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, οἱ δὲ φυγόντες
τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἐλπίδ' ἔθεντο βίου.

Although a relationship between Anaxagoras and Euripides was frequently noted in antiquity,⁵⁷ it seems that elsewhere Euripides in his plays made little use of the leading doctrines of his former teacher.⁵⁸ It is all the more interesting, therefore, in view of the interpretation now being put forward of the play as a whole, that it should occur so prominently here.

The last portion of the play, in which the escape is worked out, calls for no comment now. After the entry of Theoclymenus the action moves with a fine sweep to its conclusion, and the Second Messenger's speech (after a short intermezzo necessitated, it seems, by reasons of dramatic

⁴⁹ E.g. by Paley, *Euripides* II pp. XV ff. See also Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 382 note 2 (no reference to our passage). See too D. L. Page on E. *Med.* 465 ff.

⁵⁰ E. *Her.* 1132-1237.

⁵¹ E.g. Dindorf, who removed 903-8.

⁵² Plato *Crito.* 49a. ⁵³ Arist. *N.E.* IX. 8, 3.

⁵⁴ Cf. Solon. fr. 3, 14 (D.) Aesch. *S.C.T.* 409, *Ag.* 383, *Eum.* 539. Pind. fr. 65 (Bowra) *S. Ant.* 854, Eur. fr. 170, 250, Dem.

XXV. 35, etc.

⁵⁵ E.g. E. *Suppl.* 531, fr. 839.

⁵⁶ *IG* I², 945, lines 5-8. The restorations of the inscription only affect the right-hand ends of the lines, and the general sense is certain.

⁵⁷ See e.g. A. Gell. XV. 20, 4, etc.

⁵⁸ Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* I² p. 316 note 2 (no mention of this passage).

economy⁵⁹) is followed by the appearance of the Dioscuri on the *machina*. They are not strictly necessary for the plot, for Theonoe could surely have been delivered from her brother's anger by other means had Euripides so chosen, but they form no bad conclusion to the piece, with their aetiological utterances and scraps of local Athenian lore. And the formal exode would not be worth quoting, occurring as it does in several other plays either *verbatim*⁶⁰ or with slight variation,⁶¹ but for the particular appropriateness of the words καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη to the κενὴ δόκησις of the Phantom Helen, and the train of thought suggested by it.⁶²

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⁵⁹ If the protagonist did Helen only (which seems likely, for hers is a long part of over 550 lines), then the deuteragonist must have taken the parts of both Second Messenger and the speaking Dioscurus. Hence the anonymous παραχρήγημα 'holds the fort' for 15 lines (1627-41) while the deuteragonist is being prepared to do the *deus* and ascends the *machina*.

⁶⁰ As in *Alcestis* *Andromache* and *Bacchae*.

⁶¹ As in *Medea*.

⁶² I should like to thank Professor Webster and Professor Kitto for kindly reading an earlier draft of this paper and for many helpful suggestions. They are in no way responsible for the remaining imperfections. A summary of this paper appeared in *Proc. Class. Ass.* XLIV (1947) 7-8.

PROTAGORAS' DOCTRINE OF JUSTICE AND VIRTUE IN THE 'PROTAGORAS' OF PLATO

PROTAGORAS has just been presented with a new pupil, Hippocrates, and he states what he proposes to teach him—such prudence in domestic affairs as will best enable him to regulate his own household, and such wisdom in public affairs as will best qualify him to speak and act in affairs of state (318e). Socrates asks is this the art of politics and is Protagoras undertaking to make men good citizens, and Protagoras agrees (319a). Socrates replies that he had supposed that this art could not be taught, and he gives two grounds: (1) the Athenians are agreed to be wise men, yet, while they call in experts in the assembly to advise them on technical matters, they regard all citizens alike as capable of advising them on matters pertaining to the city (319b-d); (2) the wisest and best of the citizens are not able to hand this virtue on to others. So Pericles educated his sons well in all that could be taught by teachers, but he did not try to teach them, or have them taught his own wisdom, but left them to pick it up unaided (319d-320b).

Now Protagoras, it has been pointed out,¹ is in a difficult position. He is apparently confronted with the choice of admitting that virtue cannot be taught and that his profession is a fraud, or of declaring that the theory of Athenian democracy is false, and his patron, Pericles, is ignorant of the true nature of political virtue. His reply takes the form of a myth, followed by a set argument (Logos). Some have regarded his reply as 'a tissue of obscure and contradictory ideas,'² while others who have recognised its skill, have regarded it as failing in one way or another to give a satisfactory answer to Socrates' objections.³ It is the aim of what follows to show that Protagoras' answer is perfectly satisfactory if rightly understood, and that the contrary opinions are due to misunderstandings of what Protagoras actually says in the dialogue.

The myth proper extends from 320c8 to 322d5. It is followed by an explanatory passage 322d5-323a4, and this in turn is followed by what might seem to be a series of independent arguments down to 324d1. Then Protagoras says one difficulty still remains (that of the sons of good men). 'For this point, Socrates, I shall not now (οὐκ ἐν) tell you a myth, but a Logos.' This sentence makes two things plain: the Logos begins here only and not earlier at 323a4, and in some sense the discussion of the myth is regarded as continuing right down to this point, 324d1. As the myth proper clearly ends at 322d5, this can only mean that the whole section 322d5-324d1 is regarded as an explanation and application of the myth. The last sentence of the section then, 324c5-d1, must be regarded as summarising the contents of the myth.

The myth proper (320c8-322d5) describes how, before the fated day⁴ on which mortal creatures were to come up to the light from inside the earth, Epimetheus distributed the various 'powers' among the animals on an equalising principle, to secure them protection both against one another and against the elements (320d-321c). But human beings received none of these powers and so lacked protection. Accordingly, Prometheus stole for them skill in crafts together with fire, thus enabling them to live. Clearly all this takes place *before* men come up to the light of day for the first time. On reaching the earth's surface, men develop religion, speech, and the material elements of civilisation. For defence against wild animals they founded fortified posts (Poleis), but as they lacked the art of politics injustice prevented them from living together and they soon scattered again (322a-b). Accordingly, Zeus sent Hermes to give men Aidos and Dike to secure their protection. The crafts had been distributed among men in the same way as the powers among the animals, namely different crafts to different people. But Aidos and Dike are to be given to all men, and all men are to share in them. Any man who is unable to share in them is to be killed, as being a plague to the city.

So ends the myth proper; in the following section (322d5-324d1) the main points made are: (1) that the Athenians rightly listen to advice from all citizens on the affairs of the city, on the ground that all men share in political virtue; (2) a man who declares himself unjust is mad; (3) political virtue is not in man by nature, but springs from teaching and practice; (4) this is shown by the fact that punishments are inflicted for injustice but not for natural deficiencies.

It has been argued above that the whole of this passage is an application and interpretation of the myth. For this view to be acceptable it must be shown that the passage fits the myth proper and does not contradict its contents. This, in turn, depends on a right understanding of the myth itself. Two points here are of vital importance for a correct understanding of the myth. I. Does Protagoras mean that all men possess Aidos and Dike by nature?⁵ It seems clear that the powers

¹ Prof. J. S. Morrison in *CQ* XXXV (1941), 7. This article is in a sense the starting point for what follows, and the criticisms here expressed in no way affect its main contentions.

² E.g. Th. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, E.T. II. 309 ff., Frutiger, *Les mythes de Platon*, 183-4.

³ Taylor, *Plato* 243; Raeder, *Platons philosophische Entwickelung*, 108; Morrison, *op. cit.* 8; Pohlenz, *Aus Platons Werdezeit*, 87 ff.

⁴ The same day for both animals and men, cf. 320d4 with 321c6-7.

⁵ This is stated by Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* I² 1120; Raeder, *op. cit.* 108; Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, 82 n. 2; Pohlenz, *op. cit.* 86.

of the animals are regarded as being by nature, and it is possible that the skill in crafts is so possessed by human beings. It was given to mankind before they began their life on this earth, and it is to man what the powers are to the animals. But Aidos and Dike are in a different position—they are something got after man has been living in the world. Zeus commands that all men should share in them, and makes provision for those who can't. It is true that the provision is death, but this suggests that their natures can't be altered, not that Zeus is adding something to the nature of man as such. The fact that all men are regarded as sharing in Aidos and Dike is not in itself sufficient to show that they do so *by nature*. The position of Aidos and Dike in the myth is sufficiently distinct from that of skill in crafts to raise no difficulty if we find other reason to deny that the former are in man by nature. We have in fact the strongest possible reason for supposing that Protagoras does not regard them as shared by nature. He himself says (323c3-8), 'these then are the reasons I give why they rightly allow every man to offer his advice regarding matters involving this (political) virtue, because they believe that every man has a share in it; but that they consider it to be not by nature nor of spontaneous growth, but in whomsoever it is present, the result of teaching and practice, this I will next endeavour to demonstrate'. Nothing could be more emphatic—political virtue is both shared in by all men and is not by nature. Protagoras puts the statement in the words of the Athenians, but he is defending their view and identifying it with his own. We have already seen that the whole of this passage is regarded by Protagoras as an explanation of the myth proper.

One possible objection must be met. A famous fragment of Protagoras⁶ says, 'teaching needs nature and practice', and this is interpreted to mean that teaching requires a natural disposition to be taught. That Protagoras did posit such natural dispositions is true, and, as will be seen, is relevant to a later part of the present argument. But these natural dispositions cannot be identified with Aidos and Dike, nor is Protagoras saying that, by teaching, Aidos and Dike develop into political virtue.⁷ An attentive reading of the text from 322d5 to 323c8 shows that Aidos and Dike are for Protagoras the *same* as political virtue, and what Hermes brings to man is not the rudiments or materials for political virtue, but political virtue itself. In fact, the terms Aidos and Dike occur only in the myth proper. The explanation of the myth speaks immediately of everyone sharing in political virtue (323a2), and in the following lines we have 'justice and the rest of political virtue' used as a synonym for Aidos and Dike, with the same phrases applied to it as were applied to them in the Myth (*cf.* especially 323a3, 323c1-2 with 322d5). It is impossible to maintain that Protagoras is here making any distinction—if he were it would destroy the whole point of his argument, which is that because all men share in political virtue they are rightly all consulted on questions involving it. We must accordingly conclude that so far at any rate Protagoras regards all men as sharing in political virtue and in Aidos and Dike, not by nature, but in some other way.⁸

II. Were all men regarded as sharing equally in Aidos and Dike? This is often stated to have been the view of Protagoras. There is no evidence for it whatever.⁹ It is certainly not implied by the Greek verb for sharing.¹⁰ Even if Aidos and Dike were *by nature* it would not follow that they were equally shared in by all. Indeed, it would be an extraordinary thing to claim that all men were equally just, and equal in political virtue, yet this would be involved on this supposition, as we have seen that Protagoras does not distinguish them from Aidos and Dike. Again and again in the discussion which follows the myth and in the Logos we shall see that Protagoras is supposing that the participation is not equal.

Once it be granted that for Protagoras Aidos and Dike, though shared in by all, are not *by nature*, and are not shared equally, the inconsistencies and contradictions of which Protagoras has been accused fade away. Upon the conclusion of the myth proper, Protagoras proceeds to apply and expound its meaning. Since all men share in political virtue, the Athenians and others rightly allow all citizens to advise them on political questions (322d5-323a4). It is not, of course, suggested that all advice is of equal value or that all men are equally qualified to give advice, only that no one is without some qualifications. This is made clear in the sentence immediately following (323a5-c2). Unlike the crafts, in the case of justice and the rest of political virtue a man who is unjust and says so is regarded as mad—all men are expected to assert they are just whether they are or not, as everyone must in some sense (ἀμῶς γὰρ πως) share in justice or not be among men. This argument seems often to have been regarded¹¹ in such a way that a curious inconsistency is involved.

⁶ Diels⁸ 80B3.

⁷ The view expressed by Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis*, 116; Loenen, *Protagoras*, p. 11 and n. 28; A. Levi, in *Mind* XLIX (1940), 294 n. 4; and implied in many other discussions, e.g. Jaeger, *Paideia*, E.T. II, 115.

⁸ The denial that justice was by nature is attributed to Protagoras and his supporters by Plato in *Theaetetus* 172b. Cornford, *ad loc.*, argues curiously that this passage does not refer to Protagoras, in part on the ground that in the *Protagoras* Plato ascribes to Protagoras the doctrine that Aidos and Dike are by nature. As a result he is forced to adopt a strained interpretation of the passage in the *Theaetetus*. Though Protagoras is not named, there is no reason to doubt the same

doctrine is referred to in *Laus* 88ge, and in Cicero, *De Legibus* I. 46-7, on which see Untersteiner, *La dottrina di Protagora e un nuovo testo dossografico* in *Riv. di Filol.* xxii-xxiii (1944-45), 21 ff. In Euripides *Supp.* 911, Aidos is the product of upbringing. This passage almost certainly has the doctrine of Protagoras in view, *cf.* Morrison, *op. cit.* 14-15.

⁹ Pointed out by Loenen, *op. cit.* 12-13, who refers to supporters of the view. To them add Untersteiner, *La fisiologia del mito* 311.

¹⁰ *πρίξω*. Where an equal share is meant, *ἴσ' ἅπασι* or its equivalent is added, e.g. in Plato, *Rep.* VIII, 557a.

¹¹ E.g. Gomperz, E.T. II, 310.

Protagoras is supposed to be saying that a proof that all men possess justice lies in the fact that *when they don't have it*, they ought not to say that they do not have it. This fantastic interpretation seems to rest on two assumptions: (1) that 'unjust' here means 'without justice altogether', as if it were 'not sharing in Dike'; (2) that Protagoras supposes that all men share equally in justice. Once these assumptions are dropped, no difficulty arises. What Protagoras is saying is that when men act unjustly *in any respect*, they must not profess it. As all men have a share in justice, they could and ought to have acted justly on this particular occasion. Accordingly, they must expect blame not sympathy if they admit to injustice.

Having shown in this way that all men are regarded as possessing some share in justice and political virtue, Protagoras immediately goes on to declare that this share is not *by nature*, nor is it acquired of its own accord, but from instruction and by practice (323c3-324d1). Men do not punish others for natural or chance defects, but they do punish them for failure to learn. In fact, in civilised societies punishment is a sort of teaching. Punishment is inflicted for deficiencies in justice and virtue. So on both grounds justice and virtue are regarded as teachable. So much Protagoras bases on his myth, and before leaving it he sums up the two main conclusions once again: Virtue is shared in by all and can be the product of teaching (324c5-d1).

At this point Protagoras abandons the myth and proceeds with his Logos. Three main points remain to be dealt with: (1) how all men get their share in virtue if not by nature; (2) why good men on the common view do not teach their sons virtue; (3) why the sons of outstanding men so often fail to show the excellence of their parents. He answers that as virtue is the basis of all activities, so it is taught in all the standard forms of teaching—by parents, nurses, school-teachers, music-teachers, and gymnastic instructors. In addition, it is taught by the whole community through laws and punishments. It is important to notice that Protagoras is not simply saying that people absorb the traditions of the community in which they live unconsciously—it is no chance matter, it is an essential part of the formal teaching all receive. It was Socrates who had suggested the unconscious view of moral education.¹² Protagoras' answer is quite definite: good men do have their sons educated in virtue, and take great trouble over it (*cf.* especially 325d7-9). His point is that the teaching of virtue is universal throughout the community and that those who teach it have no special *names* as teachers of virtue. It is the same point he made earlier in the dialogue when he said there had been many sophists before himself who lacked only the name (316d3-e5).¹³

Finally, the difference between parents and children in virtue is to be explained as due to variations in natural aptitude in the persons concerned. This will always show itself when all people have practically the same teaching and the same opportunities to learn. In addition, some people get more schooling than others (326c3-6) and some teachers are better than others. Such a teacher Protagoras considers himself to be (328a8-b5).

The Logos which so concludes is not a continuation of the myth, it is rather an alternative to it. So Protagoras claims that the Logos and the myth each show that virtue can be taught and explain the difference in virtue between sons and fathers (328c3-6). Both likewise clearly offer explanations of how all men share in virtue. Accordingly, the universal instruction in virtue in the Logos should be regarded as an alternative statement of the conferring of Aidos and Dike by Zeus in the myth. The two are the same thing, the one expressed in mythical form, the other in rationalised form. The conferring of Aidos and Dike is the teaching which all people receive in the community.¹⁴

So interpreted Protagoras' reply to Socrates' objections is consistent throughout. To recapitulate, Socrates objected that virtue could not be taught, because all men are regarded as sharing in it, and those pre-eminent in virtue do not hand on their pre-eminence to their sons. Protagoras replies that all men share in virtue *because* they are all taught it, and the difference between parents and sons is due to differences in natural aptitudes for learning.

It remains to consider some general criticisms of Protagoras' answer.

I. It has been said that Socrates' objections concern the craft of politics, the art of being a good statesman and ruler. Protagoras' answer refers to good citizens, and the teaching of men to be good as citizens, *i.e.* as subjects rather than as rulers.¹⁵ To this it may be replied that if there is any confusion it is due to Socrates not to Protagoras. It is Socrates, not Protagoras, who makes the substitution of terms in the first instance—you seem to me to be speaking of the craft of politics and to be promising to make men good citizens (319a3-5), and in the objections which follow, Socrates speaks of virtue (Arete) throughout, not of Craft (Techne). Secondly, it is clear that Protagoras supposed that the same qualities were required in good rulers and in good subjects (*cf.* especially 326d6-7). It was in fact the natural assumption for Greeks to make at the time.¹⁶ We may question it, but Socrates does not. Plato in the *Republic* seems sadly aware that special qualities may be required to obtain office, but he does not admit them as necessary for the just exercise of

¹² So οὐδ' ἐνὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐν 323c3-6 is a direct denial of αὐτομάτως in 320a2. Taylor, *op. cit.* 246, seems to forget this when he says that 'goodness is merely picked up in the main automatically'.

¹³ For this *cf.* Prof. Morrison in *Durham University Journal*, XLI (1948-49), 57 ff.

¹⁴ This point is made by J. Moreau, *La construction de l'idéalisme platonicien*, p. 37; *cf.* also O. Gigon in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl*, pp. 97-8.

¹⁵ Morrison, *op. cit.* 8-9.

¹⁶ *Cf.* Raeder, *op. cit.* 108 n. 1.

the art of the ruler. When we remember that it is Athenian democracy that Protagoras is defending, we need not regard the objection as a very substantial one.

II. Protagoras' reply has been interpreted as an argument that the Athenian people subscribe to two incompatible principles—that everyone possesses virtue and that virtue is taught.¹⁷ There is nothing inconsistent in these two principles, provided it is remembered that Protagoras never says that everyone possesses virtue by nature. It is perfectly reasonable to claim that everyone possesses some degree of moral insight and so is entitled to be heard in discussions in the Assembly, and at the same time degrees of virtue will differ, and the best man should hold the highest offices in the state.

III. It has been objected that the argument involves the identification of goodness with the actual traditions of an existing civilised state. So when Protagoras claims to be able to teach virtue to Athenians, as he does at the end of his speech, he would need to claim exceptional ability in catching the tone of the social traditions after only a few visits.¹⁸ This is surely a perverse criticism. The virtue with which Protagoras is concerned is repeatedly stated to be the condition of all cities¹⁹—without it no Polis can exist. The criticism in fact is not one which arises from the *Protagoras* at all—it derives from the doctrine attributed to (and certainly held by) Protagoras in the *Theaetetus* (166d seq) 'whatever practices seem just and laudable to each city, are so for that city as long as it holds them'. A full discussion of this point would require a consideration of the whole doctrine of the relativism of Protagoras which cannot be attempted here. But it can be said at once that the *Theaetetus* provides no basis for the present criticism. The doctrine there attributed to Protagoras has as a corollary, that while whatever seems just to any city is so, in place of practices which are harmful the wise man substitutes others that are beneficial (167c4-7). It is perfectly clear in the *Theaetetus* that the sophist is regarded as capable of changing the views of a whole community as to what is held just. His function cannot be merely therefore to express and teach what the community already believes.

IV. Protagoras postulates virtue as a condition of social life; at the same time he represents it as a product, through teaching, of social life.²⁰ This is a standing problem for sociological realists and behaviouristic theories of ethics. Protagoras' answer, if not satisfying, is clear and consistent. Men, before societies existed, were unable to form societies, because they lacked what they could learn only from and through societies. Accordingly, divine intervention was required to enable the process to start.

V. One weakness in Protagoras' theory remains to be considered. It is not a matter of inconsistency but rather a matter of vagueness. Protagoras has not so far made clear what he means by virtue, and it is the regular Socratic position that it is impossible to tell whether virtue is teachable or not until its nature is first understood.²¹ This forms the subject matter of the remainder of the dialogue. It was the weak point in Protagoras' armour, and it is here that Socrates is able to reveal confusion in Protagoras' mind.

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¹⁷ Morrison, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Taylor, *op. cit.* 245-7.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. very clearly 324e2-325b1.

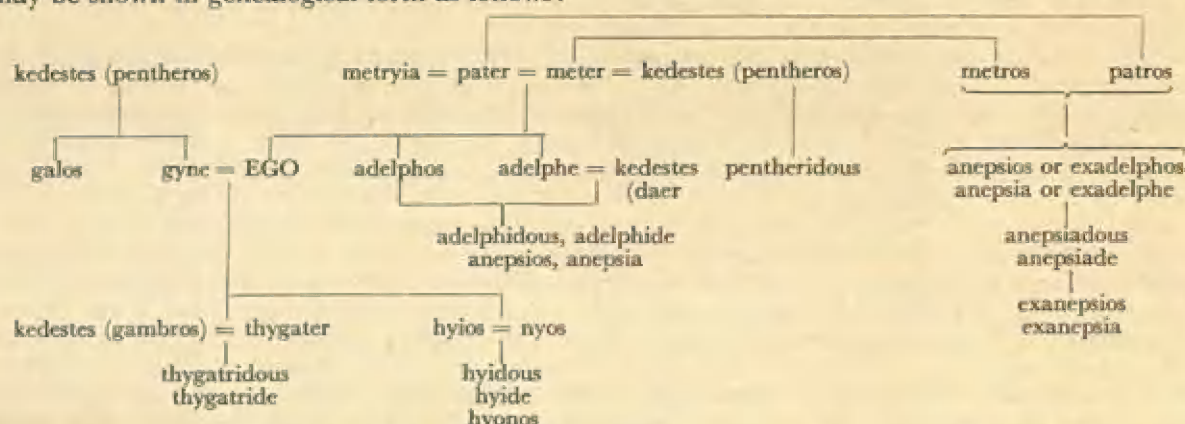
²⁰ J. Morcau, *op. cit.* 37 ff.

²¹ Cf. Plato's *Meno*, *passim*.

GREEK KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

1. Classical Greek Terminology

CLASSICAL Greek kinship terminology, as it is used for example by Isaïos, offers few difficulties of meaning in its terms, and describes a bilateral family rather like our own. The principal usages may be shown in genealogical form as follows:

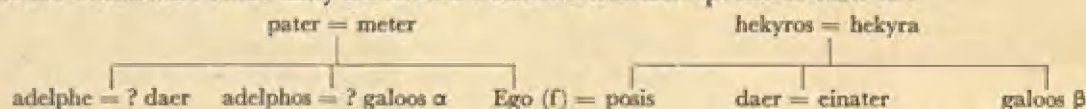


The noteworthy terms are: (1) *kedestes*, (2) *anepsios*, *anepsiadous*, *exanepsios*, and (3) *adelphos* and *adelphē*. *Kedestes* is applicable to any male who is a close relative by marriage, but who does not belong to the circle of heirs within the *anchisteia*: the term thus covers our father-in-law, stepfather, brother-in-law, and son-in-law. The close association of the term with words for 'mourning' suggests that this name arose from the duties performed in the funerals of members of their wives' *anchisteia*, even though they were outside the circle of heirs.¹ The terms *pentheros* and *gambros* are, apparently, influenced by the usage of *kedestes*, and tend to the same classificatory employment. The meaning of *nyos* similarly tends to wander. *Anepsios* varies between cousin-german and nephew, and each of these relationships also has its exact term, in both cases a compound of *adelphos*. *Anepsiadous* and its synonym *anepsiou pais* are used not only for the cousin's child (the first cousin once removed), but also for Ego's parent's cousin (also a first cousin once removed): so Theopompos, the mother's cousin and heir of Hagnias, calls himself *anepsiou pais* to Hagnias.² The *exanepsios* was outside the Attic *anchisteia*, and the term is rarely found.³ The terms for blood relatives are of the common IE vocabulary except *adelphos* and *adelphē*, which have replaced *phrater* (surviving to mean 'member of a phratry'), and the lexicographers' *eor*.

2. Homeric and popular Greek

(i) *Terms of IE Derivation.* The Homeric poems contain other terms of IE derivation: *hekyros* and *hekyra*, a woman's father-in-law and mother-in-law; *einater*, a husband's brother's wife. To these we should perhaps add the lexicographers' *aelios*, a wife's sister's husband.

These additional terms may be shown from the woman's point of view as:



From the point of view of *posis* in this diagram, the *adelphē's* husband would be *aelios*. The relations of *posis* and *aelios* would be important within the *anchisteia* when *adelphos* died without heirs, for one of the two men would have to provide an adoptive son for *adelphos* from among his own children, and it is likely that such provision of heirs was regulated by custom and law.⁴ On the other hand, there was no such direct tie between Ego, *galoos β*, and *einater*, for in the event of *posis* and *daer* dying without issue, the adoptive son would be provided by *galoos β*, not by Ego or *einater*. Only if the whole of *posis' anchisteia* was extinct, in all lines, would children of Ego and *einater* by other husbands be able to claim inheritance, and it is uncertain whether they would succeed.⁴

The evidence of these names therefore suggests that the type of family organisation represented by the full range of IE kinship terms was different from that of the Attic *anchisteia*, and included a wider range of relatives by marriage, at least for a woman speaking.

(ii) *Other Terms.* Homeric and popular Greek also contain a number of kinship terms of non-IE or doubtful derivation.

kasignetoi and *elai*: In Iliad 11.257, a son of Antenor is related to his brother both as *hopatros*,

¹ As in the Labyad decrees.

² Isaïos XI.

³ Cf. Wyse, *Isaïos*, pp. 366 ff.

⁴ See p. 52.

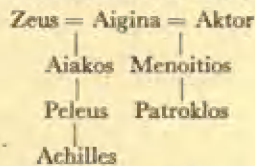
⁴ The claim by Hagnias' uterine brothers (Isaïos XI) was defeated by Theopompos the cousin of Hagnias' mother and agnatic second cousin of Hagnias.

of the same father, and as *kasignetos*. This suggests that *kasignetos* has the primary significance of 'same mother's son', thus being an exact synonym of '*adelphos*, of the same womb'.

In Iliad 16.456 and Odyssey 15.273 the maximum range of a man's relatives is expressed by the phrase *kasignetoi* and *etai*. If *kasignetoi* means primarily maternal relatives, *etai* may be interpreted as paternal relatives. The instance from the Iliad concerns the funeral provided for Sarpedon of Lykia, an only child without a mortal father. *Kasignetoi* cannot therefore mean uterine brothers, nor can *etai* mean blood-relatives on his father's side. Perhaps the inference is that the terms are to be interpreted as meaning classes of relatives: the *kasignetoi* having the same duties to Sarpedon as though they were his uterine brothers, and the *etai* as though they were his paternal relatives.

In Iliad 9.464 Phoinix claims that in his father's house he had many *etai* and *anepsioi*. Since *anepsios* means 'cousin', it seems probable that the *etai* here are both Phoinix's paternal relatives, and the fathers of the *anepsioi*, that is, Phoinix's father's brothers, either by blood or social classification. Finally, in Iliad 6.239, the wives and daughters of the Trojans ask after their *paides*, *kasignetoi*, *etai*, and *posies*. The mention of the daughters requires a reference to fathers, and here the word *etai* seems to be used in that sense, so that we should translate 'sons, brothers, fathers, husbands'.

hetairos: The Homeric use of *etai* seems therefore to include the father, the father's brothers, and other paternal relatives. It has been from time to time suggested that *hetairos* is etymologically connected with *etes*: if so, the *hetairoi* of the heroes would be paternal kinsmen. This is the case in the most famous instance: Patroklos the *hetairos* of Achilles is Peleus' cousin:



hetaira: The feminine of *hetairos* is *hetaira*: Iliad 4.441 speaks of Strife as the *kasignete* and *hetaira* of War. In classical Greek a *hetaira* is an unmarried woman, and the uterine sister (*kasignete* or *adelphē*) was within the prohibited degrees. The conjunction of the terms *kasignete* and *hetaira* in this Homeric passage suggests that the terms refer to women within the prohibited degrees on the mother's side (*kasignete*) and also the father's (*hetaira*). It would follow that in classical usage *hetaira* has survived to mean a woman unmarried for reasons other than consanguinity, since marriage with a homopatric sister was permitted. (See p. 52, n. 4a.)

gennetai: In Iliad 13.354 Poseidon claims to be of the same *patra* and the same *genos* as Zeus. The *patra* refers to his father, so the question arises whether the *genos* is the mother's social unit. In Attika an archaic synonym of *gennetai* was *homogalaktes* 'of the same milk', and this ancient meaning of *gennetai* would make the *patra* and *genos* parallel to the other Homeric usage, as here interpreted, of '*etai* and *kasignetoi*'.

Apatouria and *homogalaktes*: It is a very remarkable fact that in the single community of Attika we find the two terms *Apatouria*, the festival of (the *phrateres* 'brothers') those born 'of the same fathers'; and *homogalaktes*, designating those nourished on 'the same milk': that is to say, we have terms signifying groups of paternal kinsmen by blood or social classification, and groups of maternal kinsmen by blood or social classification.

There is one well-known form of tribal organisation in which such groups are identical, by reason of the fact that the men of one kinship group always marry women of one other kinship group: their children consequently may be reckoned as being both 'of the same fathers' and 'of the same milk'. This is the divisional form of tribal organisation, in which the kinship reckoning is bilateral as in our family organisation, although membership of the division (within one community at any single time) may be either patrilinear or matrilinear. Two questions therefore arise: (1) whether the kinship terms provide evidence for such a divisional organisation in early Greece, and (2) if so, whether membership of the division was inherited from the mother or the father.

Names for paternal relatives: Names similar in sound and form to *etes*, *hetairos*, are:

etheios: elder brother when used by Menelaos to Agamemnon, Paris to Hektor; father's elder brother when used by Iolaos to Herakles (Hesiod)

theios, *theia*: uncle, aunt: perhaps the father's brother and sister

tethe, *tethis*: grandmother, aunt: perhaps the father's mother and sister.

Various so-called *Lallwoerter* also come under this head: *atta*, father: cf. the Hittite *attaš*, father, *eti*, brother, and the divinities Attis, Atys; *tata*, *tetta*, father: cf. Luvite* *tata*, father, and the divinity Dadaš, Dattaš.

Names for maternal relatives: A similar group of names for various maternal relatives includes:

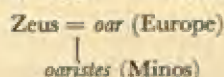
annis: grandmother (perhaps mother's mother), cf. Hittite *annaš*, mother

nanna, *ninnion*: aunt (perhaps mother's sister)

nennos: mother's brother, mother's father: this suggests an association with the office of the mother's *kyrios*, and *metros* is used in the same two senses.

ninne: perhaps mother's mother (Macedonian).

Names for the wife and her son: A Homeric name for wife is *oar*, and this is clearly connected with the term *oaristes* used by Homer to state the relationship of Minos to Zeus. The constant Greek belief was that Minos was the son of Zeus. We thus seem to have:



which is to say that the primary relation of the son is to his mother.

There is very much here that is uncertain in the direct evidence. The interpretation of the direct evidence, however, turns upon the question whether what is known of the terms above can be demonstrated, without violence to the total evidence for early Greek culture, to be comfortably accommodated by methods of social organisation known to comparative anthropology. We have noted already that divisional tribal organisation would account for the presence in Attica of both the Apatouria and the *homogalaktes*. We may now note that the terms above seem to fall naturally into three groups: (1) the paternal grandmother and her children; (2) the maternal grandmother and her children; (3) the wife and her son. We might therefore call these three *homogalaktic* groups, to which belong the grandfather's wife, the father's wife, and Ego's wife, respectively.

The ordinary genealogical table does not form a suitable diagram for this type of family organisation, because relatives on both sides are too numerous to be accommodated in such a scheme, because (since the organisation is fully bilateral in each generation) the family does not, even conventionally, go back to a single founder, and because marriages are often contracted between near relatives. A number of methods of tabulation are in use, but the simplest consists of a number of parallel columns of direct male and female descent lines.⁵

Since the preceding terms appear to fall into three *homogalaktic* groups, let us suppose the existence of three matrilinear divisions, A, B and C, in which a man A always marries a woman b, and a man B always marries a woman c, and a man C always marries a woman a. The woman a will always be equivalent to a sister to the man A, etc., and the marriage rule may be written:

1. of) A marries b(sister of) B marries c(sister of) C marries a(sister

The first two generations of any such system are then written with the daughters immediately under the mothers, and the sons immediately under the fathers, as follows:

1.	$\times A$	=	b	\times	B	=	c	\times	C	=	a \times
2.	B (takes his mother's division)	\times	b (marries A, her father's sister's son)	\times	C (takes his M's division)	\times	c (marries B, her FSIS)	\times	A (takes his M's division)	\times	a (marries C, her FSIS)

Keeping the same direct lines of descent, the next two generations are:

3.	= C (takes his M's division)	=	b (marries A, her FSIS)	=	A (takes his M's division)	=	c (marries B, her FSIS)	=	B (takes his M's division)	=	a = (marries C, her FSIS)
4.	$\times A$ (takes his M's division)	=	b (marries A, her FSIS)	\times	B (takes his M's division)	=	c (marries B, her FSIS)	\times	C (takes his M's division)	=	a \times (marries C, her FSIS)

Thus generations 1 and 4 are identical, so that the whole system is repeated every three generations.

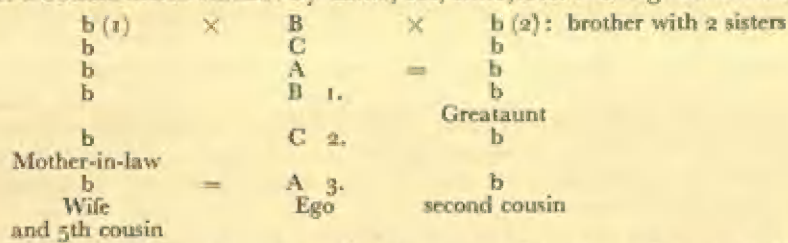
We may now, *exempli gratia*, use this form of tabulation to place our own kinship terms, with Ego in the third generation:

1.	$\times A$ Greatuncle	=	b greataunt	\times	B grandfather	=	c grandmother	\times	C grandfather greatuncle	=	a \times grandmother greataunt
2.	B Aunt's husband	\times	b mother-in-law	\times	C father	\times	c aunt	\times	A uncle; father-in-law	\times	a mother
3.	= C Cousin; son-in-law's father	=	b Wife; 2nd cousin	=	A EGO Brother	=	c cousin; son's mother- in-law	=	B 2nd cousin; son's father- in-law	=	a = sister; son-in-law's mother
4.	$\times A$ Son-in-law	=	b daughter	\times	B son	=	c daughter-in-law	\times	C daughter-in-law's brother	=	a \times son-in-law's sister

Each entry in this table covers a number of individuals: so that son represents all Ego's sons, wife represents the wife and her sisters; etc. Moreover, as the system reproduces itself every three generations throughout the tribe in which the organisation is used, the line of blood relationship is not necessarily the same as the conventional social relationship, but may proceed independently

⁵ B. Ruhemann: "A Method for analyzing classificatory relationship systems," in *South Western Journal of Anthropology* (Albuquerque) I (1945), pp. 531 ff.

for any multiple of three generations, e.g. my wife may be, not my second cousin by blood as shown in the diagram, but a cousin more distant by three, six, nine, etc. more generations, as follows:



We may now set out the Greek names, already grouped in three homogalaktic divisions, in a table of this kind, and consider the results:

1.	×	A	=	b	×	B	=	c	×	C	=	a	×	
2.		B	×	b		C	×	c		A	×	a		tethe FM
				annis ninne		(pappos: v.s.)								
				MM										
3.	=	C		b	=	A		c	=	B		a	=	
				nanna		etes: F, FB				nennos MB		theia		
				ninnion		etheios: FeB				(pentheros:		tethis		
				MSi (M?)		theios: FB				v.s.)		FSi		
						atta, tata,								
						tetta: F								
						hetairoi: FFBS								
4.		A	=	b	×	B	=	c	×	C	=	a	×	
		hetairoi		kasignete		EGO		oar		(peos: v.s.)		hetaira		
		etes		Si		etheios: eB		W						
		(pentheros:				kasignetos:								
		v.s.)				B, MSiS, etc.								
5.		B	×	b		C	×	c		A	×	a		
		(pentheros:				oaristes								
		v.s.)				S								

Abbreviations: M mother, F father, B brother, eB elder brother, Si sister, S son, W wife, MM mother's mother etc.

This form of tabulation shows how (if the terms were intended in this divisional sense) a man might boast of the numbers of his *kasigneto*i and *etai*, for in the example above the table may represent the organisation of a whole tribe, several hundred men strong, each belonging by birth or adoption to one of the three divisions, so that if Ego belongs to B, all males of A are his *etai*, and all males of B are his *kasigneto*i, however distant (or indeed fictitious) the blood relationship: the membership of the single 'family' simply reproduces in *parvo* the membership of the tribe at large.

The chief omissions are the daughter, the wife's brother, and the two grandfathers. We may therefore collate other kinship terms found in Greek, without necessarily assuming that they belong to the same system of terminology as that shown above:

1. *maia*, *mamme*: both used for mother and grandmother. *Maia* is a goddess: the Pleiad mother of *Hermes*.
2. *pappos*: grandfather; *pappas*, father; *appa*, father. *Papaš* is an Anatolian god.
3. *peos*: a connection by marriage.
4. *pentheros*: wife's father, daughter's husband, sister's husband.
5. *kasis*: brother, sister.
6. *kassa*, *kasalbas*, *kasauras*: courtesan.

The first two groups of terms (*maia*, *pappos*, etc.) are alternatives for the terms for mother and father already tabulated; the term *peos* in Homer seems to refer sometimes to the wife's kinsmen in general, which would include the WB; *pentheros* is the specific Homeric name for the wife's father. *Kasis* is one element in the compound *kasignetos*; and if it is etymologically allied to *kassa*, this latter term may have had much the same history as *hetaira*. The sound change in *kasalbas*, *kasauras* suggests Anatolian affiliations: cf. *Olbe*, the town of the *Oroandeis*, now called *Oura*.

This whole group of kinship terms therefore may, so far as our evidence goes, belong to one language and system of relationships, for *maia*, *mamme*, may mean the actual mother (as distinct from her sisters), *pappas* the actual father and *pappos* the father's father; *peos* any member of the wife's division, and *pentheros* any male of the division to which Ego, his father-in-law, and son-in-law all belong. It is noteworthy that throughout this range of terms the Anatolian associations are endemic, being present for *annis*, *nanna* (*Artemis Nanaia*), *maia* (*Ma* of *Komana*, if not the *Maones*), *atta*, *etheios* (*Hittite eti*), *tata*, *pappas*, and *kassa*.

3. A Heroic Genealogy

The preceding argument would gain important corroboration if it could be shown that the suggested divisional organisation helped in the understanding of even one of the Greek heroic genealogies. These products of archaic learning possess features which have often been the subject

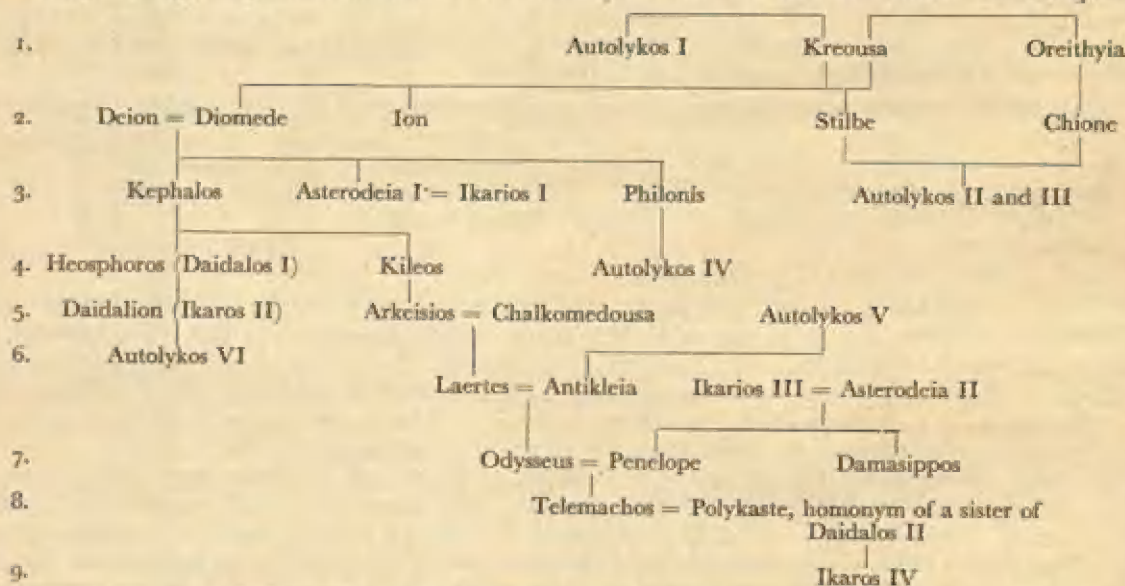
of comment, especially directed towards the continuous interweaving of families, the gross variations in accounts of parentage and marriage, and the continued reiteration of names.

One such genealogy, and that of no less a hero than Odysseus, is explicable by the three-divisional matrilinear system, if we make one fundamental assumption, namely, that in the mythic genealogies the proper name denotes the kinship group. For example, the name of Autolykos occurs six times in this genealogy, Ikarios or Ikaros four times, and so on. These names, unlike those of Aias Telamonios and Aias the less, do not belong to well-defined and easily separable mythic personalities, individuals with characters of their own.⁶ The use of kinship terms like *etai* and *kasignetoï* in Homeric Greek suggests that, for example, the name of Autolykos was felt to be appropriate to any *etes* of Odysseus.

If we use consistently this assumption that recurring proper names indicate the kinship group, we find that the genealogy of Odysseus may be tabulated in a three-divisional matrilinear system, without any difficulties in the first six generations. The six Autolykoi all belong to division B, and so forth. If we maintain the allotment of Ikarios/Ikaros to division A, and Asterodeia to division B when we come to the family of Penelope, a difficulty arises: Ikarios III should be in A, so that Penelope herself should be in B. But Odysseus' wife should belong to division A: that is, to be free to marry Odysseus, Penelope should belong to her *father's* division. In this connexion, we should remember the myth of how Odysseus married a princess from a distant land, and the reluctance of her father to let her go, until Odysseus, impatient, made her choose whether to come with him or not, and Penelope let down her bridal veil and went with her husband. Thus the myth emphasises the close tie between father and daughter, and may well be interpreted as supporting the inference from the genealogy that Penelope's family was patrilinear. Penelope's character as the type of faithful wife then becomes something more than an exploration of the personality of a good woman; the tradition describes the particular form of good womanliness (including subjection to her son) achievable in a certain stage of patrilinear society.

The complexity of the genealogy, however, includes more than this. Penelope's son Telemachos married Polykaste, a daughter of Nestor. If we consistently maintain that the proper name belongs to the kinship group, the name of Polykaste is important because it reappears as that of an Attic heroine who was the sister of Daidalos. The name of Daidalos has already occurred in division C, so Polykaste should also belong to this division: and a C woman marries a B man. Telemachos would belong to this division B if Penelope's family had been matrilinear: so that the genealogy seems to say that Odysseus married a princess from a patrilinear family, and she fully maintained the moral standards of her people in an alien land; but her subjects kept their own forms of organisation, and her son conformed to these. On this interpretation, the Ithakan scenes in the *Odyssey* are no mere foil to the adventures of Odysseus: both he and Penelope are models of endurance and integrity, and the two forms and opportunities of these virtues are equally described.

The genealogy may now be shown in both *stemma* and tabular forms for the sake of comparison: ⁷



⁶ The usual assumption is that they are a disguise for 'Anon.' and owe their existence to a poetic abhorrence of a vacuum. This assumption collapses in face of the question why so many disguises, when fewer would have made the genealogies so very much less intricate.

⁷ Historical social units which claimed descent from one or other of the heroes in this genealogy were: *phatrai* of the Olissaidai (Odysseus), Arkeidai (Arkeisios), and Dmabippidai (Damasippos) in Argos; demes of Ikarieis and Daidalidai in

Attika; *gens* of the Kephalidai, Kerykes (Telemachos), and (?) Ionidai (among whom Autolykos was a personal name) in Attika; and the (?) phratry of the Eikadeis in Attika (for Autolykos is a descendant of their eponym Eikadios, and they worshipped Apollo Parnessios, god of the mountain on which the Autolykos of the *Odyssey* lived). The various literary variants of the genealogy may reasonably be supposed to derive from one or other of these sources, or from the traditions of other similar social units in other Greek towns and communities.

The tabular form of this genealogy is as follows:

1.	= C	b	=	A	c	=	B	a =
		Oreithyia Kreousa					Autolykos I	
2.	A	b	×	B	c	×	C	a ×
	Deion	Diomedes Stilbe Chione		Ion				
3.	B	b		C	c		A	a
	Kephalos Autolykos II and III	Asterodeia I Philonis					Ikarios I	
4.	= C	b	=	A	c	=	B	a =
	Kileos Heosphoros (Daidalos I)						Autolykos IV	
5.	A	b	×	B	c	×	C	a ×
	Arkeisios Daidalion (Ikarios II)	Chalkomedousa		Autolykos V				
6.	B	b		C	c		A	a
	Laertes Autolykos VI	Asterodeia II			Antikleia		Ikarios III	
7.	= C	b	=	A	c	=	B	a =
	Odysseus married	Penelope		(Damasippos)			Damasippos	(Penelope)
8.	A	b	×	B	c	×	C	a ×
				Telemachos	Polykaste		Daidalos II	
9.							A	
							Ikarios IV	

CONCLUSIONS

1. The classical Attic kinship terminology corresponds to the family organisation of the *anchisteia*, and contains less than the total range of relatives recognised in the IE derivatives.
2. The additional IE derivatives found in Homer are so used as to suggest that the formative period for their meaning in Greek was a time when agnatic kinship was more important than in the historical period.
3. Other Homeric terms show a bilateral kinship reckoning, with, however, prohibited degrees among paternal kin, unlike the historical *anchisteia*.
4. The Attic terms *Apatouria* and *homogalaktes* suggest a divisional tribal organisation.
5. Non-IE kinship terms in Greek suggest the recognition of three 'homogalaktic' groups or divisions.
6. The heroic genealogy of Odysseus may be shown to consist of members of three 'homogalaktic' groups.

EPILOGUE

The genealogy of Odysseus is not the only heroic genealogy which shows a three-divisional matrilinear system, but it is one of the most important because so many of the heroic names have Attic affiliations, and in Attica the 'Ionian' tribes had three phratry. It is plain from the preceding diagrams that, without any change in the marriage law, and without any movement of population, a simple development from matriliney to patriliney would provide a three-phratry tribe, continuing to possess bilateral kinship reckoning. Thus we might imagine that patriliney could be introduced in a single generation, when the men finally decided that their sons should be the first heirs, instead of their sisters' sons, the nearest matrilinear heirs male.⁸ Then the men of that generation would be *homogalaktes*, but their sons would be *phrateres*, and celebrate the *Apatouria*.

In such a situation, the matrilinear term *genos* would be without a corresponding social institution, so that it would be available after some time as a name for the subdivision of the phratry, corresponding to the Dorian *patra*. (In Carian Mylasa, the *patrai* were grouped in *syngeneiai*, which suggests that here the *genos* retained its larger meaning.) This would mean that the Greek 'clan' (*genos* or *patra*) arose after the IE terms *phrateres*, *Apatouria*, *homogalaktes*, were established in Attica, so that the phratry, the patrilinear derivative of the homogalaktic division (either simultaneously

* The sister's son remained in the *anchisteia*, (though not, of course, a member of his MB's lineage), but as succeeding only if heirs male (i.e. sons, brothers' sons) failed. Various usages of *parthenos* suggest (not that goddesses called *parthenes* took their title from 'matrilineal' and pre-matrimonial times, but) that *parthenos* was in origin simply a sister of the lineage, perhaps

a younger sister, whether married or not. The hero Parthenopaios would then be the 'sister's son', and the notorious Partheniai of Sparta and Taras would be merely 'sisters' sons' who by some change in the inheritance law in favour of male descent were deprived of their expectations from their mothers' families.

with, or later than, its establishment) became a group of *gene* which represented the blood-lines within the phratry.

In historical times, the *oikoi* are blood-lines within the *genos*. We might suppose that the rule of exogamy followed this further organisational fission, so that, firstly, the *hetaira* or woman of the father's phratry became marriageable if not a member of Ego's *genos* (and so her name becomes available for other unmarried women); then a woman of the same *genos* becomes marriageable if not a member of the same *oikos*: in effect, since brothers each founded their own *oikoi*,⁹ this would legalise uncle-niece marriages (even where the niece was not an *epikleros*), as well as marriage between a brother already having his own *oikos*, and a homopatric stepsister still in the father's or step-brother's *oikos*. If the phratry retained any divisional significance, *oikoi* within one *genos* might belong to different phratries: this would explain a number of obscurities in the historical phratric organisations. Moreover, it would follow from the preceding argument that the historical form of the *anchisteia* and the exogamous *oikos* developed together, and the 'clan' (*genos*) should consequently be regarded as being ancestral to the *oikos*, not to the *anchisteia*. It is also worth noting that the *oikos* was (of course) a geographical as well as a social unit, and that the Kleisthenic deme is a geographical group of *oikoi*.

M. MILLER

⁹ As in the case of the sons of Bouselos (Isaios XI), among whose descendants intermarriage is very frequent.

¹⁰ (p. 46) Or rather, by custom having the force of law. For example, in China the coincidence of inheritance laws and ancestor worship is somewhat similar to that among the ancient Greeks, and there customary law lays down that a sonless man should preferably adopt the second son of his elder brother, failing whom the second son of his younger brother, failing whom the third son of his elder brother, etc. But the Chinese kinship

organisation being much more strongly patrilinear than the Greek, adoption of a *son-in-law* was much more restricted, allegedly occurring only if (1) the father had fallen out with his own kinsfolk and (2) if the son-in-law came from a very poor and obscure family and so was willing to give up his membership of it.

¹¹ (p. 47) In very many languages a word for sister, or a compound of it, is used for sweetheart or concubine, e.g. the old English 'bedsister'.

ODYSSEUS IN ITALY

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I. INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the post-homeric traditions of Odysseus' wanderings the most persistent and circumstantial group is that which places such decisive adventures as the visits to Circe and the underworld in Italy. His wanderings were indeed located at various times in many other parts of the Mediterranean and even beyond it, but none of these locations was felt in antiquity to have so much authority as those which connected him with Campania and sometimes with Etruria. How the two main branches of the Italian tradition are related is a further problem. The Italian location might appear as from the first the obvious and natural result of Greek colonisation within the historic period beginning with the eighth century; certainly many of the later developments must be derived from this source. There is also the likelihood that the Greeks in Italy and Sicily brought with them not merely the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the cyclic epics in some form, but also other traditions of Odysseus from western and southern Greece which were independent of the Ionian epic. Scholars have often regarded the historic colonists as the originators of all the Italian lore of Odysseus, and have connected with them, in their earliest generations, those passages of the *Odyssey* which suggest real acquaintance with Italy or Sicily, assuming them to be later than the rest. This is not the place for a critical discussion of late books or interpolations in the *Odyssey*; it will simply be assumed that not all the material of Homer, as material, was of the same date, and that there was much other matter, not used in Homer, which was as old as any that was included. Some of this matter, since Odysseus' home was near the limits of the Greek world, may also have been imperfectly Greek from the first, and not all of its carriers need have been Greeks.

In respect of its matter the *Odyssey* is simply the most remarkable of the *Nostoi*; other traditions of the heroes returning from Troy have much to say of their eventual settlement in Italy, mostly on the Adriatic coast, along with occasional Trojans. Trojans of various legendary generations are traced to settlements in Sicily, where Odysseus also wandered. The west coast of Italy on the other hand, so far as Achaean heroes are concerned, is almost the exclusive preserve of Odysseus, who, unlike his contemporaries, does not in normal tradition settle or die on Italian soil, but returns home. The hero who does settle in the west of Italy, and in some traditions crosses the path of Odysseus before he does so, is the Trojan Aeneas, on whose legend the tradition of Odysseus was not without effect.

The Italian location is very fully attested in ancient literature. The aim of the present discussion is to account for that fact, and only in that connexion to notice modern identifications of places. The most famous of these occur in the ingenious pages of Victor Bérard,¹ but they are not relevant except where Bérard, in following ancient authors, adds geographical and topographical arguments which will stand without his Phoenician etymologies and arbitrary interpretations. In Latium and Campania he follows the ancient tradition which we are considering.

On the general question of legendary voyages and settlements before the historic age of colonisation we have recently had the work of his son Jean Bérard,² who, after treating the historic colonies, collects and discusses the literary references for the legendary period in his concluding chapters. His arguments that the historic colonists cannot have originated the whole tradition and projected it backward into earlier times have some force, though they cannot be discussed adequately here. He contends that the western wanderings of Odysseus, and of such earlier figures as Herakles and the Argonauts, who also returned, are narrated in legends having a long development before the historic period, and further that the *Odyssey*, particularly the adventures told by Odysseus to Alcinous, falls shortly before the period of colonisation, except in the passages

¹ See *Les phéniciens et l'Odysée* (1901 & 1927); *Les navigations d'Ulysse* (1927-9); *Introduction à l'Odysée* and *Dans le sillage d'Ulysse: Album Odyséen* (1933) containing photographs of the places discussed.

² *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile* (1941). His critical analysis of the *Odyssey* is taken without modification from the elder Bérard.

referring to Sicily and southern Italy,³ which are additions belonging to the age of the poet who completed it perhaps early in the eighth century. This dating of the main mass of the *Odyssey* is certainly in agreement with that of many scholars, but it is combined with his father's topographical identifications wholesale to yield a full legendary account of the western Mediterranean.⁴ More convincing, though less closely relevant to Odysseus, is his discussion of the legendary settlements of other heroes of the *Nostoi* such as Diomedes, Philoctetes, and Epeus on the Adriatic coast, where he can argue that these are not located on the sites of historic colonies in whose territories they are, but at places of no great importance in later times, and not even always occupied by Greeks. These settlements, and others beyond the region of later colonisation, he refers to a prehistoric but real order of things to be sharply distinguished from the historic. His procedure for these regions recalls that of Nilsson for old Greece⁵ in tracing the scenes of the great cycle of legends to Mycenaean sites, and results in a similar gap between heroic legend and later traditions. This, on the face of it, is a reasonable contention, and it is not entirely refuted by the objection that the historic colonists might claim genuinely prehistoric remains in Italy as the work of Greek heroes. There is even some evidence from archaeology that the intercourse between old Greece and the region of Taras not only existed in Mycenaean times but continued unbroken into historic.⁶ Mycenaean connexion with Sicily is well attested, but appears to have been broken off. There are traces also of contact with the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.⁷ But beyond Sicily evidence of settlement more permanent than casual landing or small trading is still very slight, and more suggestive of wanderers like Odysseus than of the settlers of the *Nostoi*. Archaeology thus confirms the impression given by Homer that for the late Mycenaean period Sicily and the east coast of Italy were the western limits of the known world, beyond which were the fabulous homes of supernatural beings and the dead.

II. WESTERN ALLUSIONS IN THE *ODYSSEY*

The stages in the Greek discovery of Italy have been conveniently set forth by E. Wikén.⁸ He holds, like Blakeway⁹ and Dunbabin, that the Odyssean passages mentioning Sicily as a place of trade and a source of slaves may not reflect much earlier conditions than those of the eighth century. The Isle of Syrie near Ortygie, from which Eumaeus was carried off as a child by Phoenicians, is taken by Wikén¹⁰ as indicating Syracuse, conceived half fabulously, rather than Syra near Delos, as the scholiasts and some moderns hold. The Phoenician girl who handed him over to pay her passage home was herself carried off by Taphians, who belong near the mouth of the Achelous, from Sidon; a long and odd voyage for any but Phoenicians themselves. Odysseus in a lying tale calls himself Eperitus of Alybas, identified by the scholiasts with Metapontum, and says that he was driven to Ithaca from Sicania, or out of his way from Alybas to Sicania.¹¹ The Taphians as western voyagers appear again in Mentès, who sails to Temese to trade iron for bronze; this is usually taken for Temesa in Bruttium rather than Tamasos in Cyprus, though if Taphians could reach Sidon, as above, they would certainly reach Cyprus on the way. Temese will be mentioned again later; if it is the Bruttian Temesa it is on the Tyrrhenian coast beyond the usual horizon of the non-fabulous parts of the *Odyssey*.¹² But the mention of it need not be later than the references to Sicily which suggest the beginning of historical voyaging in the west. The wanderings of Odysseus himself, as related to the Phaeacians, are not in the *Odyssey* located by historical names, except in so far as places were later named by Greeks who brought his legend with them; this part of the *Odyssey* can be considered only after an account of these later locations, to which we now turn.

III. THE *TELEGONIA*

Before tracing the locations proper a few words are necessary on the *Telegonia*¹³ of Eugammon the Cyrenaean, which was anciently regarded as concluding the epic cycle of Troy. Odysseus, having made journeys in Elis and Thesprotia (whose relevance to the general tradition will appear later), is mortally wounded by his son by Circe, Telegonus, who comes to Greece to seek him and lands unaware on Ithaca. They fight because Telegonus appears as an unknown raider, but before Odysseus dies they recognise one another. Telegonus takes back with him to Aeaea his father's

³ I 182: XX 383; XXIV 211, 307, 366, 389.

⁴ See c. VIII, 'La légende d'Ulysse dans les mers italiennes' and the 'Deuxième partie' generally; also the discussion of these views by T. J. Dunbabin, 'Minos and Daidalos in Sicily' (BSR XVI (1948), 1-18).

⁵ See his *Mycenaean Origins of Greek Religion*, though he does not himself agree in applying this method to Italy.

⁶ See Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, 1 and 28 ff., and A. A. Blakeway, BSA XXXIII, 176.

⁷ See below, note 114, on Buchner's finds on Ischia.

⁸ *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande und den Völkern der Appenhalbinsel bis 300 v. Chr.* (Lund, 1937).

⁹ BSA XXXIII, 170 ff.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* 27-8 on *Od* XV 403 ff., following Nilsson. J.

Bérard, *op. cit.* 322, like V. Bérard, prefers the location at Delos, which is certainly suggested by the mention of Apollo and Artemis at 410.

¹¹ *Od* XXIV 304-7, and Scholia; Eustathius, *ad loc.* Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αδύβας; Tzet. *Chil* XII 404: Apollod. *Hist. Mir.* 2.

¹² *Od* I 179 ff. Tamasos in Scholia and Strabo 225-6. Copper and tin hardly occur in this part of Italy, but Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, 223, quoting Orsi, *N. Sc.* 1916, 359, mentions traces of copper near Temesa, which, contrary to his assertion there, he now believes is the Homeric Talamon.

¹³ See Kinkel, EGF, 58, and Allen, *OCT Homer* V, 109. The date of Eugammon is usually given as the early sixth century; it must be later than the founding of Cyrene in 630 B.C. See Eusebius *Chron.* Olymp. LIII (568-565 B.C.).

body and also Telemachus and Penelope, whom Circe makes immortal in order herself to marry Telemachus and to pair off Telegonus with Penelope. Our fragments indicate no more than a romantic purpose for this matchmaking in the far west, nor do they locate Acaea, but later legend gives Telegonus at least a numerous Italian progeny. The mention in our fragments of another son of Odysseus and Penelope, Arcesilaus, has long been recognised as a genealogical compliment by the author to his patrons the Battiads of Cyrene, in whose family Arcesilaus was a hereditary name, and who apparently traced their descent from Arcesilaus after he had settled at Sparta, their earlier home. Thus a genealogical interest for the whole poem by Eugammon may be suspected; this certainly appears in some of the earlier poets such as Cinaethon, whose work he probably used;¹⁴ it would be natural at a time when genealogy was not merely a compliment to noble families but served as history, and even, when it concerned the gods, as cosmogony. Since the *Telegonia* is usually dated to the sixth century, it was late enough to contain definite locations in the west; it is unfortunate that these, if they existed, have all perished. We might otherwise have found them connected with some hero-cult of Odysseus in Italy.

IV. HESIOD

The Hesiodic poems, most of them probably older than Eugammon, contain western references of great interest to Aetna, Ortygia, Pelorus, and the Ligurians (if these are not really Libyans), and one of the fabulous Hesperides is named, Hesperethusa, perhaps the Arethusa of the west, which, with Ortygia, again suggests Syracuse as a region of fable.¹⁵ Hesperia, as the oldest Greek name¹⁶ for the whole Italian peninsula in Stesichorus, also belongs in this connexion and suggests that Italy was a world of the dead and the supernatural. Hesiod was indeed regarded in antiquity as the first to place Odysseus' wanderings in the western basin of the Mediterranean, as can be seen from Eratosthenes in Strabo, and from the scholiasts on Apollonius Rhodius, who mentions that he put Circe's home in the Tyrrhenian sea.¹⁷ Another passage, *Theogony* 1011-16, brings Odysseus definitely to Italy in his fabulous wanderings, and is our earliest source for this location. It is significant that Odysseus is made an ancestor not of Greeks but of two non-Greek peoples of the first importance for the Greeks, the Latins and the Etruscans. 'And Circe, daughter of Helios Hyperionides, bore in love with stout-hearted Odysseus Agrius and Latinus flawless and mighty (and she bore Telegonus through golden Aphrodite), who far off in a nook of the sacred isles ruled over all the renowned Tyrrhenians.' These lines follow immediately the mention of Aeneas, son of Aphrodite and Anchises, though nothing is here said of Aeneas' travels. To dismiss them as an addition of Roman times might seem easy and convincing, but the mention of Latinus with no name suggesting Rome, and of the Etruscans as his subjects, should make us hesitate. Nor is Aeneas here connected with Latium, as in Roman times he could not fail to be.

If we accept this passage as a genuine piece of genealogical poetry earlier than the days of Roman prominence in Italy, we have still to interpret it and date it more precisely. Telegonus we may eliminate, for the line mentioning him fits badly and is missing from the best MSS.; it was probably interpolated to reconcile the rest with the *Telegonia*.¹⁸ Agrius has been much discussed, for besides Latinus we should expect another clearly Italian eponym. Among emendations Γράϊκον τ' and Γράϊον have most to recommend them, but no sufficient reason appears for altering the text.¹⁹ The most attractive suggestion is that of Altheim²⁰ that Ἀγρίος as a proper name represents Faunus, who is much later mentioned by Nonnus as 'son of Circe, haunter of crags, the dweller alone, native of the Tyrrhenian land',²¹ and who is a regular figure of genealogical tradition in Latium. Altheim's interpretation of μύχῳ νήσῳν ἑσάρῳν²² is also convincing; it need not be assumed that the writer took Italy for an island, for the phrase fits well the appearance to voyagers from the south of the fringe of islands running northwards from Capri to Monte Circeo at the southern end of ancient Latium. The promontory of Circæum appears as screened in a recess like Mycenæ; μύχῳ Ἀργεός; but in any case the high headland stands up like an island from the surrounding sea and the Pontine marshes, and was even supposed by some ancient writers to have been once in fact an island.²³ The description then rests ultimately on an eye-witness's knowledge

¹⁴ See J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, c. VI. Of Cinaethon of Sparta Pausanias (II. 3. 9) says ἑταυρολόγησε καὶ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίαι. Pindar in *Pyth* IV and Herodotus on Cyrene (IV. 45 ff) make no use of the connexion with Odysseus.

¹⁵ Aetna in *Theog.* 860. Ortygia in *Ox. Pap.* XI. 1358. Pelorus ap. Diod. IV. 85. Ligurians; Strab. 300. Libyans (or Ligurians) in *Ox. Pap.* 1358. Hesperethusa frag. 270 Rzach.

¹⁶ See Wikén, *op. cit.* on Stesichorus *Tabula Iliaca*, Bergk, *PLG* III, 212.

¹⁷ Strabo 23. Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV. 311 (= frags. 65, 66, 67 Rzach). The Sirens also seem to be placed in these parts by Hesiod (frags. 68, 69 Rzach).

¹⁸ This interpolation was first shown by Muetzell, *De emendatione Theogoniae libri tres* (Lipsiae 1833), 176 ff.

¹⁹ On the whole passage see Goettling-Flach, *Hesiod, ad loc.*, where Lydus *De Mensibus* I. 4. 7, is quoted. Lydus uses

Hesiod's Ἀγρίος ἑστὶν Ἀετρίων in support of statements about Ἀετρίων and Γράϊον in Italy side by side, but a marginal note mentions Γράϊος as a son of Pandora and Zeus, which shows some confusion. See also Rzach's edition *ad loc.* and A. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen über die Sagen vom Tode des Odysseus* (1918), 103-5.

²⁰ *History of Roman Religion*, 214-16, reviving the suggestion of Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* I, 54, and Preller, *Römische Mythologie* II, 308.

²¹ *Dionysiaca* XII. 328 ff.

²² *Op. cit.* 481.

²³ Cf. Strabo 232 νησάδων θαλάττῃ τε καὶ θυσίαι. For its having been an island Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* V. 83, Solinus II. 22, Pliny *N.H.* III. 57; see Hülsen in *RE* s.v. 'Circeii' and Bethe, *ibid.* s.v. 'Kirke'. This is likely in a volcanic region of rises and subsidences, though the date would be much more ancient than anything in Greek history.

of that coast and leaves the Hesiodic location of Circe beyond doubt, even if the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, with which this supplement to the *Theogony* proper is clearly linked, did not also place her in the Tyrrhenian sea. The Hesiodic references are the earliest certain mentions of Circe at Circaeum, evidently one of the most ancient features of Greek lore concerning Latium and Campania, which may have brought other Odyssean locations in its train.

The Tyrrhenians as subjects of Latinus show an identification of Latins and Etruscans which may be mere vagueness, such as Dionysius mentions, when he says that once Latins and Umbrians and Ausones and others were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks,²⁴ but may also reflect Etruscan influence south of the Tiber. Yet Wikén is doubtless right in allowing no political conclusions to be drawn about Italian peoples from these lines.²⁵ A later limit at any rate is implied by the mere granting of a heroic ancestry to the Etruscans, who from the middle of the sixth century became the bitter enemies of all Greek sailors and colonists, not least in Campania. This passage of the *Theogony* is connected with both branches of the Italian lore about Odysseus, for if proper names connect him with Latium and Etruria, the most likely meaning of the phrase 'sacred isles' links him no less with Campania.

The lines have been discussed by Blakeway²⁶ in connexion with the history and archaeology of the earliest Greek trade in the west. He considers that it was the experience of merchant adventurers that gave the author of the *Theogony* his knowledge of western geography, though he may not himself have left Boeotia, and further that these men explored the Sicilian and Italian coasts before any colonists used their knowledge for settling. He bases this opinion on Greek geometric pottery and imitations of a date earlier than the colonisation, which have been found in Sicily, at Cumae, and at various sites in Etruria. The Etrurian material he reckons older than the foundation of Cumae in the period 775-750 B.C., though there is also Cumae material older than the Greek city. Some of it, which is of local clay, must be the work of resident Greek potters; the foundation of Cumae was the result of such earlier trade and settlement by individuals. Though later investigators have been inclined to reduce his dating,²⁷ at least where it reached back into the ninth century for the earliest finds, they have not invalidated his main argument for early voyaging before colonisation. For, as he says, the Hesiodic passages mention not Greek colonies but islands, mountains, and peoples which the colonists found. These were to be brought into the history of the world as presented by Greek legend. So far as archaeology is concerned the homes from which these earliest of historic explorers and traders set out cannot be certainly identified; if they were Chalcidians such as founded the Campanian colonies, we cannot prove it until Chalcidian pottery of this date is identified.²⁸

V. SOUTHERN ITALY: OLDER REFERENCES

The next definite piece of literary evidence for Odysseus' journeyings traced on the Italian coast seem to be given by a Sophoclean fragment, which mentioned an oracle of the dead or by the Tyrrhenian lake Aornus, that is, Avernus. Pearson connects this fragment with the lost *Odysseus Akanthoplex*, Holzinger with the *Euryalus*: both were plays concerning the hero's last days.²⁹ It is also possible that Aeschylus laid the scene of his *Psychagogoi*, which was the first of an Odyssean trilogy and treated the Nekyia, at Aornus; for Lycophron, who gives the name Dacira to Persephone as worshipped by Avernus, may have got this unusual name from Aeschylus, who certainly used it in this play. The chorus of ghost-raisers was descended from Hermes and lived round a lake. If this is correct, the *Psychagogoi* will be the oldest literary witness to the Nekyia as located at Avernus by the Greeks of the historic period.³⁰

Of some antiquity, too, must be the tradition of Odysseus and Circe as parents of Auson, the eponym of the Ausonian natives of Campania, who were finally subjected or driven out by steadily encroaching Samnite invaders in the fifth century. The importance assumed in the Ausones by this genealogy, and the friendliness of native peoples, suggest the early days of Cumaean prosperity and

²⁴ *ARI* 29. But see Altheim, *Der Ursprung der Etrusker* (1950), passim, for a justification of this view of the Etruscans as a composite people when they became important in history.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* 79, where he suggests that Agrius may be meant for a ruler of the Etruscans and Latinus for a ruler of the Latins considered as part of them.

²⁶ 'Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Commerce with Italy, Sicily, and France in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.' (*BSA* XXIII (1932-3), 170 ff.). Compare also his article 'Demaratus' (*JRS* XXV (1935), 130 ff.).

²⁷ See R. M. Cook in *JHS* LXVI (1946), 80-1, for a summary of their arguments, though he is willing to date *Theog.* 1011 ff. earlier than 700, by which date the Tyrrhenian would be better known.

²⁸ See Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, 5, who mentions Cycladic pottery but denies that any can be identified as Chalcidian.

²⁹ See Pearson frag. 748 (682 Nauck) and Holzinger, *Lycophron's Alexandra*, 346. The words νεκυομαστειον in τῇ Τυρρηνίδι λίμνῃ Σοφοκλέους lostopei are added to the note on Ἄορνος λίμνη

(ἀμφὶ codd) περὶ Τυρρηλῶν given by the compiler used in Bekker, *Anecd. graeca* 414. 3, but do not recur in the same extract in Eustathius ad *Od.* (1667. 13 and *Et Magn.* 115). Καρβέριος as a name in Sophocles for the Cimmerians (957 Nauck, and *Et Magn.* 115) may belong to the same play. 'Tyrrhenian' is surely used generally for the west coast of Italy from Campania northward. See Wikén, *op. cit.* 118 and 126. Pearson doubts whether Cumae was meant by Sophocles, however later writers took the allusion, and notes also the νεκυομαστειον at the Ἄορνος λίμνη in Thesprotia (Paus. IX. 30. 6). This is another link between Campania and Thesprotia such as those discussed later here in section X.

³⁰ 273-8 Nauck. cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.* 109-11, and Wikén, *op. cit.* 126. In Nauck. 277, the text has Ἐρμῆν μὲν πρόγονον τίονεν γένος οἱ περὶ λίμνῃ. Aristophanes *Frogs* may parody the play in places. Δακίρα in Lycophron 710 will be discussed later; as a name for Persephone here it is quoted by Schol. Ap. Rhod. III. 847. See Wikén, *op. cit.* 125-6.

a Cumaean origin for this tradition.³¹ Sinopus, mentioned by Pherecydes as a companion of Odysseus saved by Scylla, has been connected with the Greek name Sinope for Sinuessa in Campania.³²

At least as old as the fifth century is the tradition of the ghost Alybas at Temesa in Bruttium, preserved in Pausanias and Strabo.³³ He was the ghost of a Greek follower of Odysseus, who in a drunken fit violated a native girl, and was caught and stoned to death by the natives and left unburied. Odysseus sailed away caring nothing for his death. Alybas haunted the place, slaying all sorts, until the people, apparently now the Greek colonists, were eager to leave and consulted the Delphic oracle. The reply was that he should be appeased as a hero with a temple and a precinct and with the annual gift of the fairest maiden in Temesa. But the Locrian boxer Euthymus, when his city got control of Temesa, entered the temple, fell in love with the maiden, and, putting on his gear, awaited the onset of the ghost. He defeated him, so that he vanished into the sea, and the town was free of the tribute. This ghost was black in a terrible fashion and wore a wolf-skin; his appearance recalls Glam's ghost with whom Grettir the Strong victoriously wrestled in the Icelandic saga. Was he also perhaps, like this ghost and unlike literary Greek ghosts, solid? ³⁴ Euthymus was a historical Olympic victor of the fifth century,³⁵ who may have been substituted by the Locrians for the eponymous hero Sybaris represented as the deliverer in the sculpture that Pausanias saw. The haunting is likely in any case to be much older, older probably than any Greek settlement in Temesa, as the mention of Odysseus, forerunner of the colonists, hints.

Alybas, in the *Odyssey*, was, as we saw, reputed to be the earlier name of Metapontum on the other coast and of its hero: the name may have reached Temesa by sea or by migration overland.³⁶ The story of the stoning reads like a savage variant of the death of Elpenor, and Mayer has suggested that it was prompted by funeral cairns of stone, probably of Messapian origin, found along these coasts. The tribute of maidens has been claimed by Giannelli as a case of ritual prostitution, an un-Greek custom which he supposes that the natives had and forced upon the Greeks as the price of unmolested settlement, here as at Locri.³⁷ The Locrian custom is attested in ancient tradition, which compares it with Lydian and Cyprian practices but makes it the expiation of an offence and not a ritual of fertility. It certainly prevailed in the same region of Italy, but, as in oriental countries, it was connected with a goddess.³⁸ Giannelli is no doubt right in seeing the tribute as a native custom forced on the Greeks, but he is hardly justified in brushing aside the colourful and convincing male ghost with his northern analogues, as a face-saving invention of the Greeks, in order to make it ritual prostitution in honour of a goddess. Pausanias does not explicitly say that the girls were sacrificed, or killed by a ghost, but such would be the natural atonement for blood and the natural limitation of the ghost's indiscriminate slaughter. There are examples in literary legend too of heroic ghosts, such as Achilles in Euripides's *Hecuba*, claiming the sacrifice of girls, though not annually, and others of monsters claiming a regular sacrifice of girls, such as Perseus and Herakles stopped by slaying them. It was at any rate plausible to make of this native demon something like a Greek ghost of a well-known type and to connect him with Odysseus in this way.

VI. LATIUM: HELLANICUS

North of Campania we find Odysseus traced in Latium by Hellanicus in the fifth century. He says that Aeneas arrived there from the land of the Molossians and, with Odysseus, founded Rome. Dionysius in quoting this also mentions Damastes and other unnamed authorities. The reading

³¹ Schol. Lycophr. 44. Eustathius 1379. 20 and *Ad Dion. Perieg.* 78. Servius ad *Aen.* VIII 328. *Et. Magn.* 171. 15. s.v. *Αἰόρον*, Verrius Flaccus ap. Fest 16 Lindsay. See Wikén, *op. cit.* 76. Cumae itself was founded on territory already Oscan in the eighth century: see Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* 55, who also sums up the evidence for regarding the Oscan people as a branch of the Ausones or Aurunci, *op. cit.* 39-50.

³² Frag. 144 Jacoby *cf.* Livy X. 21. 8. See Wikén, *op. cit.* 126.

³³ Pausanias VI. 6. 44 ff. and Strabo 255, who calls him *Polites* (*cf.* *Od.* X. 224. See also Suidas s.v. *Εὐθύμης* and Ps. Plutarch, *Prov. Alex.* 131. *Νόκον* in Pausanias is usually emended to the *Ἀλὺβας* of Suidas in view of the *Ἀλὺβας* of later MSS., and *ἡρόον* is read for *ἦρα*, as the goddess has no relevance. The youth Sybaris, the spring Lyca, the river Calabrus, and the heroon at Temesa, shown together on the sculpture as seen by Pausanias, suggest a wide context of Italiote legend. For discussion see E. Maas, 'Der Kampf um Temesa' (*Jdl.* XXII (1907), 18-53); G. de Sanctis, 'L'eroe di Temesa' (*Atti. Acc. Torino* XLV (1909-10), 164 ff.) (*Ricerche storiche e geogr.* 43 ff.; *Klio* IX 1909, 385 ff.); E. Pais, *Annali Univ. Toscana* IX (1891), 27 ff.; G. Gianelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia* 261-77; M. Mayer, 'Rhodier Chalcidier und die Odyssee' (*Jdl.* 1923), Sect. I, 'Elpenor und sein Grab'; J. C. Lawson, *περί ἀλὺβας* (*CR* XL (1926), 53-58 and 116-21); F. Ribezzo, *Riv. Indogreco-ital.* XV (1931), 98-2 and XVI (1932), 78. Pais sees in the story a symbol of the known subjection of Temesa to Croton

at one period; this is rightly discounted by Giannelli. But the youth Sybaris no doubt stands for Sybarite help against the natives.

³⁴ Grettir, like Euthymus, is historical, but has folk-tale attached to him. Alybas also recalls Grendel, whose onset Beowulf awaits at night and who returns defeated to a lake. I now see that Burn also compares Glam (*World of Hesiod*, 140-1); he further mentions the custom of *ποσχεθισμός* intended to prevent such walking. Lawson assembles evidence that *ἀλὺβας* were dried and unputrefied corpses which might be reanimated as vampires by the indignant ghosts.

³⁵ The base of his statue was found at Olympia (Roehl, *JGA* 108; Loewy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, 19, quoted by Giannelli, *op. cit.* 277).

³⁶ See Ribezzo, *loc. cit.* XV, 187 who with Wilamowitz, Bethe, and Bérard accepts Alybas as the later Metapontum.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* 271-7.

³⁸ See Giannelli, *op. cit.* 220-1 and 231-41. The presiding goddess was chthonic and was usually identified with Persephone, who had a famous temple at Locri. Justin XXI, 3. 2 ff. rather naturally makes her Venus (like Aphrodite at Corinth). Clearchus of Soli ap. Athen. XII 515 E seems to make the prostitution at Locri an inheritance from the Locrians of old Greece, whose hero Aias had violated Cassandra and offended Athena, and whom Athena thus punished. But the originators of such a custom would not regard it as degrading.

μετ' Ὀδυσσεώς is now preferred to μετ' Ὀδυσσεά,³⁹ which might imply that Odysseus was a forerunner who founded Rome first before it was refounded by Aeneas; the continuance of this association of the two in Lycophron⁴⁰ is the principal ground for preferring the first reading. But the two heroes seem to be in uneasy combination, and it has been assumed that Hellanicus was the first to attempt to join them. He may have found Odysseus first in the field as father of Latinus, and combined this with an early version of the founding of Rome by Aeneas, instead of his descendants as later chronology required. How much older than Hellanicus the connexion of Odysseus with Rome in particular may be cannot be determined, but it is at least likely that Hellanicus began his account of Latium with the landing of Odysseus. Rome itself was only beginning in Greek eyes to deserve a permanent and honoured settler, such as Aeneas, as founder; it has been suggested that Hellanicus first brought Aeneas to Latium beside Odysseus.⁴¹

VII. ETRURIA: HELLANICUS

Odysseus as a legendary figure in Etruria raises various problems which can only be hinted at yet. He was evidently familiar there as a hero of the Ionian epic, for the Etruscan forms *Utuse* and *Utuste*, found on vases, are derived from the epic form and not from those which originated the Latin *Ulixes* and *Ulysses*.⁴² But we find also the figure of Nanas mentioned by Hellanicus, which is by many scholars admitted to be the same as the Nanos which Lycophron identified with Odysseus.⁴³ If this identification is correct, then Dionysius's quotation from Hellanicus on the Pelasgian origin of the Etruscans led by Nanas, though it shows that Nanos may be at least as old as the fifth century, still raises great difficulties for anyone who thinks of Odysseus in terms of the *Odyssey*. In the reign of Nanas, descendant of Pelasgus, the Pelasgians were expelled from Thessaly by the Greeks, sailed to the River Spines at the head of the Adriatic, left their ships there, and took possession of Croton inland, from which they settled the country now called Tyrrhenia. Croton in this account is certainly Cortona in Etruria, as in Lycophron. The identification of Pelasgian and Etruscan is old and frequent and cannot be discussed here.⁴⁴ The direction of this legendary migration is exactly opposite to that reported by Livy⁴⁵ and confirmed by modern archaeology, for the Etruscan expansion to the head of the Adriatic. Was it perhaps a projection into the past, made by the Thessalians, who attempted to found a colony at the mouth of the Po in the sixth century, and failed, apparently through Etruscan opposition, since they aimed at land and not merely trade?⁴⁶ The colonists might claim this Pelasgian legend as a precedent for their own arrival, whether or not the story has any truth as prehistory of the Adriatic. But Nanas as leader of this migration is more difficult, for he seems to be an established native hero of Cortona and apparently of other Etruscan towns; perhaps he was already in native legend as a wanderer, and was taken up by Hellanicus for this story that he found of a Pelasgian migration, as later by Lycophron for his account of Odysseus in Etruria. It cannot yet be shown, however, that the Etruscans themselves identified Nanos or Nanas with Odysseus, whom they knew as *Utuse*.

VIII. TIMAEUS, LYCOPHRON, AND STRABO

The vague mass of tradition traceable here and there in earlier centuries was taken over in the third century by Timaeus of Tauromenium in his wide researches into the history and geography of the west. For our purposes Timaeus is mainly represented in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, written probably within his lifetime, and by the extensive borrowings of Strabo. These and other sources for the reconstructed work of Timaeus have been exhaustively studied by J. Geffcken, whose work⁴⁷ is still fundamental and has suffered only minor modifications. The Campanian and South Italian tradition of Odysseus appears here in a developed and circumstantial form which is clearly the result of long growth, though much of it may be far older than is usually assumed. It will be convenient to begin with Lycophron.

First we have the prophecy of Odysseus' wanderings apart from any mention of Aeneas, which occupies lines 648–819. Not all of this long passage tells of adventures placed in Italy, but we are concerned with these alone, except for the allusions to Odysseus' death and burial, which involve Aetolia and Epirus as well as Etruria. The Sirens are called 'centaur-slaying barren nightingales,

³⁹ See Jacoby's commentary on *Hellanikos* 84 (= Dion. Hal. A.R. I. 72), also L. Malten, *Ainias* (*Archiv für Religionswiss.* XXIX (1931)) 50.

⁴⁰ 1242–5.

⁴¹ For discussion see W. Schur, 'Griechische Traditionen von der Gründung Roms' (*Klio* XVII (1921), 137–152) and Malten, *op. cit.* Hellanicus was probably using at any rate Etruscan tradition, for a terracotta group of Aeneas and Anchises has been discovered at Veii and is dated to the early fifth century. See G. Q. Giglioli, *Bull. del Mus. dell' Impero*. Appendix to vol. LXIX, 3–16.

⁴² See Wüst in *RE* s.v. 'Odysseus' cols 1908–9 and Fiesel in Roscher s.v. 'Utuse'.

⁴³ Hellanicus ap. Dion. Hal. A.R. I. 26. See Wüst in *RE*

s.v. 'Nanas', who has no doubt that they are the same, and Wagner in Roscher s.v. 'Nanas' and Hartmann, *op. cit.* 154–6, who are sure that they are not.

⁴⁴ See Dion. Hal. A.R. I. 25 ff. and J. Bérard, *op. cit.* 493 ff.; also the discussion in F. Schachermeyr, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, C. VI, 260–2, who traces the identification to the resemblance between Kyrton or Gyrtion, the Etruscan for Cortona, and Gyrtion in Thessaly, mentioning also the trade route from Spina to Cortona.

⁴⁵ V. 33 *ad fin.*

⁴⁶ For an account of this see Beaumont, 'Greek Influence in the Adriatic' (*JHS* LVI, Pt II, 1936, 177–8).

⁴⁷ *Timaios und die Geographie des Westens* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* XIII (1892)).

Aetolian or Curetid',⁴⁸ an allusion to their bird-form, which is common outside Homer and in art,⁴⁹ and to their being daughters of the River Achelous between Aetolia and Acarnania. Circe is called the 'dragoness mixing drugs with meal and beast-shaped doom',⁵⁰ and Hermes is mentioned with his moly.⁵¹ Then Odysseus comes to the dark plains of the dead to seek Tiresias, who had known mating as a man and as a woman, and makes the sacrifice of blood in a ditch.⁵² Circe and Tiresias are not clearly located, perhaps by deliberate mystification, until we are told that the next place reached was the island which crushed down the giants' backs and the savage form of Typhon, an island glowing with flames where Zeus once set the Titans to dwell as an ugly race of apes.⁵³ This is Pithekoussa, or Aenaria, by Cumae, the modern Ischia, about which Strabo tells the story of Typhon, mentioning Pindar, and quoting Timaeus for the celebrated eruption of the hill Epomeus in the middle of the island.⁵⁴ Pithekoussa is apparently not elsewhere connected with Odysseus; the connexion may be a fancy of Lycophron's. Strabo mentions the tradition that ἄριποι as in Pindar's εἰν Ἀρίποις (in an unplaced fragment) means apes in Etruscan; but the island always belonged to Cumae.⁵⁵ Passing the tomb of Baïos, his steersman, at Baiae⁵⁶ and the dwellings of the Cimmerians and the heavy surge of the Acherusian lake,⁵⁷ he reaches Ossa⁵⁸ and the 'cattle path built by the lion' (Herakles),⁵⁹ the grave of Obrimo, maiden of the ground,⁶⁰ and the stream of Pyriphleges, where the steep of Polydegmon rears its head to heaven, from which all springs flow through the Ausonian land. Leaving then the high slope of Lethaeon and Lake Aornus, rounded with a noose, and Cocytos raging in darkness, the stream of the black Styx, he offers to Dacira and her consort a gift, fastening his helmet to the head of a pillar. The geography here is sketchy, for the Lucrine Lake is not mentioned unless by implication; Avernus can be reached only by sailing through it, as Strabo shows,⁶¹ and Silius Italicus happens to mention that it was once called the Cocytus;⁶² Pyriphlegethon is mentioned by Strabo⁶³ as a hot spring near the Acherusian lake. Polydegmon, from its description, Geffcken takes for the Apennine watershed named by a title suggesting Hades.⁶⁴ Lethaeon is not clearly identified unless it means the mountain north-west of Avernus or the hill of Cumae; the round Lake Avernus is more fully described by Strabo. Dacira, as we saw, occurs also in Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi*, and, if it is connected with δᾶς, the name means the goddess worshipped with torches.⁶⁵

Lycophron now returns to the Sirens. For him there are not two as in Homer, but three, singers like their mother Terpsichore, and located on the Campanian coast.⁶⁶ Odysseus, by passing unharmed, causes them to take a suicidal leap from the cliff's top into the Tyrrhenian sea.⁶⁷ One, Parthenope, is cast up by the sea near the tower of Phalerus, founder of Neapolis, by the river Glanis; there the inhabitants build a tomb for her and honour her as a bird-goddess with

⁴⁸ 670-3. Cf. Strabo 462 and 464 ff.; also Schol. Lycophr. 653 and 670 on the flight of the Centaurs from Thessaly and their death by hunger on the Isle of the Sirens under the spell of their song. The scholia here and later are quoted as in Scheer's edition, which includes similar material from Tzetzes, the paraphrases, and elsewhere, on each passage.

⁴⁹ Schol. Lycophr. 658, 721, 731. Ap. Rhod. IV. 898 ff. Apollod. *Epit.* VII. 19. Ovid *Met.* V. 552-62. Hyginus *Fab.* 125. Aelian *NH* XVII. 23. See also Zwicker in *RE* s.v. 'Sirenen' and Weicker in Roscher s.v. 'Seirenen' and G. De Petra, 'Le sirene del mar tirreno' (*Atti ac. Napoli* XXV (1908), 1-36). The illustrations in Weicker's article are particularly instructive; they vary from human-headed birds to women with bird's feet and wings growing from their backs. See also Buschor, *Musen des Jenseits*, for representations in vase-painting and sculpture.

⁵⁰ 673-5.

⁵¹ 677-80.

⁵² 681-7 Schol. 683.

⁵³ 688-93 Schol. 688.

⁵⁴ 248.

⁵⁵ 626-7, where he mentions Ἀρπυίαι, originally in Cilicia with Typhon, and Pindar's combination of the Cilician and Campanian locations (frags. 92-3 Schröder 240 Bowra). For the apes see also Ovid *Met.* XIV. 89 and Martianus Capella VI. 644. *Inarime* a *Graecis dicta Pithecussa*. Virgil on *Inarime* in *Aen.* IX. 716 does not mention apes. There were in historical times none nearer than Barbary. Ribezzo, *loc. cit.* XVI, 8-10, regards ἄριποι as an ancient Mediterranean word occurring in Italy as well as in the Aegean.

⁵⁶ 694 and Schol. For Baïos at Baiae cf. Strabo 245. Stephanus Byz. s.v. Baia, *Et Magn.* 192-45 and Silius Ital. VII. 539, XII. 113.

⁵⁷ Cf. Strabo 244.

⁵⁸ Not yet identified. ὄρος Ἰταλίας μέγιστον in Schol. Lycophr. 697 from Metrodorus. Mr. Dunbabin suggests that it may be the Monte di Procida.

⁵⁹ The Lucrine dam, a prehistoric work attributed to Herakles returning with Geryon's cattle by Strabo (245) and Diodorus (IV. 22); its modern name is given by Geffcken

(*op. cit.* 30) as Stufe di Tritoli.

⁶⁰ Persephone's grove by Avernus: see Schol. 698 and Strabo 245; cf. *Od.* X, 509.

⁶¹ 245.

⁶² *Asi huc Lucrino mansisse vocabula quondam Cocyti memorant* XII, 116; the whole passage 104-61 is a further source of this material, if a late one.

⁶³ 244. Mr. Dunbabin suggests that this may be Solfatara.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* 32. Cf. Schol. ἀρπυγῶς ἔστι τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Αἰθού, which is probably ancient lore. It would make the whole region a world of the dead. Mr. Dunbabin, however, suggests that Polydegmon is the mountain between Baiae and Naples, Campi Flegrei, rising above Lake Avernus.

⁶⁵ The view of Schol. 710 and *Et Magn.* 244. 34.

⁶⁶ Their location in Campania seems to be assumed in Hesiod (frag. 68 Rzach = Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV. 892), who places them on a νῆσος Ἀρπυγιδέσσα like Homer's νῆσος ἀρπυγῶν in *Od.* XII. 159. They are put on the same coast by Strabo 22, 23, 26, 246, 247, 251, 252, 258. Ps-Aristotle *De Mir. Ausc.* 110 Ptolemy III. 1. 79, Eustathius 1709, Virgil *Aen.* V. 864, Pomponius Mela II. 4. 9, Pliny *NH* III. 62, Solinus II. 22. Their Hesiodic names are different from the Campanian names given in Lycophron, which are evidently part of a distinct local tradition (see Zwicker and Weicker, *loc. cit.*, also Frazer, *Apollo-dorus*, Loeb Vol. II, 290-2). For their connexion with the underworld compare Sophocles frag. 861 Pearson (777 Nauck) Φόρβου κόρας ὠκυοῦνται τοῖς Αἰθού νόμοις, Euripides *Helena* 167 ff., where they are at the orders of Persephone (but may have died) and Plato *Cratylus* 403 D, where they live in Hades. Weicker insists that they are demons of the dead. Buschor, *Musen des Jenseits*, points out that, though they are always connected with the underworld, they help mortals to enter either Hades or Elysium, sometimes being more like angels than demons.

⁶⁷ In some accounts they were fated to die when anyone passed them so (e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* VII. 19, Hyg. *Fab.* 125 and 141). Lycophron says at least this, but his scholiast at 712, Schol. *Od.* XII. 39, Eustathius ad *Od.* 1709. 48, and *Ad Dion. Perieg.* 358 give their motive for suicide as their own chagrin. Cf. the famous vase from Vulci (Amphora Brit. Mus. E.440. Attic of the fifth century).

annual libation and sacrifice.⁶⁸ Leucosia is thrown up on the promontory of Enipeus on the reef that bears her name, between the Rivers Is and Laris, and her rock is named after her, Leucosia.⁶⁹ Ligea drifts down to Terina and is buried near the eddies of Ocinarus.⁷⁰

Strabo, already mentioned in footnotes, adds some details. The most important concern Cumae and Avernus, about which he has no reason to be mystifying.⁷¹ Near Cumae is the promontory of Misenum, and between these is the Acherusian lake, a marshy inflow of the sea. In the bay of Baiae beyond are the thermal waters and, close by, the Lucrine Lake, and inside it Avernus, all this water making an isthmus running out to Misenum. The ancients told that Avernus was the scene of the Homeric *Nekyia*, and they say that there was once an oracle of the dead there which Odysseus visited. Avernus is a gulf deep inshore and narrow-mouthed, having the size and nature of a harbour but affording no such use because the Lucrine Gulf lies before it, shallow and large. Avernus is surrounded by steep mountain ridges overhanging everywhere but at the entrance, and formerly covered with a wild impassable wood of great trees which overshadowed the water and made it an object of superstition. . . . They supposed the place to be a Plutonium or entrance to the underworld, and that the Cimmerians lived there. Travellers sailed in to sacrifice to the gods of the lower world, and the native priests acted as their guides on contract. There is a spring there of fresh water by the sea, which all shunned because they thought it was the Styx. The oracle was situated somewhere here. Ephorus says that the Cimmerians who lived there dwelt in underground houses called *argillae* and used tunnels to communicate with one another and admit strangers to the oracle far underground. They lived by quarrying and divination under their king's ordinances. Those in charge of the oracle by ancestral custom never saw the sun, but came out only at night, so that Homer said that Helios never looked on them. Later they were removed by some king, but the oracle remained, being transferred to another spot.⁷²

In introductory chapters⁷³ Strabo insists on the accuracy of these locations: what writer or poet persuaded the Neapolitans to say that their monument was really that of Parthenope the Siren, and that inhabitants of Cumae and Dicaearchia (Puteoli) and Vesuvius to say that the oracle of the dead was at Avernus, and that Baius and Misenus were companions of Odysseus? Eratosthenes himself says that Homer wished to represent voyaging in these regions, but through lack of knowledge and deliberate exaggeration made everything marvellous. Other details are the joint temple of the Sirens on the promontory of Sirenussae (Surrentum)⁷⁴ founded by Odysseus, and the bare rocky islands by Capreae called the Sirens.⁷⁵ Strabo has also something to say of Circaeum: it stands up like an island, is reputed to have many herbs growing on it, and has a small town with a temple of Circe and an altar of Athena and a phial said to have been that of Odysseus.⁷⁶

Lycophron and Strabo between them show that by the date of their common authority Timaeus there was hardly an important corner of Campania near Cumae and Avernus that was not associated with the *Nekyia*, except significantly the grotto of the Sibyl at Cumae. This is not mentioned by Strabo at all, or by Lycophron in connexion with Odysseus, though he does mention it as a boundary of Aeneas' realm.⁷⁷

Lycophron, however, does not confine himself to Campanian legend of Odysseus. He continues the tradition of Hellanicus concerning his appearance in Latium, adding also some Etruscan material which must be connected in some way with that already noticed. After Odysseus is dead the Tyrrhenian hill of Perge shall receive his body burnt on the pyre in the land of Gortynaea.⁷⁸ There is another glimpse of him in the prophecy about Aeneas: 'a foe will join Aeneas with a friendly army constraining him by oaths and suppliant prayers; the dwarf (*vāvos*) who in his wanderings explored all nooks of sea and land; and with him two sons of the king of Mysia, fiery wolves, in whose veins flows the blood of Herakles.'⁷⁹ This piece of Etruscan tradition is not found elsewhere unless it is in Hellanicus on Nanas, where Nanas and Cortona are definitely linked in one

⁶⁸ 717-20 and 732-7 and Schol., where the gymnastic contest is mentioned which was instituted by order of an oracle in her honour by the Athenian admiral Diotimus in 433-2. Cf. Strabo 246 on the festival. Her cult is thus at least as old as the fifth century. It is mentioned also by Virgil *Georg* IV 563-4, Ovid *Met* XV 711-12, Pliny *NH* III 62, Servius *ad Georg* IV 563, Dion *Perieg* 357-60, Eustath *ad loc.*, and Schol. *Od* XII 39. Suidas s.v. *Nēkrologos* mentions her statue at Naples. G. de Petra *op. cit.* Sect. II 'Napoli e la tomba di Partenope' summarises the medieval *Cronaca di Partenope*; here the siren appears as a princess of Sicily, who in heathen times sailed into Naples and died of sickness, after which her tomb was the seat of an oracle consulted in times of plague and civil disturbance. From a patron goddess she becomes nearly a Christian saint. The other Sirens' cults are not otherwise known. For the benevolent aspect of the Sirens, which he thinks equally important, see Buschor, *Musen des Jenseits*, *passim*.

⁶⁹ 723-5 and Schol. Cf. Strabo 123, 252, Pliny *NH* III 85. Enipeus here is Poseidon and the promontory Poseideion, now Licosia, between Posidonia and Elea.

⁷⁰ 726-31 and Schol. Cf. Stephanus Byz. 617. 7; Solinus II. 19. The Ocinarus is identified by Dunbabin with the Savuto (*Western Greeks* 161-2). Terina is on the Bruttian coast.

⁷¹ Any difficulties in his account are largely due to later volcanic activity which has shrunk the lakes. See R. T. Gunther, 'Contribution to the Study of Earth Movement in the Bay of Naples. The Submerged Greek and Roman Fore-shore' *Archaeologia* LVIII (1903), 499-560.

⁷² Strabo 245.

⁷³ 23 on the Sirens. 26 on the Sirens, Scylla, Aeolus, the underworld. Cf. Ps. Aristotle *De Mir. Ausc* on the clear water of Avernus where leaves would not float, on Pyriphlegethon as the name of the whole region, and on the swans that swam on Avernus.

⁷⁴ 247. Cf. Ps. Aristotle *ibid.* 103, who speaks of continual sacrifice in the temple. The reason for this was probably the Sirens' power over the weather, for which see Zwicker, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Now I Galli.

⁷⁶ 232. Cf. Ps. Aristotle *ibid.* 78 on the fatally poisonous herbs said to grow there.

⁷⁷ 1278-80.

⁷⁸ 805-11. As he dies he foresees that Telemachus will murder his wife Circe and be murdered by his half-sister Cassiphone, a melodrama developed from the apparently happy ending of the *Telegonia*.

⁷⁹ 1242-9.

passage, not separated in two. Modern scholars have identified Perge with Monte Pergo near Cortona,⁸⁰ and the name Nanus appears on an Etruscan inscription at Nola and was apparently common for Etruscan men.⁸¹ Hartmann has hardly proved his point that the two passages in Lycophron must be kept entirely separate and not used to supplement one another.⁸² Lycophron was no doubt deliberately playing on the resemblance of the Etruscan name to the Greek νάνος, appropriate because of the short stature of Odysseus in Homer.⁸³ Whether there is anything in the scholiast's assertion that Nanos or Nanas in Etruscan means 'wanderer' can hardly be decided. The junction of Odysseus and Aeneas seems to be more than a casual meeting, since their armies were united too, but Lycophron does not say what Odysseus' share was in the later doings of Aeneas that he describes. Clearly he tried, like Hellanicus, to combine the two traditions of Greek foundations in Latium, and indicated their proper relation in the submission of Odysseus as a suppliant. Lycophron writes as a glorifier of Rome, which had accepted Aeneas, and which now ruled Latium and was the greatest power in Italy and important even at sea; Hellanicus as a collector of traditions before Rome was pre-eminent in Latium. Lycophron also does not, like Hellanicus, make Aeneas found Rome himself, that task being left evidently to his twin descendants ἔξοχον ῥώμῃ γένος, so that Odysseus cannot be involved. He gives Aeneas a kingdom that seems to coincide with Latium in the days of Timaeus.⁸⁴ Tarchon and Tyrsenus suggest an Etruscan version of the foundation of Latin cities if not of Rome also, by Aeneas, which may also have been transmitted by Timaeus but is not necessarily connected with Odysseus except by his identification with the Etruscan Nanos. Lycophron, who mentions the smallest rivers, says nothing of the Tiber between Latium and Etruria, an omission which must be deliberate, like the omission of Rome under any name.⁸⁵ Odysseus in his Etruscan connexion is vaguely connected with Latium, which is deliberately not separated from Etruria. This, as we shall see, is not the end of Odysseus in Latium and Etruria.

But immediately before mentioning Perge, Lycophron says that the Eurytians of Aetolia will honour the dead Odysseus as a seer, and so will the Epirotes of Trampya. The expression used is μάντιν νέκρον, which implies a νεκρομαντεῖον such as Odysseus himself visited to consult the dead Tiresias; the scholiast, astonished, asks whether his body was carried off from the Eurytians to Etruria, or even brought to life by Circe.⁸⁶ This mention of country near Ithaca is natural in connexion with the *Odyssey*, and the usual tradition of his death in Ithaca; it also recalls his journey to Thesprotia and all his other links with these parts; but it is none the less a piece of conflation, and its relevance to the Italian tradition, which is the main interest for Lycophron, is only indirect. But as a clue to the history of the location of Odysseus's adventures it has its value, like the Aetolian connexion of the Sirens above. This line of connexion will be followed later.

IX. THE EUBOEAN TRADITION AND ITS BASIS

Most of the material so far mentioned is connected with Campania, the earliest Italian region of Euboean settlement, as Strabo makes clear. Outside Italy adventures such as those of the Cyclops located near Aetna,⁸⁷ of the Laestrygons near Leontini,⁸⁸ of Scylla and Charybdis near Rhegium and Messina,⁸⁹ were again set on Euboean ground. Our principal authorities for early tradition were also connected with Euboea or at any rate Chalcis: Timaeus, born in Naxos, the oldest Chalcidian colony in Sicily, and later settling in Tauromenium, and Lycophron, born in Chalcis itself. Both were learned men, steeped in the history of the Chalcidian colonies particularly, among their wider interests. Campania is again nearest to Latium and Etruria of Greek regions; the links between Rome and Cumae are famous. But the Chalcidians and Eretrian colonists of history appear, as we saw, to have followed other voyagers whether or not these were mainly explorers and traders from their own cities. It will perhaps never be settled who the earliest Greeks in these waters were and how far they belong to the Mycenaean age. But here at least the celebrated theories of V. Bérard deserve serious consideration, for in Italy they follow the ancient tradition.

Bérard's main success is with the sequence of adventures from the visit to Circe to the landing on Thrinacia, where the geographer, like Odysseus, has Circe's directions to guide him. For the previous episodes any exact itinerary including times and distances seems foolish; nor does ancient legend anticipate Bérard's placings, say, of the Laestrygonians at the straits of Bonifaccio or of the

⁸⁰ E.g. A. Neppi Modona, *Cortona etrusca e romana* (1925), 12 and 15. Hartmann, *op. cit.* 152, points out that Etruscan Curtun appears in Greek as Κορυθῖνα like Gortyn in Crete; as Κορυθῖνα, now sometimes read for Κορηθῖνα (in Thessaly) in Herod. I. 57, and Dion. Hal. *AR* I 28, like Croton in Magna Graecia; as Κορυθῖνα in Dion. Hal. *AR* I 26; and as Κορυθῖνα in Polyb. III 82. 9. Cf. Rosenberg, Herodot und Cortona (*Rh Mus NF* LXIX (1914), 622-76, and Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* 260-1).

⁸¹ See Danielsson, *Etruskischen Inschriften* (Uppsala, 1928) on Nuvlains Nanus and Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* 263, who quotes Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die griechische Sprache*, 341 ff., for

Nanas as a common name in Asia Minor.

⁸² *Op. cit.* 154-7.

⁸³ *Il* III 193; *Od* VI 230.

⁸⁴ See Schur, *op. cit.*, 139-42.

⁸⁵ Except in the allusive pun ἔξοχον ῥώμῃ γένος at 1233.

⁸⁶ 799-805 and Scholia. These people are reckoned barbarians by Thucydides who calls the Chaonians, Thesprotians, Molossians, Atintanians, and Parauacans Πάρβαροι, and the Eurytians ἀγνωστότατοι γλώσσῃ (II 80-1, III 94). But they probably contained a very ancient Greek element older than the Dorian migration.

⁸⁷ Strabo 20.

⁸⁸ Strabo 20.

⁸⁹ Strabo 21.

Cyclops in Campania. But when he brings Odysseus to Italy at Monte Circeo we find ourselves on much firmer ground; it becomes much more plausible, from the legendary starting-point of Circe's description, to argue that there were ancient *Periplus* of the Italian coast known in substance to the poets who created the fabulous wanderings of this part of the *Odyssey*. Bérard's most convincing identifications may now be mentioned with some modification due to others.

Guided by some god, Odysseus and his companions enter the Cala dei Pescatori, the ancient harbour of Circeii, by its narrow and rocky channel and beach their ships on the sand. There they find the stream, the Fontana della Bagnaja or Fontana di Mezzo Monte, and the caves Grotta del Capre, Grotta del Precipizio, Grotta della Maga.⁹⁰ Odysseus spies out the land from the Capa di Garda, a high point near by.⁹¹ The low-lying marsh and woodland are the Selva di Terracina and the various *macchie* (maquis), still visible to Bérard on his visit and then still full of deer and wild swine. These are crossed by the Strade dei Pescatori, prehistoric causeways now picked out by the asphodel that grows on the lighter soil covering them but not on the thick soil elsewhere. Thus is Homer's 'wide-wayed land' explained by an identification that seems the most convincing of all.⁹² Though this district is not an island, it is surrounded on many sides by the sea; Bérard does not press the ancient tradition, made likely by geology, that Monte Circeo was once in fact an island, for he does not place the palace of Circe on the cape itself. Instead, he places it to the south-east beyond the low country on the slopes of the Monte delle Fate, in the Valle di San Benedetto,⁹³ where in ancient times stood the temple of Feronia, goddess of wild creatures.

The cult of Feronia was famous; it is her temple, now lying in great ruined slabs, or some predecessor of it, that is reproduced in the fair halls of Circe built in polished stones in a conspicuous place; the sacred glen of Circe is still the blessed valley. Feronia was a wild chthonic goddess whom the Greeks of historic times identified with Persephone.⁹⁴ She was honoured with a ceremony in which slaves were manumitted wearing caps of animal skin: Circe frees Odysseus' companions from an animal state, though it was herself who put them into it. The slaves had to present themselves with shaven heads; the hairs fall off the Greeks as they are restored to human shape. Jupiter was worshipped in this district as a beardless youth carrying a wand, Jupiter Anxurus: this figure resembles Hermes as he appears.⁹⁵ Moly is identified with *Atriplex halimus*, which, like the plant in Homer, has whitish leaves and dark roots; these run deep down through the sand to buried moisture, so that more than a human hand is needed to pick a plant entire.⁹⁶ This plant is common in this part of Italy, and is used as a charm against snakes: near by lived the snake-charming Marsi said to be descended from Circe's son.⁹⁷ To this day large black pigs feed round Feronia's temple.⁹⁸ Unfortunately nothing seems to be known of the prehistoric beginnings of this cult that would confirm Bérard.⁹⁹

The *Nekyia* is more convincingly treated than Circe. Bérard, like many, regards the existing book as a blend of a *Nekyomantia*, or raising of Tiresias, and a *Nekyia* proper, or visit to the underworld.¹⁰⁰ From our present point of view this division is satisfactory, for we are interested only in the real places. A day's sail before the north wind brings Odysseus to the land of the dead, which is near the shore of the bay of Naples and a little inland, in fact at Avernus.¹⁰¹ He sails in through the shallow Lucrine Lake, here oddly identified with the stream of Oceanus; he lands and reaches the land of the dead, Little Shore (ἀκτή ἑλάχεια) according to Bérard between the Lucrine and Avernus, and the groves of Persephone, of poplar and willow trees. (These grew nearest the water in the forest round the sides of Avernus before, as we know from Strabo, Agrippa cut the trees down, and are still common in this region.) The Styx and Cocytus are cold streams, the Pyriphlegethon a hot one, still identifiable.¹⁰² The house of Hades is the damp cavern now called Grotta d'Averno or Grotta della Sibilla, hollowed out in the tufa on the south side of Avernus.¹⁰³ Odysseus does

⁹⁰ *Od* X 140-1; Bérard, *Les Phéniciens* II, 268, and photographs in *Album*, 128-32 (Circaeum and port), 133-4 (Fontana della Bagnaja).

⁹¹ *Od* X 159; *Phéniciens* II, 268; *Album*, 136-7.

⁹² *Od* X 149-50, 194-7. *Phéniciens* II, 273 ff.; *Album*, 141. Bérard argues that the whole region was better drained and more thickly populated before the Romans ruled it, so that it was worth while to make the raised roads for trade with the interior. This is probable, but even the *Odyssey* describes a wild and solitary stretch of country in spite of the roads. The period of fullest occupation would need to be of early Mycenaean or even of Minoan date. The Cretan roads of the Minoan period were better than any of classical times before the Romans, but no one would claim that there were actual Minoan roads in Latium or Campania.

⁹³ *Phéniciens* II, 288 ff.

⁹⁴ See *Phéniciens* II, 285-6, and *Album*, 142. Bérard sees in Circe the Mediterranean mother-goddess or nature-goddess, the πότνια ἑρπιδος. Compare the Babylonian Ishtar, who changed her lovers into animals and hunted them. (A. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, 117-18, on the Gilgamesh epic.)

⁹⁵ See *Phéniciens* II, 287. The required antiquity of the cult can hardly be proved, but in some forerunner there may have

been a young god such as was usually associated with the nature-goddess in the Aegean and further east.

⁹⁶ *Phéniciens* II, 288-9.

⁹⁷ *Phéniciens* II, 290 quoting Pliny *NH* VIII. 2. 7, XXI. 45. 3, XXV. 5. 2, XXVIII. 6. 1, Cicero *De Div* I 58, II 33, Virgil *Aen* VII 749, VIII 496, Horace *Ep* V 76, XVII 29.

⁹⁸ See photographs Figs. 64 and 65 in *Phéniciens* II.

⁹⁹ Circe's palace, with its high flat roof from which Elpenor fell, suggests a Minoan mansion, which would be hard to find as the precursor of Feronia's temple. But like that of Alcinoüs it is now regarded as owing something to folk-memory of Minoan Crete. This could easily, if carried in literary form, attach itself to new localities.

¹⁰⁰ See his *Odysse* (Texte) II, 77 ff.

¹⁰¹ *Od* X, 509; *Phéniciens* II, 314; *Album*, 148.

¹⁰² *Phéniciens* II, 313 ff.; *Album*, 147-51. Bérard reads δάκρυα at *Od* X, 509. Styx and Cocytus are mentioned in the *Nekyia*, but in the *Nekyomantia* portion Odysseus does not visit them. Yet they recur in later literature and local lore, and Pyriphlegethons are found everywhere here as sulphurous springs.

¹⁰³ *Phéniciens* II, 321. The Sibyl's grotto proper is in the rock at Cumae, not here.

not in the original *Nekyomantia* enter this, but only comes close to it (χρῖμφοῖς πέλας), and makes his sacrifice of a ram, a bull, and a boar, which corresponds to the Italian *suovetaurilia*.¹⁰⁴ This calls up the ghost of Tiresias, as the ghost of Samuel is called up by the witch of Endor. The dark gloom of the Cimmerian country is identified with the volcanic vapours of the region.¹⁰⁵ The oracle of the dead is certified by Ephorus in Strabo. The Cimmerians as described by Ephorus can only represent a native race which had possessed an oracle of the dead here from time immemorial, and the caves and tunnels can still be seen in the tufa.

Ribezzo¹⁰⁶ has added an interesting point. He takes ἀκτὴ λάχεια, the usual reading, and connects λάχεια not with ἐλάχεια but, as some of the scholiasts do, with λαχαίνειν, 'to dig'. The meaning is therefore the 'dug' or 'pitted' shore, a description which fits the hollowed tufa of the Bay of Naples. To Strabo's account he adds that the tufa was anciently quarried for cement, the *pulvis puteolanus* of the Romans, and is still used for *pozzolana*.

The Sirens fall easily into place in their traditional location, i Galli, three bare rocky islands south of Sorrento and not far from the narrows of Capri, where contrary winds are often met and hurl boats on the rocks. One, the Gallo Lungo, has an anchorage and a low-lying flowery meadow visible behind the shore, which agrees well with the meadow of the Sirens.¹⁰⁷

At this point we leave the Italian coast, except for Scylla. She is found, east of Messina, at the town named after her, perched on its high rock. The sea and wind still make howling and barking noises in the caves of this rock, and, though there is now no cave high up in its western face, there may once have been one which was later destroyed by earthquake. The fishing of Scylla for sea-dogs is explained by the dog-fish and small sharks that are still hunted in these waters: Scylla's three rows of teeth are modelled on theirs, and the posture of Odysseus with his two spears on the prow is derived ultimately from that of a man harpooning these fish, as is still done. The swift currents and sudden squalls which make the strait particularly dangerous for sailing-ships, and also the tides, which are here felt much more than in wider waters, are the original of the whirlpool of Charybdis and her periodical swallowing and belching.¹⁰⁸ The island of the sun with its sacred cattle is naturally part of Sicily, though its name Thrinacia suggests the shape of a trident and not the triangle later called Trinacria. The landing-place of Odysseus is the hollow harbour behind the curved promontory at Messina with its well-known spring, and particularly large and handsome cattle are still found in this part of Sicily, even if they are no longer sacred to the sun.¹⁰⁹

This outline is enough to show the likelihood of Bérard's contentions for Italy at least, even if the detail is sometimes overdone or beyond the evidence. A genuine account of a compact region, the Italian coast from Monte Circeo to the straits, could well underlie Circe's very definite instructions and the connected itinerary of *Odyssey X-XII*. Homer's account, indeed, still presents one marked discrepancy with any direct route down the Italian coast: that the voyage to the land of the dead is beyond Circe to the west, in fact the furthest point, and is not a stage on the way back before the Sirens. Two different voyages on different routes may be assumed to have been made from one route, a small alteration for a fabulous account otherwise so circumstantial. But when we come to consider the originators of this knowledge, very early traces of the Phoenicians on the Tyrrhenian coast are not evident. The supposed *Periplus*, if it were to serve as an oral and half understood original for some of the oldest material in the *Odyssey*, would need to be earlier than the period of Phoenician expansion, even though the Phoenicians are mentioned in the *Odyssey* and may have contributed something.

Minoan or Mycenaean voyages are a more likely source; in which case the Euboeans and other early colonists would be bringing with them their own ancestors' knowledge, in however fabulous a form, to apply to the coasts that they settled. This view of the colonising movement, already suggested by Myres,¹¹⁰ has since been urged by Burn¹¹¹ and by J. Bérard¹¹² among others, and has received strong confirmation for Sicily from Aegean pottery found at Syracuse, Thapsus, and Akragas, from tholos-tombs even in Sicel regions, and particularly from the close resemblance of the tomb of Minos at Minoa in Akragantine territory, as described by Diodorus, to the temple-tomb at Cnossus.¹¹³ The Minoan link, indeed, seems stronger than the Mycenaean, which may be due to a contracting horizon at sea during the latter period, but in any case the tradition is well founded for Sicily. For southern Italy such traditions as those of Daedalus at Cumae and those now under consideration are to some extent confirmed by Mycenaean sherds found on Ischia¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁴ *Phéniciens* II, 324.

¹⁰⁵ *Phéniciens* II, 318-19, cf. Silius Ital. XII 130-7.

¹⁰⁶ See his article 'Nuovo elemento reale nella localizzazione della Nekyia preomerica sul lago d'Averno', *Riv. indo-greco-Ital* XVI (1932), 6-12. Aristarchus read λάχεια at X 509 and the Scholiast says it means βαβηλα, εὐκαμπος, ἔκ τοῦ λαχαίνειν τὸ σκάπτω, cf. *Et Magn* 558. 6, for the same derivation. This sense might also suit the νῆσος λάχεια near the land of the Cyclopes with its caves, in *Od IX*, 116.

¹⁰⁷ *Phéniciens* II, 334-42; *Album*, 152-5.

¹⁰⁸ *Phéniciens* II, 349-69; *Album*, 156-60.

¹⁰⁹ *Phéniciens* II, 365-9; *Album*, 161-2. Bérard on Naxos and Tauromenium seems to add needless complications.

Sicily as fabulous Thrinacia and elsewhere as real Sicania in the same poem suggest that the author of our *Odyssey* did not regard both as Sicily. For us they represent prehistoric and historic acquaintance with the same island.

¹¹⁰ *CAH* I, 105; II, 567, 584; III, 670-7.

¹¹¹ *The World of Hesiod*, 20-2.

¹¹² *Colonisation grecque de l'Italie*, 519-24.

¹¹³ See Dunbabin, 'Minos and Daedalus' *passim*; Diodorus IV, 78-9.

¹¹⁴ See G. Buchner, 'Nota preliminare sulle scoperte preistoriche dell'isola d'Ischia' (*BPI N.S.* I (1936-7), 65-93) 79 fig. 3 and G. Buchner and A. Rittmann, *Origine e passato dell'isola d'Ischia*, 36-7, for sherds on Ischia and Vivara.

and even at Cumae itself,¹¹⁵ the very region where the Euboean tradition makes Odysseus land. The slightness of the finds suggests casual exploration, which may be the basis in fact of the older Odyssean narrative. The motive for such exploration might be the search for metal at a time when bronze was extensively used further north in Etruria, a search which was later pursued by the Etruscans themselves.¹¹⁶ Cumae and Temesa may both have been Aegean trading-stations in prehistoric times also, before the Greek colonisation and before the arrival of Indo-European Italians in the south. Cumae probably has a long prehistory as a religious centre, and Campania as a region of the dead, older than the dark age separating Mycenaean contacts from the historic settlements contemporary with Homer or Hesiod as we know them. The oral tradition of these regions could persist indefinitely as legend in the Aegean until it reached the generation that began to explore again in the west and this time to settle in Italy also.

X. THE AETOLIAN AND EPIROTE TRADITION IN RELATION TO ITALY

The Odyssean locations in southern Italy are thus probably due in the main to the colonists from Chalcis and Eretria, carrying Homer with them and perhaps rediscovering realities in the sense suggested. The colonists on their way would also pass the very north-western coasts of Greece where Odysseus in Homer has his home. That they lingered long enough in these parts to become acquainted with local cult and legend seems certain.

Their settlement on the site of Corcyra, on the mainland opposite, and farther north at Oricus in the Bay of Valona is attested by historical tradition, though only doubtfully by archaeology,¹¹⁷ and is also indicated by the legend of Elephenor son of Abas, the Euboean hero who settled Abantis round the later Amantia in Thesprotia.¹¹⁸ This region is the home of the Thesprotian legends of Odysseus' later life used by Eugammon in the *Telegonia* and by his shadowy predecessor Musaeus in his *Thesprotis*.¹¹⁹ Such traditions are clearly connected with cult and genealogy, and find their echo in Lycophron's mention of the νεκρομαντεῖον of Odysseus among the Epirotes and Aetolians. Aetolia again, as hinted by Lycophron, was once the home of the Sirens, daughters of Achelous. In the same way the rivers Cocytus and Acheron and the Acherusian lake, which the Euboeans found in Campania, were also located in Thesprotia, so that Pausanias even wondered whether Homer had borrowed their names thence.¹²⁰ This region, like others connected with the underworld, is one of the past or present volcanic activity, and was probably the earliest seat of this cluster of infernal names.¹²¹ The Euboeans must even from Homer alone have expected a strong tradition of Odysseus in these parts, but Homer's authority must have been too strong for them to accept the location of the underworld in Thesprotia. They might, however, be stimulated by this to be all the more circumstantial in tracing Odysseus' footsteps in Campania as a rival scene, and might add to Homer from this source, though it would be hard to trace such additions.

But the Euboeans, and even the Greek colonists in general, may not have been the only carriers of traditions about Odysseus to Italy. Odysseus the sailor may belong with the Euboeans who sailed south through the straits of Messina or round Sicily to Campania and other parts of Southern Italy; that is his character in the Ionian epic, and it agrees with that of the early colonists who thought of him as a forerunner, though they did not use him as a prehistoric settler in their land, for he returned home. At least as prominent, even in the *Odyssey*, as his voyages was his connexion with the underworld, and this appears to be more ancient. Tiresias, for instance, whom he raises to speak to him, belongs to Boeotia, and so do many figures in the *Nekyia*, a fact which has led scholars to assume an original Boeotian *Odyssey*, before ours, whose centre is farther north and west.¹²² If there is anything in the theory of a Boeotian *Odyssey*, it might be in this stage of the tradition that the legends of seafaring became attached to Odysseus as similar stories grew up round Jason, who belongs in the same region of Greece. The Argonautic tradition in any case must have a close connexion with the Odyssean seafaring. Early experience of the Italian seas, such as Bérard assumes, would enter the legend before it made its home in Ithaca or was even connected with the Trojan cycle. Alternative stories of Odysseus consulting the dead without sailing the far western seas might persist in Boeotia and farther north and west too in the Plutonian region of Thesprotia,

¹¹⁵ Mr. Dunbabin informs me that he has seen a Mycenaean sherd from Cumae found by Miss Bertha Tilley; for traces of metal near Cumae see Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine*, 20-2, on κασίδια (Dioscorides V 85), *cadmae* (Pliny, *NH* XXXIV, 2), a copper ore.

¹¹⁶ See, for instance, Gabrici, *Cuma* (*MA* XXII (1913), 168 ff.).

¹¹⁷ See Beaumont, 'Greek influence in the Adriatic', 164-5, quoting Plutarch, *Qu. graec.* II Ps-Scymnus 442-3 Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV 1775 and 1216, and Patsch, *Sandschak Berat in Albanien*, on remains of a settlement on the Pasha Liman. But Mr. Dunbabin comments that no remains of the eighth century or earlier have been found at Corcyra or Oricus nor any specially connected with Euboea.

¹¹⁸ Pausanias V. 22, 2-3, Lycophron 1034 ff. and Scholia.

¹¹⁹ Ap. Clem. Alex. *Stromateis* VI 25 and 266 and Paus. VIII.

12. 5, and X. 30. 6.

¹²⁰ I. 17. 5, cf. V. 14. 3, and Aristotle, *Meteor.* I, 353a on ἀρχαία Ἑλλάς located in these parts. If the Greeks remembered this as their earliest home, they might sometimes regard it also as the place where their ghosts went after death, just as some immigrant Britons in Wales believed that theirs went to Strathclyde.

¹²¹ This is no doubt the explanation of the odal story in Plutarch, *Theseus* XXXI, that Theseus and Pirithous went to Epirus to steal the daughter of Aidoneus, King of the Molossians, who had a wife Pherephone and a dog Cerberus.

¹²² See J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, cc. II and V. Lycophron knows of a Boeotian birthplace of Odysseus by the 'Tennician hill of Bombyleia', i.e. of the Athena of Orchomenos (786). But Odysseus may be even older in Epirus.

though no tradition is actually attested of his visiting the dead there as a living man. The other legends of his life on the mainland have a genealogical point. Odysseus by Euhippe is the father of Euryalos and of Leontophron or Doryclus in Thesprotia,¹²³ by Callidice of Polypoetes in Thesprotia, by the daughter of Thoas of Leontophonos in Aetolia.¹²⁴ In our extant notices these unions are fitted into his excursion in the mainland, made to fulfil the vow to Poseidon by order of Tiresias, or as an exile through blood-guilt from slaying the wooers; and it is possible that local chiefs of half-barbarian stock chose to claim descent in this way from a famous hero of epic. But the traditions of his νεκυομαντεῖον make this seem inadequate as a full explanation. The hero who was honoured as a dead seer among the Eurytians in Aetolia¹²⁵ and at Trampya¹²⁶ in Epirus, where he also founded Bounema,¹²⁷ may equally have been an ancient figure in these regions, who lived out his life and died there as a prophet in the style of Amphiaras or Trophonius and not as the sailor and avenger of Homer. He could thus have taken over, or even preserved, barbarian traits unrecognisably different from those of Homer's or any other literary Odysseus, the more so because of the very ancient Greek element in the population of these barbarised regions.¹²⁸

There was a strong tradition outside Homer and classical literature that Odysseus went to Etruria and ended his days there. Even this is connected with epic to the extent that Odysseus leaves home in disgust at the unfaithfulness of Penelope or because through his blood-guiltiness he is unable to remain in Ithaca, neither of these reasons being consistent with the *Odyssey*. Theopompus, probably the historian, tells the story that Odysseus, when he saw how it was with Penelope, sailed off to Tyrrhenia and founded Gortynaea, where he died greatly honoured by the inhabitants. This fragment is given in a scholium to Lycophron's lines on the burial of Odysseus's ashes in the land of Gortynaea, so that Theopompus may have been quoted by Timaeus as Lycophron read him.¹²⁹ The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplos*, a series of epitaphs on heroes who fought at Troy, representing a late genealogical tradition, contains two epigrams on Odysseus buried in Tyrrhenia.¹³⁰ This material is all in a form connected with some version of the epic tradition of Odysseus, and even suggests that his meeting and alliance with Aeneas, as reported in Hellanicus and Lycophron, were really conceived to happen not on his first western wanderings but after a second and permanent departure from Ithaca. For the stories of his death in Italy are connected always with Etruria and not with Circe and Campania. But why was the second departure invented, for Tiresias's prophecy in the *Nekyia* of his death, though vague, is not vague enough to allow of this version? Was there perhaps an Etruscan tradition of Odysseus as a dead hero and prophetic ghost, as in Epirus and Aetolia, which, like those traditions, had to be reconciled somehow with the epic? A brief reference in Plutarch suggests that there was;¹³¹ there we find an Etruscan story of a peculiar Odysseus who was drowsy and difficult of access to the multitude, the very opposite of Homer's alert and ready-tongued traveller among men. This figure at least can hardly have been taken over from the Greek traders and settlers who came up the Tyrrhenian coasts. We are not in fact told by what route Odysseus reached Etruria on this later expedition westward, on which there is no mention of Campania or Circe's island; did he perhaps cross the Adriatic and make his way inland from its coast, as in Hellanicus Nanas does, who can hardly be separated from Nanos-Odysseus in Lycophron, seeing that both belong at Cortona?

The same route of derivation across the Adriatic from the northern limits of Greece has been suggested for the Latin forms of the name, *Ulixes* or *Olixes*, which cannot be derived from the epic Ὀδυσσεύς. λ for δ is already common in Greek: Ὀλυσσεύς, Ὀλυπτεύς and Ὀλισσεύς are now reckoned older forms than Ὀδυσσεύς, but ξ is not securely attested in any Greek form of the name, so that

¹²³ Euryalos in Eustath. 1796. 52 on *Od* XV 118 and Sophocles, *Euryalos*, I 145 ff. Pearson; also Parthenius III. Leontophron or Doryclus in Lysimachus ap Eustath. *loc. cit.*

¹²⁴ Proclus on *Telegeria*: Kinkel *EGF* 57, *OCT* Homer V, p. 109, and Apollod. VII 34-6.

¹²⁵ Lycophron 799 and Scholia mentioning Aristotle's Ἰθακήσιων πολιτῶν (508 Rose), cf. Plutarch *Qu. graec.* XIV (507 Rose), where Odysseus apparently goes to Italy after Neoptolemus of Epirus decrees his banishment for blood at the instance of the wooers' kin. Ἰθακία of the MSS. is altered by Hartmann, *op. cit.* 140, to Ἰθακία to agree with Apollod. VII 40, which ends the same story with Odysseus' death in Aetolia.

¹²⁶ Lycophron 799-800 and Scholia. Steph Byz. *σε* Τραμπύνα.

¹²⁷ Schol. ad. *Od* XI 22 mentions this as a barbarous place connected with Odysseus. Stephanus, *σε* Βούμπερα, says that this was the place where the sea was unknown and Odysseus planted his oar; Schol. Lycophron claims this for Trampya. Compare also the Aornon in Thesprotia mentioned by Pausanias IX. 30. 6, but in connexion with Orpheus, not Odysseus.

¹²⁸ Cf. Aristotle *Meteor* I 353A on Dodona and the valley of the Achelous as the original home of the Hellenes, and Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 254 ff., on this passage. The Illyrians who overrun the region may have taken over Odysseus the prophet as they partly took over the oracle of Dodona. Some

may even have penetrated southern Greece towards the end of the Mycenaean age leaving their heroes Dardanus and Aeneas in Arcadia and Laconia as well as in eastern Thrace. (See Paus III. 22. 11, VIII. 12. 8, and Dion. Hal. *A.R.* 161 and the discussion by N. Joki, *s.v.* 'Illyrier' in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* VI, 34 ff.)

¹²⁹ See Schol. Lycophr. 806 ending ἐκείνη τὴν Γορτυναίαν, ἔνθα καὶ τέλευτ' ὡς αὐτῶν μεγάλως τιμώμενος (ὡσαύτως deleted by Scheer). Lycophron himself makes Odysseus die by Neriton on Ithaca at Telegerion's hands so that only his ashes reach Etruria (795 and 807). Thus Theopompus stands in contrast and not in support in spite of his mentioning Gortynaea. See Jacoby, *FGH Theopompus* frag. 354 for the latest text. Müller, *FGH* I, 296, omits μεγάλως τιμώμενος.

¹³⁰ 640 Rose. 12 and 13.

¹³¹ *De audiendis poetis* VIII. Altheim *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 299 regards this as a trait of a night-wanderer, behaving evidently like a sleepy cat. Ptolemy Chennus relates two odd stories. Odysseus won a competition in flute-playing among the Etruscans, his piece being Demodocus' poem on the Fall of Troy (Westermann, *Myth. Graec.* 197. 20). He ended his life in the keeping of Hals, an Etruscan sorceress once in Circe's service, who changed him into a horse and cared for him until he died in old age, thus fulfilling the prophecy ὅσσος ἐξ ἄλλος and providing an *ostron* for the place name Hals Pyrgos in Etruria (*ibid.*).

the x of Ulixes has sometimes been reckoned to be Illyrian, brought over by the Messapians of the Tarentine and Metapontine regions from the immediate neighbourhood of Ithaca.¹³²

The continual crossing of the Adriatic by Illyrian tribes collectively called Iapygian and their settlement on its Italian coast are well known: the Messapians, Calabrians, and Sallentines in Calabria, the Peucetians and Daunians, probably later, in Apulia.¹³³ The general movement is regarded as completed by the tenth or ninth centuries B.C., so that historic Greeks would find these peoples as Italian natives in Apulia and Calabria. The mention of Alybas, a name of Metapontum, by Odysseus in the *Odyssey* shows early connexion between these coasts which might fall within the period of Illyrian settlements; and, as we saw, Alybas the ghost of Temesa was even made one of Odysseus' companions, and his friend Mentès the Taphian visited Temesa.¹³⁴ There is also a correspondence between the annual gifts made to some family regarded as descendants of Odysseus in Ithaca and the herald's office of the descendants of Eumaeus and Philoetius there, and the honours paid in Tarentum to the Laertiadae among other heroic families or their descendants.¹³⁵ There is thus some evidence for Odysseus as a hero on both sides of the Adriatic, and the primitive and savage character of the story of Alybas suggests that the tradition of him in these parts was older and less humane than the Ionian. The last link in the connexion between the Illyrian coast and Latium or Etruria may be paralleled by the appearance of the Apulian Daunus, an Illyrian eponym, in Latium at Ardea as the father of Turnus in the *Aeneid* and of Messapus at Falerii and Metabus at Privernum, all of them towns with Etruscan connexions too.¹³⁶ The carriers of Messapus may have been Illyrians of Umbria who gave the Nar its name. In Latium at least the Illyrian tradition, if such it is, meets the Chalcidian from Campania, for which at one stage Odysseus was an ancestor of Etruscans and Latins. But this tradition is much more scantily attested, since it never became famous in literature; its development has to be traced by treacherous and devious paths in linguistics, religious history, and archaeology.

XI. LATER TRADITIONS IN ITALY

The Greek traditions and their older reflections in Etruscan and Illyrian legend have been traced: it remains to notice the interest which the Italian peoples themselves, including the Romans, had in Odysseus.

In the south Altheim has suggested that Odysseus must have been adopted with special interest for Livius Andronicus to have found a public for his *Odyssia latina*.¹³⁷ Why did he choose this subject and not the *Iliad*? He appears to have made of his work a Latin poem and not merely a Greek poem in translation. No other part of the world, as we have seen, was so thickly scattered with Odyssean memories: Odysseus must from of old have been alive in the consciousness of Italians. The mixed Graeco-Italian world of myth and legend must be assumed, in which the Italians made the Greek material their own as no other people. A further stage of this development appears in the use of Odyssean motifs in Naevius's *Bellum Punicum* for Rome. Farther north we find the Latin and Etruscan traditions persisting and usually mixed. The mixing was already apparent in Lycophron, whose account of Odysseus and Aeneas conflates not only the two heroes' legends but also the two regions of Latium and Etruria. A time when Rome was not yet pre-eminent in Latium is indicated by the legend quoted by Xenagoras that Odysseus and Circe had three sons, Rhomus, Antias, and Ardeas;¹³⁸ Rome is on the same footing as Antium and Ardea, and Odysseus is still the hero concerned; this can hardly be later than the beginning of the fourth century.¹³⁹ Plutarch preserves the version that Rhomanus was the son of Odysseus and Circe;¹⁴⁰ Servius that Latinus son of Odysseus and Circe, named Rome after his sister Rhome.¹⁴¹ These stories continue the tradition of Hesiod, but make precise the founding of particular towns as these became known to the Greeks. There are many other such stories: the *gens Mamilia* of Tusculum

¹³² See *RE* and Roscher s.v. 'Odysseus' for the various forms 'Ὀυρρῆος or 'Ὀυρρῆος, especially in inscriptions and on vases from Attica, Boeotia, and Corinth. The Illyrian origin of Ulixes if favoured by Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 280 ff., and Altheim, *op. cit.* 139 and 216. Kretschmer points out that Illyrian has a spirant reproduced in Latin sometimes by x and sometimes by ss, in Greek by ξ or σ but never by ζ; it may have been ζ (sh).

¹³³ See J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy*, 308-9. For theories of an Illyrian element among the founders of Rome see, most recently, H. Krappe, 'Doriens et romains', *R.E.A.* XLI (1939), 113-20, and F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, *Italien und die dorische Wanderung* (1940).

¹³⁴ The Taphians and their neighbours or precursors the Teleboans, who appear in legend as familiar with Italy before the Greeks, are reckoned in ancient sources to be not Illyrians but Leleges, possibly driven from the Cyclades by the Minoan navy (which others of them apparently manned) and settling north of the Corinthian gulf to continue their piracy there. If so, their knowledge of Italy would date from Minoan times. See Apollod. *Epit.* II. 4. 5-6; Strabo 459, 461; *Et. Magn.* 748.

40, and the discussion in G. Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: the Prehistoric Aegean*, 426-7.

¹³⁵ For the Ithacan cult see Aristotle '10. πολ. frag. 507 Rose. Excavation has revealed a cult of Odysseus in the Luisi cave (see G. Karo, *AA* 1931, 266, and S. Benton, *BSA* XXXV, 54, also W. A. Heurtley, *BSA* XL, 11-13). For the Tarentine see Ps-Aristotle *De Mir. Ausc.* 106. Other Adriatic traces of Odysseus are given in Ps-Scylax *Periplus* XIII and Pliny *NH* III 96 on the island of Calypso near the Lacinian promontory and in Servius (interpol.) on *Aen.* III 553 on his landing at Scylletion, an *ἀνὸρ* for the cult of Athena there.

¹³⁶ See Whatmough, *Foundations*, 311, and L. Pais, 'I Dauni e gli Umbri della Campania' in *Italica Antica* II, 277-94. Daunians near Nola: Polybius III 915; at Ardea: Virgil *Aen.* X 615, 688. On Metabus see Altheim, 'Messapus', *Archiv. f. Religionswiss.* XXIX (1931), 23-32.

¹³⁷ *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 297-9.

¹³⁸ Ap. Dion. Hal. *AR* I. 72. 5, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αρρῆα.

¹³⁹ See Wikén, *Die Kunde der Hellenen*, 180, and W. Hoffmann, *Rom und die griechische Welt in 4. Jahrhundert* (*Philol. Suppl.* XXVII Heft I) 110. ¹⁴⁰ *Romulus* II. ¹⁴¹ *Ad Aen.* I 273.

claimed descent from Telegonus and even struck coins showing Odysseus leaning on a staff.¹⁴² The Mamili were a high Etruscan house related by marriage to the Tarquins, and therefore probably in contact with Greeks at an early date. Their adoption of Odysseus recalls that of Aeneas by the Julian gens. Praeneste also was traced as early as Aristotle, to Telegonus as founder,¹⁴³ and Clusium too.¹⁴⁴ These again are Etruscan or linked with Etruria. The evidence suggests that it was mainly the Etruscans who, in Etruria as in Latium, during their dominance accepted Odysseus as a hero, but that the transmission was not merely through the Ionian epic or its dependent tradition, as shown by the forms *Utuse*, *Utuste*, and the like, but was also by way of the legends of West Greece and the Illyrians. The memory of these survived into the times of Etruscan eclipse and of learned borrowing by the Romans from Greek literature.

XII. ODYSSEUS AND AENEAS IN ITALY

Having followed the varying fortunes of Odysseus so far, we may conclude these remarks by considering him beside his rival in the west, Aeneas; a comparison always suggested by the dependence of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* on the *Nekyia*.

The two heroes have appeared in uneasy association in Hellanicus and Lycophron on Latin and Etruscan ground. We have seen how Odysseus as a casual wanderer or discredited exile could not appear as the ancestor of the Roman people when it began to claim a mission to rule the world. This rôle could be played only by the permanent settler Aeneas, who began to be accepted for it in the third century, particularly after the Romans came into conflict with Pyrrhus and rejected a Greek founder. Long before that he had acquired a name for piety and steadiness, and a destiny that was to survive Troy. Stesichorus brought him from Ida to Hesperia, probably in Sicily, and may have based his story on genuine traditions of a priestly tribe of Aeneadae who came with the Elymians from Asia Minor to Segesta and Mount Eryx.¹⁴⁵ No fully satisfactory theory of his arrival in Latium has been put forward; Wikén considers that he must have come with the Sibyl of Cumae when the Sibylline books were brought to Rome,¹⁴⁶ and the names of his companion Misenus at Misenum and of his nurse Caieta at Caieta have been used to suggest that his legend travelled northward by Campania.¹⁴⁷ But there is still no clear trace of any legend earlier than Naevius¹⁴⁸ connecting Aeneas with the Sibyl of Cumae, even if in Asia Minor he was not far from the Sibyl of Erythrae. The nearest approach is the mention of the Sibyl and her cavern over the southern border of his kingdom in Latium by Lycophron,¹⁴⁹ who, however, says nothing of any dealings between them, as he would surely have done if the Sibyl had had for him any part in preparing Aeneas for his destiny.

In Lycophron Odysseus visits the prehistoric *νεκρομαντεῖον* at Avernus, as legend had made him do for centuries, but he does not do more than consult Tiresias; the vague language hardly suggests a further sight of the underworld, such as we find in the later parts of the *Nekyia*. His guide to the underworld, if he had needed one for a tour, would surely have been Tiresias; the Sibyl is not mentioned at all in connexion with him. Aeneas, on the other hand, neither meets the Sibyl, so far as can be seen, nor does he necessarily pass Campania at all, much less explore the underworld there. He seems to come straight from Almopia in Macedonia, but his route is not given. In the *Aeneid* Avernus is certainly again the mouth of the underworld, but is visited by Aeneas instead, who makes full use of the Sibyl. She was in charge of the Cumaeen cults of Apollo and Hecate alike during the history of the Greek colony, but does not appear in Greek literature as a guide to the underworld.

If the first introduction of a *Nekyia* into the legend of Aeneas is the work of Naevius, it is clear that the *Aeneid* represents the final stage in the adoption of Aeneas and Rome of all that was most impressive in the wanderings of Odysseus as located in Italy. If the Odyssean *Nekyia* had never been located in Campania, it is difficult to see how Virgil, with his close indebtedness to Homer, could have introduced a visit to Hades into his national epic of Rome and Italy, much less have made it the turning point of the poem and the authoritative revelation of the Roman fate.

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¹⁴² Livy I. 49. 9, Dion. Hal. AR IV. 45, Festus 116 (Lindsay), Horace Ep I. 30, Odes III. 29. 8, Propertius III. 32. 4, Ovid Fast IV 71 ff. Coins: Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine* II, 170 ff., Eckhel, *DN V*, 242 ff.

¹⁴³ Plutarch *Parallel. min.* 41 from Aristotle's *ἱταλικά* Steph Byz *αὐτοκρατορίας* Festus 269 (Lindsay) Hyginus *Fab* 127 Solinus II 9.

¹⁴⁴ Servius ad *Aen.* X 167.

¹⁴⁵ See Malten 'Aineias' 77.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* 77. Schur, 'Die griech. Trad.', 151, considers that Syracusan co-operation with the Romans against the Etruscans was reflected on the Greek side in assigning a Trojan origin to Rome.

¹⁴⁷ By Malten, *op. cit.* 50. But Aeneas in South Etruria is as old as the fifth century B.C., the date of the terracotta group mentioned at note 41.

¹⁴⁸ *Bellum Punicum* fr. 17 and 18 in Warmington *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb) Vol. II from Lactantius *Div. Inst.* I. 6. 7, who quotes Varro for the Cimmerian Sibyl of Italy as the fourth of her kind (cf. *De Orig. Gent. Rom.* 10). Naevius may have been the first to combine the Cumaeen Sibyl with any kind of heroic *Nekyia*, his aim being to introduce a *Nekyia* into the legend of Aeneas and to dignify this with her name in the face of Roman prejudice (see Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*, 102-3).

¹⁴⁹ 1277-80.

THE COST OF THE PARTHENON

THE budget of Perikles can be reconstructed only by studying numerous pieces of evidence, of varying importance and varying reliability. Neither the importance nor the reliability of any piece of evidence can be properly assessed except by a scholar who can carry all the evidence in his head, which I am far from capable of doing, but it is safe to say (a) that the cost of Perikles's building programme forms an important element in the total budget, and (b) that considerable uncertainty exists about the cost of these buildings. When we find Cavaignac¹ estimating the cost of the Propylaea at 400 talents, whereas Kolbe, Wilamowitz, and Busolt² put it at over 2000, it is clear that the target area is large; and I hope it may be of some service if a figure for the Parthenon can be arrived at whose margin of error is at any rate less than 400 per cent.

An obvious starting point is the Parthenon building accounts,³ of which considerable fragments survive. These fragments show various sources of income, the treasury of the Goddess, the Hellenotamiai, the Trieropoioi, the baths, the Xenodikoi, the Teichopoioi, the mines at Laureion, and (towards the end of the work) the sale of surplus materials. But in no case do the actual sums involved survive with sufficient fullness to prove what the total expenditure was, even for one year. The most that can be proved is that in 444/3 the income was at least 38 talents,⁴ and that the outgoing board handed over to their successors something more than 33 talents in 446⁵ and a similar sum in 441.⁶

On the expenditure side the information available is similar. We see expenditure on quarrying at Pentelikos, λιθογωγία Πεντελῆθεν (transport of stone from Pentelikos), λιθοκλία (which probably means hauling the marble up the Akropolis), payment for workmen and labourers, salaries, something about pillars, something made of wood, doors, purchases of ivory, pay for goldsmiths and silversmiths, marble for the pediments, payments for those who make the trolleys for transporting the marble, and for those who put the marble on the trolleys and those who carve the marble. The busy scene grows before our eyes, but, as Cavaignac wistfully remarks, 'ce qui manque dans tout ceci, ce sont les chiffres'. Figures, in fact, for the expenditure are almost completely lacking, the cecigi being less than 3 talents.

The literary sources are even less helpful. The only one I know of is the attack on Perikles referred to by Plutarch.⁷ His enemies claimed that Hellas was outraged to see Athens decking herself like a courtesan with precious stones, statues, and 1000-talent temples, ναοὺς χίλισταλάντους. This might be adduced as evidence that at any rate the Parthenon, presumably the most expensive, cost 1000 talents, but I do not think too much importance should be attached to the phrase. It is not only rhetoric, but opposition rhetoric, as if one were to write nowadays of a paternal government feeding its children on groundnuts at £500 a ton. And, moreover, it probably represents criticism uttered before the ostracism of Thucydides in 444, long before the Parthenon was completed, and is therefore the less likely to embody a real figure for the cost of the complete building. If it has any validity at all, it is as evidence that Perikles had the avowed intention of spending at least 1000 talents on buildings.

Another way of approaching the problem is to consider well-authenticated examples of expenditure on similar buildings. A well-known example is the temple at Delphi, which the Alkmaionids undertook to reconstruct in the sixth century. The contract was for 300 talents,⁸ and the Alkmaionids acquired merit by making the front out of Parian marble, the specification having been only for limestone (πῶρινος λίθος).⁹ This figure of 300 talents is certainly valuable, but must, I think, be used with caution. Various facts forbid a direct comparison with the Parthenon. The temple did not survive beyond the fourth century, so that we do not know its exact dimensions, the material was different, and, above all, the cost of transport was very different from that of the Parthenon. I shall reconsider this 300 talents a little later.

If the cost of the Delphic temple cannot be directly used, still less can that of St. Peter's at Rome, which a number of scholars have called in evidence. I have not been able to discover who first hit on this line of thought, but Busolt, Judeich, Meyer, Kolbe, and Wilamowitz¹⁰ have all worried at it in connexion with another piece of literary evidence preserved by Harpokration.¹¹ After various notes on the phrase προπύλαια ταῦτα Harpokration writes that Philochoros and others say that they were started under the supervision of Mnesikles in the archonship of Euthymenes

¹ Cavaignac, *L'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle*, p. 103.

² Kolbe, *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, p. 80; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unt.* I 210; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 493 ff.

³ *IG*² I, 339 ff. ⁴ *IG*² I, 342. ⁵ *IG*² I, 340.

⁶ *IG*² I, 345. ⁷ Perikles 13. ⁸ Herod. II 180.

⁹ Herod. V 62.

¹⁰ See note 2. Judeich *Topogr.* 79, 80. Ed. Meyer, *Forsch.* II 99. C. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, 524; 2, attacking the

figure of 2012 talents for the Propylaea, uses the analogy of St. Peter's as a *reductio ad absurdum*: if 2012 talents were correct for the Propylaea the cost per square foot of floor area would be appreciably higher than that of St. Peter's. Kirchoff (*Abhandl. Berl. Ak.* 1976, 56), defending 2012, argues that costs were higher before the Peloponnesian War than when the Erechtheum was built. Wilamowitz (*loc. cit.*) points to the expense of clearing the site.

¹¹ *F. Gr. Hist.*, 373 F1.

(437/6) and he goes on, 'Heliodoros in his first book about the Akropolis at Athens, after other things, says this also. It was (or they were) completely finished in six years and 2012 talents were spent. They made five gates through which to enter the Akropolis.'

There can be no doubt of the importance of this piece of evidence—if it is reliable. Kolbe,¹² supported by the others who have argued about St. Peter's, says that it is. If so, the conclusion is obvious and unavoidable, though Kolbe is scrupulous to avoid it. Here is a building constructed at almost the same time as the Parthenon, of almost the same materials, at almost the same place. One has only to compare the size of the two buildings and make a simple calculation. The floor area of the Propylaia is about 768 square metres, that of the Parthenon 2100, or about 2½ times as much. Multiply 2012 by 2½ and you get 5533 talents as the cost of the Parthenon. Or another method: the amount of stone and marble in the Propylaia can be calculated with reasonable accuracy as 3230 cubic metres (this includes the stone in the bastions on which the projecting wings stand). The stone and marble of the Parthenon amount to 11,176 cubic metres, nearly 3½ times as much. Multiply 2012 by 3½ and we get 7042 talents. One lingers over such figures only because of the respect due to the names of Busolt and Wilamowitz.

Cavaignac explains the 2012 talents referred to by Heliodoros as being the combined cost of the Propylaia, Parthenon, and the gold and ivory statue. This last may with a fair degree of probability be assessed at c. 850 talents,¹³ and certainly cost something between 600 and 1000 talents, which leaves about 1160 talents for the Parthenon and Propylaia combined. If we divide this up in the proportion indicated above of 1 to 3, we get about 300 talents for the Propylaia and about 900 for the Parthenon. This may seem reasonable enough; but before attaching too much importance to it one must remember that the whole calculation rests on Cavaignac's extremely arbitrary assumption that the 2012 talents refers to something quite different from what Harpokration says it does.

A more reliable type of information is, I believe, obtainable from building accounts preserved on inscriptions, provided that the accounts are complete enough. The most complete that I know of are those of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.¹⁴ This was built in the fourth century, about 380 to 375 B.C.¹⁵ The various sections of the work were contracted out, and our inscription gives not only the names of the contractors and of the Epidaurians who acted as guarantors, but also the cost of each contract undertaken. Of the temple little survives, but it is enough for our purpose. The ground plan is certain, and the height can be estimated with sufficient accuracy to make a reliable calculation of the total volume of stonework. The stone used is also clear. Let us see what conclusions we can draw.

To begin with, the accounts show that the principal items of expenditure were quarrying (λατομὰ), transport (ἀγωγά), erection (ἐργασία), and polishing (καταξοά) of stone, and this accords well both with common sense and with the fragments of the Parthenon accounts. If then we can discover the cost per ton or cubic metre of these processes we shall have advanced some way towards our goal. For transport cost, of course, we need a cost per ton per mile, and for polishing we have to estimate according to the superficial area rather than the volume.

The dimensions of the Asklepieion I have estimated, as shown in Appendix I, as follows:

	Cu. m.	Tons.
Cella—σκέος	345	948
Colonnade (including pillars, frieze, etc.)—περιστάσις	187	514

It is difficult to use the information we possess about the pavement of the Asklepieion, though it is fairly full, for two reasons: (i) the terms applied to the parts of the pavement cannot be explained with certainty, (ii) two different types of stone were used for the pavement, and therefore, even if we knew exactly how much of each was used, which we do not, we should still not be able to say how much to allow for the cost of transport from the quarry, or how much this differed from that of the stone used in the rest of the building. (With this latter stone, as will be seen later, the cost of transport is irrelevant.) I have therefore preferred to disregard the cost of the Asklepieion pavement, and to calculate the cost of paving the Parthenon on the same basis as that of the wall-building.

Relevant details from the Asklepieion inscription are as follows (references are to the lines of the inscription):

CELLA

- 16 Quarrying for half the cella—4400 + dr., which gives a rate of 9.3 dr. per ton.
 18 Transport for half the cella—1600 + dr., which gives a rate of 3.375 dr. per ton.
 14, 16 Quarrying and transport for the other half of the cella—6167, which confirms the above rates.

COLONNADE

- 5, 6 Quarrying and transport for the colonnade—6400 dr. The transport cost will have been the same as for the stone for the cella (3.375 dr. per ton), which will give a total of 1595 dr. for transport; this leaves for the colonnade 6400 — 1595, i.e. 4805 dr., which gives a rate for quarrying for the colonnade of 9.35 dr. per ton.

¹² Kolbe, *loc. cit.*

¹³ Dinsmoor, 'Ep. 'Apx. 1937 (pt. 2), 507–11.

¹⁴ IG³ IV, 102.

¹⁵ For the date cf. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*; Foucart, *Bull. Hell.* XIV, 594; Walters-Springer, *Kunst d. Alt.* 1923, 316; Fraenkel, *IG* IV, 1484.

ERECTION

CELLA

- 22 Erection of cella 3200 + dr.

Rate: 3.375 dr. per ton

COLONNADE

- 13 Erection of colonnade 3608 dr.

Rate: 7.02 dr. per ton

POLISHING

As mentioned above, the cost of polishing depends on the superficial area rather than the volume, and I have therefore calculated the cost per square metre of surface of walls and pavement. It is not, however, practicable to calculate the surface area of the colonnade, and for this I have calculated the cost per ton. This will not involve much inaccuracy, as the proportions of one colonnade are similar to another's.

CELLA

- 29 Polishing the inside of the cella 550 dr.

- 56 Polishing the prodomos 275 dr.

- 84 Polishing the outer pavement and the outside of the cella 821 dr. If we allow for the outside of the cella at the same rate as for the inside and prodomos, this would amount to about 780 dr. The total would then be 1605 dr. for 948 tons or 490 square metres.

Rate: 1.7 dr. per ton, or 3.27 dr. per sq. m.

COLONNADE

- 66 Polishing of colonnade 1336 dr.

Rate: 2.6 dr. per ton

To apply these figures to an estimate of the cost of the Parthenon it would be necessary to allow for the fall in the value of money between 440 and 380 or 375, and also for the difference between the Attic and the Aiginetan drachma.

To estimate exactly the fall in the value of money is impossible. Glotz¹⁶ estimates that prices increased by about 50 per cent in the sixth century, doubled between 480 and 440, and doubled again by about 330. It would perhaps be reasonable to assume that the Epidaurian figures in 380-375 would be to the Parthenon figures in 440 about as 3 to 2. On the other hand, the Aiginetan drachma would have to be multiplied by $\frac{1}{2}$, which would almost exactly balance the change in the value of money. For example, a job costing, in 380, 70 Aiginetan dr. would at the same date cost 100 Attic dr. But a job costing 100 Attic dr. in 380 would, by the suggested ratio of 2 to 3, have cost only 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ Attic dr. in 440. This is so near to the 70 Aiginetan dr. in 380 that we set out with that the difference may fairly be disregarded. In other words, we may apply our Epidaurian figures to the Parthenon without making any allowance for these two mutually neutralising factors. This conclusion is supported, though not, of course, proved, by the fact that the ἀρχιτέκτων received one drachma per day, both at the Asklepieion and at the Erechtheion.¹⁷

SUMMARY IN DRACHMAE PER TON OR SQUARE METRE

	Quarrying.	Erection.	Polishing.
Cella and pavement	9.3 per ton	3.375 per ton	3.27 per sq. m.
Colonnade	9.35 per ton	7.02 per ton	2.6 per ton

TRANSPORT

The Asklepieion would give valuable evidence as to the cost of transport if one knew where the quarry was. Until this information is forthcoming we must use the evidence provided by the inscription which gives the cost of transporting column drums from Pentelikos for the Prostoon at Eleusis in about 330 B.C.¹⁸ From Noack's *Eleusis* it appears that there were ten drums (excluding the capital) in each column, totalling 10,868 metres in height and varying in diameter from 1.97 metres at the bottom to 1.681 at the top. The inscription shows that the cost of transport per drum varied between 408 and 220 dr. and averaged 344 dr. The average weight of drum, taking the height to be 1.086 m., the mean diameter 1.825 m. and allowing 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons per cu. m., is 7.84 tons. Thus the cost per ton is 44 dr. As Eleusis is about 30 kilometres from Pentelikos, the cost per ton per kilometre is nearly 1.5 dr.¹⁹

The slope uphill or downhill is a considerable factor, as can be seen from the fact that one drum, which had to be sent back to the quarry, cost 228 dr. on the outward (downhill) journey, and 444 dr. on the return trip. From Pentelikos to Eleusis the drop is about 650 metres in 30 kilometres;

¹⁶ *Ancient Greece at Work*, pp. 237, 238.¹⁷ Erechtheion, *IG*¹ I, 374; Asklepieion, *IG*¹ IV, 1484, ll. 9, 32, 54.¹⁸ *IG*² II, 1673. Cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 211 ff., 269, 125.¹⁹ Figures are based on the estimate of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons per cu. m. The exact figure for Pentelic marble is 2.69 tons.

from Pentelikos to Athens it is about 600 metres in 18 kilometres. We may therefore allow a slightly lower cost for the transport to Athens; say, 1.25 dr. per ton per kilometre. Transport of marble from Pentelikos to Athens would therefore cost 22.5 dr. per ton.

The transport from the Peiraeus of the limestone used for the core of the stylobate we may estimate at 1.4 dr. per ton per kilometre, allowing, on the one hand for the slight rise, and on the other hand for the better road which is likely to have existed. The cost for the 7 kilometres would therefore be 9.8 dr. per ton. These prices should be halved to allow for the fall in the value of money between 440 and 330 B.C., giving a result for the Parthenon of

Transport of marble	11.25 dr. per ton
Transport of limestone	4.9 dr. per ton

The next fact for which allowance must be made is that the Parthenon was built of Pentelic marble, whereas the Asklepion was built of limestone, which is a great deal easier, and therefore quicker and cheaper, to work. I have obtained independent estimates from two Oxford masons,²⁰ one of whom handled actual specimens of Pentelic marble and the limestone used at Epidauros, and both say the same—that the marble would take five times as long to quarry and carve as the limestone, assuming that modern machine-driven tools were not available.

Thus for the polishing of the Parthenon we should multiply the Asklepion cost per ton or square metre by five (the quarrying cost should, I think, be multiplied by six, to allow not only for the marble, but also for the greater size of the blocks); giving the following result:²¹

	Quarrying.	Polishing.
Cella and pavement	55.8 dr. per ton	16.35 dr. per sq. m.
Colonnade	56.1 dr. per ton	13 dr. per ton

Dinsmoor²² describes the technique of erection and polishing, and shows how, with both walls and columns, a good deal of stone-cutting was involved. The wall-blocks were erected still wearing a protective skin of stone, and the removal of this, no doubt, was the main element in what the inscription describes as 'polishing'. Thus I hope that our estimate for the Parthenon's walls and pavement will be correct if for the polishing we multiply the Epidauros figures by five, as we have just done.

For the erection we must consider more exactly what is implied by the term ἐργασία. Such processes as involve stone-cutting will cost five times as much as at Epidauros, whereas the mere putting of one block on another will cost no more if the blocks are of marble than if they are of limestone. Dinsmoor shows that the erection and polishing of the colonnade was a process involving much more stone-cutting than that of walls; and here, presumably, lies the main reason why, at Epidauros, the cost per ton of the erection of the colonnade is so much greater than that of the cella, 7.02 dr. compared with 3.375 dr., or just over twice as much. In fact, ἐργασία of the columns means both erection, in the ordinary sense, and certain stone-cutting preliminary to the polishing proper. What we have to do, then, in order to get figures applicable to the Parthenon, is to divide the cost for ἐργασία of the colonnade into so much for stonework and so much for erection proper.

For erection proper we may take the figure of 3.375 dr. per ton, which is what the cella at Epidauros cost, and apply it to both the walls and the colonnade and the pavement of the Parthenon. I think it should be increased a little to allow for the greater elaborateness of the Parthenon and the height of the walls and colonnade, and I propose to allow for

Erection of pavement	4 dr. per ton
Erection of walls	6 dr. per ton

For the colonnade of the Parthenon I propose to allow 6 dr. per ton for the erection proper (the same as for the walls) and add to this 19 dr. per ton for the stone-cutting also included in the ἐργασία. This 19 dr. is arrived at by multiplying by 5 the figure of 3.645 dr., which is the difference at Epidauros between the cost of ἐργασία of the colonnade and of the cella. Thus we get a total for the ἐργασία of the colonnade of the Parthenon of 6 plus 19, i.e. 25 dr. per ton. For the ἐργασία of the 'core' we may accept the Epidauros figure of 3.375 dr. per ton.

²⁰ Knowles and Son; Mr. William Axtell of Axtell and Perry.

²¹ Here it may be well to explain an apparent discrepancy between the polishing cost of the cella and that of the colonnade, a discrepancy which might be concealed by my giving a figure per ton for the colonnade, and per square metre for the cella. If we stick to tons we find that at Epidauros the polishing of the cella costs 1.7 dr. per ton, while that of the colonnade costs 2.6, i.e. about 1½ times as much. This might be thought to

imply that the polishing of a colonnade was quite a different process from polishing a wall. Actually, however, the difference is no more than could be expected in view of the fact that a colonnade consists largely of columns, and the surface of a column is greater than that of a normal wall of the same volume. At the Asklepion, for example, a cubic metre of wall has a superficial area of 1.3 sq. m., whereas a cubic metre of column has a superficial area of 2.3 sq. m.

²² *Op. cit.* pp. 171 ff.

Tabulated the results are as follows:

TRANSPORT

	Rate (dr. per ton).	Tons.	Cost in dr.
Walls	11·25	7,835	88,144
Pavement	11·25	3,819	42,964
Colonnade	11·25	10,186	114,592
Core	4·9	8,941	43,811
			<hr/> 289,511

i.e. 48 talents.

QUARRYING, ERECTING, POLISHING

	Polishing.	Quarrying.	Erecting.	Total rate.	Tons.	Cost.
Walls	—	55·8	6	61·8	7,835	484,203
Pavement	—	55·8	4	59·8	3,819	228,376
Core	—	9·3	3·375	12·675	8,941	113,327
Colonnade	13	56·1	25	94·1	10,186	958,503
Polishing of walls and pavement	7,065 sq. m. at 16·35					<hr/> 115,513
						1,899,922

i.e. 317 talents.

TOTAL FOR STONEMWORK 365 talents.

Other important items in the total cost of the Parthenon are the ceiling, roof, gates, pedimental sculptures (*ἐκαιέτια*), akroteria, frieze, and metopes.

CEILING, ROOF, AND GATES

In the Asklepieion the total of items that may be included under this heading is 30,906 dr., but there are a few such items whose cost is not known which may have totalled about 10,600 dr.

Allowing therefore 41,500 dr. for the Asklepieion, whose roof-area is 321 sq. m. we would get, *ceteris paribus*, for the Parthenon, whose roof area is 2458 sq. m.,

317,800 dr., *i.e.* tal. 53.

It is impossible to say how these vanished parts of the two buildings compared with each other, but, though we know that the Asklepieion had roof-tiles of Parian marble and doors richly ornamented with ivory, it is probable that the Parthenon was the more luxurious and it was certainly higher, and I therefore allow for

CEILING, ROOF, AND GATES 65 talents.

PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE AND AKROTERIA

From the Epidaurian inscription we have the following items.

- 98 *ἐκαιέτια* for one pediment 3010 dr.
111 *ἐκαιέτια* for half the other pediment 1400 dr.

from which it is clear that the *ἐκαιέτια* for both pediments would cost about 6000 dr.

- 90 Akroteria for one pediment 2240 dr.
97 Akroteria for the other pediment 2340 or 2420 dr.

TOTAL FOR PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE AND AKROTERIA 10,580 dr.

As these sculptures were of Pentelic marble, the costs should simply be adjusted to meet the greater size of the Parthenon.

The width of the Asklepieion pediment is 13 m.; that of the Parthenon is 28 m. Therefore multiply

10,580 by $(\frac{28}{13})^2$. The result is 105,800 dr.

i.e. COST OF PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURES AND AKROTERIA FOR THE PARTHENON is tal. 17,3800—say, 17 talents.

SCULPTURE OF THE INNER FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

The best guide for estimating this is the frieze of the Erechtheion. It is probable that the general level of prices was higher in 408 than in 440 B.C. but that financial difficulties would have induced the Athenians to cut wages as low as possible. We may therefore take the Erechtheion costs as applicable to the Parthenon after they have been adjusted for the difference in size of the figures. One cannot expect the result to be exact, but the sum involved is certainly not very large.

Each figure in the Erechtheion frieze cost 60 dr. There were about 475 figures in the Parthenon frieze as well as a certain number of accessory details.

475 × 60 is	28,500
Accessories, say	3,000
	<hr/> 31,500 dr.

Height of Erechtheion figures is $\frac{2}{3}$ m.

Height of Parthenon figures is 1 m.

Therefore multiply,

$$31,500 \times (\frac{3}{2})^2. \text{ Answer } 70,875 \text{ dr.}$$

COST OF PARTHENON FRIEZE tal. 11,4875—say, 12 talents.

METOPES

There are 92 metopes, each $1\frac{1}{3}$ metres high, and with two figures in each. Using a similar method to that for the frieze, we get

$$184 \text{ figures at } 240 \text{ dr. (i.e. } 60 \times 2^2) \quad 44,160 \text{ dr.}$$

but as the metopes are nearly 'in the round' we should perhaps estimate the cost at 60,000 dr. or 10 talents.

TOTAL COST OF PARTHENON (in talents)

Walls, colonnade, pavement, core	365
Ceiling, roof and gates	65
Pedimental sculptures and akroteria	17
Inner frieze	12
Metopes	10
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 469

I anticipate that this figure will generally be considered surprisingly, if not impossibly, low. If it were correct it would mean that the Propylaia could hardly have cost more than 200 talents, which is well outside the 'target area' which I referred to earlier (2000 to 400 talents). Obviously there are many ways in which error may have crept into my estimates, and it would not greatly surprise me if the correct figure were well over 500 talents, but I have thought it best to pursue my procedure from stage to stage, attending only to the evidence relevant to each stage, and undismayed by the feeling that I was getting nearer every day to a total which every one would say was too small.²³

I would end by attempting to answer at any rate one argument in favour of a higher cost, the figure of 300 talents for the sixth-century limestone temple at Delphi. I think that this relatively high figure can be explained by high transport costs. The inscription giving the expenses of the Delphic temple erected in the fourth century is not complete enough to enable the total cost to be exactly calculated,²⁴ but it does show clearly how high the transport costs were. We can follow, for instance, the course of four *epignapheia* from Corinth to Delphi. In 344/3 they were quarried at a cost of 244 dr. In 342 they were carried from Lechaion to Kirrha at a cost of 448 dr., and from the coast to the site for 1680 dr. Thus the total cost of transport (2576 dr.) is more than 10½ times the cost of quarrying. At Epidauros the cost of transport (c. 3½ dr. per ton) was little more than one-quarter of the cost of quarrying. At Athens the cost of transport I have estimated as less than that of quarrying (the quarrying of marble is, of course, more expensive than that of limestone).

Thus it can be seen that if the transport costs of Delphi had been involved at Epidauros they would have amounted to about 180,000 dr. instead of about 6000, and the total cost of the temple would have been about 170,000 dr. more than it actually was; in fact, the cost of the temple would have been multiplied by nearly three.

At Athens the cost of transport was about three times as high as at Epidauros, but, even so,

²³ Perhaps the most likely source of inaccuracy in my computations is in the estimate of the fall in the value of money between 440 and 380 B.C. This affects only the items based on a comparison with the Asklepion, which are as follows:

Quarrying, erecting, and polishing of stone	317 talents
Ceiling, roof, and gates	65 talents
Pedimental sculpture and akroteria	17 talents
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 399 talents

I think it would be safe to assume that the value of money had at any rate not risen in 380, and that therefore the prices paid by the builders of the Asklepion were, at most, only the same as those of the Parthenon. In that case the 399 talents would have to be multiplied by $\frac{1}{2}$ to allow for the difference between the Aiginetan and the Attic standard. This would give 570 talents for the items listed above, an increase of 171 talents, and the total cost of the Parthenon would become 640 talents.

²⁴ Bourguet, *Admin. Fin. du sanct. pyth. au IV^e siècle* 1905, p. 105, estimates the total cost at 530 talents.

it is only about one-tenth of the enormous transport cost of Delphi. Thus if Delphian costs had been involved the total expenditure on transport would have been some 400 or 500 talents instead of 40 or 50, and the total cost of the building would have been about doubled. Conversely, the cost of the Alkmaionid temple at Athenian transport rates would be about halved—and 150 talents for the Delphian temple in the sixth century seems to me to compare very reasonably with an estimated 469 talents for the Parthenon in the fifth century.

R. S. STANIER.

APPENDIX I

DIMENSIONS OF THE ASCLEPEION AT EPIDAUROS, CALCULATED FROM THE FIGURES GIVEN
BY KAVVADIAS AND DINSMOOR

Pillars:

30 in peristyle, 2 in antis
Average thickness 0.85 m.
Height: about 5.2 m.

Total content 94.18 cu. m.

Entablature:

Perimeter 73 m.
Height c. 1.5 m.
Thickness c. 0.85 m.

Total volume 93.075 cu. m.

Aietoi:

On the same proportions as the Parthenon

Volume c. 16 cu. m.

Cella:

Back wall (not counting overlap with side walls) $3.95 \times 1.55 \times 6$. . . 36.7 cu. m.
Two sides (counting antae) $16.35 \times 1.48 \times 6 \times 2$. . . 290.4 cu. m.
Front (allowing for entrance) $2.5 \times 1.2 \times 6$. . . 18 cu. m.

Total 345 cu. m.

Cella surface for polishing:

Outside 39.75×6 . . . 238.5 sq. m.
Inside 28.54×6 . . . 171.24 sq. m.
Prodomos 13.5×6 . . . 81 sq. m.

Total 490 sq. m.

APPENDIX II

DIMENSIONS OF THE PARTHENON

Walls

Areas (in plan)

North and south walls $2 \times 51 \times 1.2$. . . 122.4 sq. m.

East and west walls (allowing for entrances):

East $2 \times 2.1 \times 7$. . . 29.4

West $2 \times 2.1 \times 6.6$. . . 27.76

Central wall 19.2×1.1 . . . 21.12

Total area 200.68 sq. m.

Height of all walls 13.25

Total volume 2650 cu. m.

Add for wedged-shaped part at the top of each wall:

East wall 2.1×37.5 . . . 78.75

West wall 2.1×37.5 . . . 78.75

Central wall 1.1×37.5 . . . 41.25

198.75

TOTAL VOLUME OF WALLS 2849 cu. m.

Pillars

Peristyle 46 pillars

Height exclusive of capital block 9.5

Mean diameter 1.75

Volume 22.86 cu. m. per column

Total for peristyle 1052 cu. m.

Other pillars 12	
Height 9.3	
Mean diameter 1.6	
Volume 18.7 cu. m. per column	
Total	225 cu. m.
Capital section (squared out):	
$46 \times 2 \times 2 \times 0.85$	156.4
$12 \times 1.75 \times 1.75 \times 0.7$	25.6
	<hr/>
	182.0
TOTAL FOR PILLARS INCLUDING CAPITALS	1459 cu. m.

Aietoi

Outer aietoi:	
Width 28	
Height in centre 4	
Area of face 56 sq. m.	
Thickness 1.25	
Volume of two	140 cu. m.

Inner aietoi:	
Width 20	
Height 3.75	
Thickness 1.25	
Volume of two	93.75
Total	233.75 cu. m.

Architrave

Outer $1.77 \times 1.35 \times 198$	473
Inner $1.05 \times 1.46 \times 50$	76.5
	<hr/>
Total architrave	549.5 cu. m.

Frieze

Outer $1.7 \times 1.35 \times 198$	453
Inner $1.3 \times 1 \times 50$	51
	<hr/>
Total frieze	504

(N.B.—For frieze and architrave the parts coinciding with the walls of the cella are reckoned as wall.)

Cornice

Front and back $2.12 \times 0.6 \times 30$	
Volume of two	76.3
Sides $2.075 \times 0.65 \times 71$	
Volume of two	191.5
Pediments $1.272 \times 15.75 \times 4$	76
	<hr/>
Total cornice	344 cu. m.

Interior Supports of the Roof

What these consisted of is not certainly known. I have assumed 27 pillars of mean diameter 1.5, height 9.3, giving a volume of 443 cu. m., and an architrave measuring $1.5 \times 1.25 \times 92$, giving a volume of 172 cu. m.

Total for interior supports 615 cu. m.

Pavement, Steps, and 'Core'

Total volume of foundation block:	
A upper section	890
B lower section	3750
	<hr/>
	4640

From this must be deducted as marble the volume of paving and steps.

Allowing 0.25 as thickness of paving, the total volume of paving is $72.30 \times 33.69 \times 0.25$, i.e. 609 cu. m.

Steps. I am not sure how far the steps go beyond what is visible but I allow for the bottom three steps as follows:

Stylobate (in section) 2×0.55	1.1 sq. m.
Bottom two (in section) $2 \times 0.55 \times 1.5$	1.65 sq. m.
	<hr/>
	2.75
Perimeter 200	
Volume of these three steps	550 cu. m.

Upper Steps

Sides: Height 0·7
 Width 0·32 and 1·65—say 2·0
 Length 120
 Volume

168 cu. m.

Ends: Height 0·7
 Width 0·4 and 1·8
 Length 40
 Volume

62 cu. m.

Total for upper steps 230 cu. m.

Totals: PAVEMENT 609
 LOWER STEPS 550
 UPPER STEPS 230

1389 cu. m.

INNER STONE CORE 4640 — 1389 = 3251 cu. m.

SUMMARY OF DIMENSIONS OF PARTHENON IN CUBIC METRES AND TONS

(N.B.—I have allowed 2½ tons to the cubic metre for both stone and marble. If, in fact, the different stones have slightly different weights it does not affect the estimates, as the transport costs, the only ones affected by weight, are based on prices for transporting marble.)

	Cu. m.	Tons.
Walls	2,849	7,835
Colonnade:		
Pillars	1,459	
Architrave	549	
Frieze	504	
Aietoi	233	
Cornice	344	
Interior Supports	615	
Pavement and steps	3,704	10,186
Core	1,389	3,819
	3,251	8,941

AREA FOR POLISHING OF WALLS, STEPS AND PAVEMENT

WALLS: Total length of wall 148·4 metres, height 13·25 = 1966·3 sq. m. Add for wedge-shaped parts at top of walls:

$$3 \times 37\cdot5 = 112\cdot5 \text{ sq. m.}$$

Total of 2078·8 must be multiplied by 2, as both sides have to be polished. The total area of wall to be polished is therefore:

$$4157\cdot6 \text{ sq. m.}$$

STEPS AND PAVEMENT: The total horizontal surface is 2436 sq. m. To this must be added the vertical surface of the steps, as follows:

Lower steps 1·8 × 200	360 sq. m.
Upper steps 0·7 × 160	112 sq. m.

SUMMARY:

Walls	4157
Pavement	2436
Lower steps	360
Upper steps	112
TOTAL	7065 sq. m.

FROM RELIGION TO PHILOSOPHY

THE starting-point of this article was Cornford's essay, 'A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's *Theogony*', recently published in *The Unwritten Philosophy*.¹ He showed it to me soon after he had written it in 1942. It is only a sketch, but it struck me at once as important, because it opens a new approach to the conclusion he had reached many years before in *From Religion to Philosophy*. I told him this and begged him to pursue the subject, but he smiled and said, 'I leave that to you'. Hence the title of this article, which is a tribute to his memory.

His *From Religion to Philosophy* appeared in 1913. In the same year Eduard Norden published his *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*. In this study, starting from the Sermon on the Areopagus, Norden shows that the Greek and Latin authors employ, in poetry and prose, certain forms of speech, liturgical in origin, which can be traced independently in the Old Testament. The two streams, the Hellenic and the Hebrew, drawn from Babylonia and Egypt, were reunited in Christianity, notably by St. Paul, who, in virtue of his birth and upbringing, was equally well versed in both. Later, in the Byzantine liturgy, they were reinforced by a third stream, the Syrian, of the same ultimate origin.²

These two works, which appeared simultaneously, are complementary. Cornford was concerned with the content of Greek thought, Norden with the form; and both reached the same conclusion. The roots of Greek philosophy lie in the ancient religions of the Near East.

1. THE SEPARATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

The main thesis of Cornford's essay is that the cosmology of Anaximander is a scientific reinterpretation of the myth of the separation of Heaven and Earth as related by Hesiod. This myth is found in various forms all over the ancient East and in the Far East and in Polynesia. In particular, it is the main theme of the *Enuma elish*, or Epic of Creation—a hymn chanted annually in Babylon at the festival of the coronation, at which, after the world had been symbolically re-created, the king resumed his authority and 'fixed the fates' for the year.³

A comparative analysis of this myth in all its forms is an important task which has yet to be undertaken. For the present it will be enough to identify the four main variants.

First, the idea of sexual union. In the beginning Heaven (male) and Earth (female) were one.⁴ They were separated after the birth of a child or children, who forced them apart in order to make room for themselves, thereby creating light. The partners were afterwards reunited periodically in the sacred marriage, which made the earth fruitful. This, the oldest form of the myth, is in origin simply a projection of the division of the primitive horde into two intermarrying moieties—the earliest form of organised human society.⁵

Secondly, the idea of water as the primary element. In the beginning there was a watery chaos, which divided and so left room for the formation of dry land. This reflects the fundamental importance of irrigation in Mesopotamia and Egypt, where the dry land was literally created by human labour out of the primeval swamp.⁶

Thirdly, the idea of the world egg, in which the two preceding ideas are combined and reinterpreted. Heaven and Earth are the upper and lower parts of an egg which has split open.⁷

Fourthly, the idea of a duel. A god slays a dragon, whose body he hacks into two parts, which form heaven and earth. Such is the duel between Marduk and Tiamat as described in the *Enuma*

¹ F. M. Cornford, *The Unwritten Philosophy*, 1950; see also his *Principium Sapientiae* (1952), published after this article went to press. I wish to acknowledge my debt to the late N. Bachtin, with whom I discussed these problems many times, and to Mr. R. T. Rundle Clark, who drew my attention to the Egyptian data cited in notes 4 and 7.

² E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 207, 260-1; R. Cantarella, *Poeti Bizantini* (Milan, 1948), Vol. II, pp. 28-37.

³ S. H. Hooke, *Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, 1938, pp. 18-19; I. Engnell, *Studies in the Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 1945, pp. 15, 36.

⁴ In the Egyptian version the sexes are reversed, presumably because in Egypt there is virtually no rain. The Egyptian *p.t* 'heaven' may be connected with *wp.i*, 'to separate': K. Sethe, *Uebersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Vol. III, p. 11, IV, p. 117. For the latest general account of the myth see K. Marót, 'Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde', *Acta Antiqua*, Vol. I, pp. 35-63 (Budapest, 1951).

⁵ See my *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, 1949, p. 58, and,

for further data relating to the 'dual organisation', S. P. Tolstov, 'Sovetskaya shkola v etnografii', *Sovetskaya Etnologiya*, Vol. IV (1947) p. 25.

⁶ See my note in *The Modern Quarterly*, 1949, Vol. IV, pp. 267-9.

⁷ *Chândogya Upanishad* 3. 19: 'In the beginning it was not; it came into being; it grew; it turned into an egg; the egg lay for a year; the egg broke open; one half was of silver, the other of gold; the silver half became this earth, the golden half the sky . . . And what was born from it was Aditya, the sun'. This corresponds to the Egyptian myth of Geb (earth) and Nut (heaven), forced apart by Shu (light). The cosmic egg figured in Egyptian ritual: G. Leleuvre, 'L'oeuf divin d'Hermopolis', *Annales du service des antiquités*, Vol. XXIII, p. 65; Magical Papyrus Harris 6. 10, ed. H. O. Lange, *Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist. Fil. Med.* 14. 2, 1927, p. 53. See further M. W. Makemson, *The Morning Star Rises: an Account of Polynesian Astronomy*, 1941, Chap. II.

elish. The primitive form of the myth is here combined with the idea of an initiatory ordeal, symbolising the triumph of summer over winter, which was enacted at the coronation festival.⁸

All four variants can be traced in Greek. The first is the story of Ouranos and Gaia as told in the Hesiodic and Orphic theogonies, with various modifications of detail, showing that its original significance had become obscured.⁹ The second underlies the so-called Homeric theogony and the cosmology of Thales.¹⁰ The third was taught by the Orphics.¹¹ The fourth appears in Hesiod as the duel between Zeus and Typho, after which Zeus becomes king, just as Marduk becomes king after the slaughter of Tiamat.¹² Other Greek versions of the duel, also associated with the kingship, are Apollo's fight with Python and the fight between Kadmos and the Theban dragon.¹³

2. THE CALENDAR

At this point it is necessary to recapitulate some of the conclusions reached in my study of the early Greek calendar.¹⁴

The Greek calendar was derived from the East through the Minoan-Mycenean priest-kings, particularly those of Delphi, Thebes, and Orchomenos. The Delphic Apollo, according to tradition, came from Crete; and, as Nilsson has shown, he reached Crete from South-west Anatolia, while one feature of his cult—the sanctity of the number seven—points definitely to Babylonia.¹⁵ So with Kadmos, who founded Thebes. Minos of Knossos was his sister's son, and he himself was a native of Phoenicia, which he left in search of his sister, Europa, whom Zeus had carried off to Crete. The myth of Zeus and Europa corresponds to the myth of El and Asherat, which has been recovered from the cuneiform texts of Ugarit.¹⁶ Typho was born in Cilicia,¹⁷ which included Syria,¹⁸ and in one version his slayer is not Zeus but Kadmos.¹⁹ In Syria itself, at Antioch, there was a tradition that he had been struck down at the mouth of the Orontes.²⁰ Thus, both figures, Kadmos and Typho, lead us back to Syria. All this is in harmony with recent excavations there, which have shown that Ugarit and the neighbouring cities were in close communication with Crete as far back as the seventeenth century B.C.²¹ The myth of Kadmos contains a core of historical fact. These Syrian cities were one of the main avenues through which Babylonian culture, including the calendar, was transmitted to the Aegean. This conclusion is important, for three reasons.

In the first place, the officer in charge of the calendar, without which irrigational agriculture would have been impossible, was the king; and he, representing the god, was directly concerned in the annual re-enactment of the creation at the coronation festival. There was thus an inherent connexion between the calendar and the creation. With this in mind, we see the two main themes of the Hesiodic poems—the farmer's almanac of the *Works and Days* and the creation myth of the *Theogony*—in a new light. They were drawn from a common source—the hieratic tradition of the priest-kings descended from Kadmos, which after the Dorian invasions was secularised and popularised.²²

In the second place, Thales and Anaximander devoted much of their attention to astronomical problems, which had a close bearing on the regulation of the calendar. That being so, there is an intrinsic probability in Cornford's view that their cosmological speculations were inspired by the myth of the creation.

In the third place—and this is a circumstance which has attracted very little interest—there is independent evidence that they were the heirs of the Kadmeioi.

3. THE THELIDAI

Early in the second century B.C. the citizens of Miletos built a new town hall. In it they placed a statue of Anaximandros—evidently the great philosopher of that name. It was an old statue of

⁸ On Tiamat and the Sumerian Zu see S. Smith, *Babylonian Legends of the Creation*, 1931, p. 18; S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, 1932, pp. 19–20. Other examples of the duel are the slaying of Leviathan (*Psalms* 74, *Isaiah* 51, cf. *Job* 26. 11), which is the Lotan of the Ugaritic texts: C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra*, 1939, pp. 65–6.

⁹ In Hesiod the idea that heaven and earth were one has been overlaid by the notion of an original *xōos*, corresponding to the Egyptian Nu and the Babylonian Apsu; but it survived in the Orphic tradition: A.R. 1. 496–502, cf. E. fr. 484.

¹⁰ Roscher, *Lexikon*, Vol. V, p. 1539.

¹¹ W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 1935, pp. 92–5.

¹² Hes. *Th.* 820–85. It is clear that 881–5 should follow directly after the defeat of the Titans. The battle of the Titans and the slaying of Typho are alternative versions of the same theme.

¹³ Plu. *M.* 418a, *Apld.* 3. 4. 1.

¹⁴ 'The Greek Calendar', *JHS*, LXII (1943), 52–65.

¹⁵ M. P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenean Religion*, 1927, pp. 423–4.

¹⁶ Schaeffer, p. 60.

¹⁷ A. Pr. 367, *Pi.* P. 8. 16.

¹⁸ Str. 627.

¹⁹ Nonn. *D.* 1. 481–534. The duel was also located in Boeotia itself: Hsch. *Toplov*, *Pi.* O. 4. 11 sch., Hes. *Sc.* 32.

²⁰ Str. 750.

²¹ Schaeffer pp. 10–17, cf. p. 31: 'In order the better to understand the formation of ancient Minoan, it seems necessary to reduce the influence hitherto accorded to predynastic and protodynastic Egypt and to search rather in the direction of Asia'. This is borne out by the comparative study of Greek mythology.

²² Other elements in the Hesiodic *Theogony* traceable to Syria are Aphrodite, whose Phoenician connexions are well known (see my *Studies*, pp. 507–14) and Eros, the Phoenician Pothos (*Ph. Bybl.* 1–2, *Dam.* 125). At Thespiai, where there was a cult of Hesiod (*IG. Sept.* 1735, 1760, 1763, cf. *Paus.* 9. 31. 4), there was also a cult of Eros (*Paus.* 9. 27. 1). Other ancient cults of this god are recorded at Leuktra in Laconia, founded from the Boeotian Leuktra (*Paus.* 3. 26. 4, *Str.* 360), and at Parion (*Paus.* 9. 27. 1), founded from Erythrai, one of the original Ionian colonies and named presumably after the Boeotian Erythrai.

the sixth century, which they had removed from its original site on the Sacred Way running from the city to the temple of Apollo at Branchidai. Several other statues of the same date have been discovered on the Sacred Way. One is a marble lion dedicated to Apollo by Thales, Pasikles, Hegesandros, a fourth whose name is illegible, and Anaxileos, all sons of Archegos son of Python; another is dedicated by the sons of Anaximandros son of Mandromachos; a third, also to Apollo, by Histiaios.²³

The Thales and Anaximandros of these inscriptions cannot have been the philosophers, but their names suggest that they belonged to the same clan. Anaximandros the philosopher was a son of Praxiadēs and a kinsman of his master, Thales.²⁴ Thales, a son of Examyēs by Kleoboulē, belonged to the clan Thelidai, which was a branch of the Kadmeioi.²⁵ That is what Herodotus means when he says he was 'of Phoenician extraction'.²⁶ We know that Kadmeioi from Thebes had taken part in the colonisation of Ionia,²⁷ and that Priene, across the bay from Miletos, was settled by a contingent from Thebes under Philotas.²⁸ There were certainly Kadmeioi at Priene,²⁹ and Philotas was probably one of them, because we are told that in his honour the city was sometimes called Kadme.³⁰ These traditions may have been derived from Kadmos of Miletos, who was remembered as an early historian of the city and whose name speaks for itself.³¹ At Mykale, across the bay, there was a cult of the Potniai—that is, Demeter and Persephone—which had evidently been brought there from Potniai near Thebes.³² The Theban cult of Demeter had once been a palace cult of the Kadmeioi.³³ And finally, in view of their ancestral ties with the Delphic Apollo, the Thelidai may well have held a special place in the worship of the other Apollo at Branchidai.³⁴ That would explain why their statues were erected along the Sacred Way.

Set against this background, Cornford's main thesis, cogent in itself, is confirmed. The cosmogony of Hesiod and the cosmology of Anaximander are offshoots of a Minoan hieratic tradition, which reached Greece from the East.

4. HERAKLEITOS AND GORGIAS

The earliest of the philosophers whose writings have survived in sufficient quantity to give an impression of his prose style is Herakleitos; and he was famous for his style.

Herakleitos belonged to the royal family of Ephesos, descended from the founder, Androklos, whose father, Kodros, had been king of Athens.³⁵ He would himself have held the regal office, had he not resigned it in favour of his brother.³⁶ Among the royal privileges that survived was the priesthood of Demeter Eleusinia.³⁷ This, we may presume, had been acquired by the Kodridai as kings of Athens; for the Athenian officer responsible for the Eleusinian Mysteries was the ἀρχὼν βασιλεὺς.³⁸ His family must also have officiated in the worship of the Ephesian Artemis, which was pre-Hellenic,³⁹ possibly Hittite in origin.⁴⁰ He deposited a copy of his writings in her temple.⁴¹ And so Herakleitos too belonged to a family of priest-kings.

The central doctrine of his philosophy is contained in what he calls the λόγος, which he presents as though it were indeed a mystery, like the Eleusinian λεγόμενα and the Orphic ἱεροὶ λόγοι. It may be defined in modern terms as the principle of the interpenetration of opposites; and it provides the key to his style. Just as his thought is dialectical, so his style is antithetical. Words and clauses are abruptly counterposed so as to lay bare the contradictions inherent in the ideas which they convey. The effect, as Plato describes it, is like a series of volleys from a band of archers.⁴² In a highly inflected language like Greek such a style is necessarily accompanied by constant rhymes and assonances, and to these Herakleitos adds the use of punning—a universal characteristic of primitive speech, designed to invest it with a mystical or magical significance.

(39) τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται, ὑγρὸν αὐαίνεται, καρφαλέον νοτίζεται.

(62) ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δ' ἐκείνων βίον τελευτεῖς.

(66) τοῦ βίου οὖνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.

Being so closely wedded to the subject, this style cannot be described as rhetorical; yet it exhibits all those features which later became so familiar in the schools of rhetoric that technical terms were invented for them: ἀντίθεσις, ἀσύμμετρον, παρίσσωσις, παρομοίωσις, παρονομασία.⁴³

The founder of Greek rhetoric, in the accepted view, was Gorgias of Leontinoi. In 428 B.C.

²³ SIG. 3. For the name Pasikles cf. Hdt. 9. 97. For other names in μερό see SIG. 3g (Miletos), Supp. Epig. Gr. 4. 461. 4 (Branchidai), Apul. Fl. 18 (Priene), SIG. 960. 5, 1079 (Magnaesia), 1068. 3 (Patmos), Hdt. 4. 88 (Samos).

²⁴ Suid. s.v., Str. 7. D.L. 2. 1.

²⁵ D.L. 1. 22 δ θαλῆς... ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν, οἱ εἰσι Φοίνικες, ἐγγενίστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀγήνορος.

²⁶ Hdt. 1. 170. 3 θαλῆα ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου... τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος Ἰωντος Φοίνικος, cf. 5. 57. 1 οἱ δὲ Γερουραῖοι... ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν οὖν Κάδμου ἀποικιστῶν ἐς γῆν τῇν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην: see my *Studies*, pp. 123-4.

²⁷ Hdt. 1. 146.

²⁸ Str. 636.

²⁹ Str. 633.

³⁰ Suid. s.v.

³¹ Hell. 95.

³² Hdt. 9. 97.

³³ Paus. 9. 16. 5. There are signs that at the Boeotian Orchomenos, too, and at Andania, the worship of Demeter had been a palace cult: see my *Studies*, pp. 125, 193.

³⁴ The cult at Branchidai was older than the Ionian colonisation (Paus. 7. 2. 6), yet Branchos was said to be descended from Delphos (Str. 421). This is what we should expect if the Ionian settlers reorganised the cult under Delphic supervision.

³⁵ Str. 632-3.

³⁶ D.L. 9. 6.

³⁷ Str. 633.

³⁸ Arist. AR. 57. 1.

³⁹ Paus. 7. 2. 6.

⁴⁰ W. R. Lethaby in *JHS* XXXVII, 10.

⁴¹ D.L. 9. 6.

⁴² Pl. *Th.* 180a.

⁴³ Arist. *Rh.* 3. 9, Demetr. 192, Cic. *Or.* 2. 63. 256.

he visited Athens on a diplomatic mission and created a sensation by his flamboyant oratory. The following is the only surviving passage from one of his funeral orations. It must be quoted in full, because it is important for my argument: τί γὰρ ἀπὴν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῦτοις ὦν δεῖ προσεῖναι; τί δὲ καὶ προσῆν ὦν οὐ δεῖ προσεῖναι; εἰπεῖν δυναίμην ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δ' ἃ δεῖ, λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θεῖαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο ἐνθεον μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ θνητόν, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ πρᾶον ἐπιεικὲς τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλὰ δὲ νόμου ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητα, τοῦτον νομίζοντες θεϊότατον καὶ κοινότατον νόμον, τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ἔαν, καὶ δισσὰ ἀσκήσαντες μάλιστα ὦν δεῖ, γνώμην καὶ ῥώμην, τὴν μὲν βουλευόντες, τὴν δ' ἀποτελοῦντες, θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχούντων, κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχούντων, αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, εὐόργητοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον, τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνώμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον τῆς ῥώμης, ὕβρισται εἰς τοὺς ὕβρισταί, κόσμιοι εἰς τοὺς κοσμίους, ἀφοβοὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀφόβους, δεινοὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολεμίων, Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα, ἑαυτῶν δ' ἀναθήματα, οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου ἄρεος οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἔριδος οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης, σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων. (Diels B 6.)

This style has been aptly described by Diodoros (12.53): πρῶτος γὰρ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς τῆς λέξεως σχηματισμοῖς περιττοτέροις καὶ τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ διαφέρουσιν, ἀντιθέτοις καὶ ἰσοκώλοις καὶ παρίσοις καὶ ὁμοιοτελεύτοις καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις τοιοῦτοις, ἃ τότε μὲν διὰ τὸ ξένον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἤξιοῦτο, νῦν δὲ περιεργίαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ καὶ φαίνεται καταγέλαστα πλεονάκεις καὶ κατακόρως τιθέμενα.

The difference between Herakleitos and Gorgias lies in the relation between form and content. In Herakleitos they are in perfect unity; in Gorgias the form has been elaborated for its own sake.

What was the historical relation, in regard to their style, between Herakleitos and Gorgias? Before pursuing this question, a few words must be said about the subsequent history of Greek rhetoric.

The influence of Gorgias on Greek prose has been studied by Norden in his *Die antike Kunstprosa* (1898). Of his immediate effect we have a striking example in the encomium of Love which Plato puts in the mouth of Agathon in the *Symposium*. It will be enough to quote the peroration (197d-e): οὗτος δ' ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτριότητος μὲν κενοῖ, οἰκειότητος δὲ πληροῖ, τὰς τοιάσδε συνόδους μετ' ἀλλήλων πάσας τιθεῖς συνιέναι, ἐν ἑορταῖς, ἐν χοροῖς, ἐν θυσίαισι γιγνόμενος ἡγεμῶν: πρᾶξις μὲν πορίζων, ἀγριότης δ' ἐξορίζων: φιλόδωρος εὐμενεῖας, ἄδωρος δυσμενεῖας: ἰλεως ἀγαθός, θεατὸς σοφοῖς, ἀγαστὸς θεοῖς, ζηλωτὸς ἀμείροις, κτητὸς εὐμείροις: τρυφῇς ἀβρότητας χλιδῆς χαρίτων ἱμέρου πόθου πατὴρ: ἐπιμελὴς ἀγαθῶν, ἀμελὴς κακῶν: ἐν πόνῳ, ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν πόθῳ, ἐν λόγῳ κυβερνήτης, ἐπιβάτης, παραστάτης τε καὶ σωτὴρ ἀριστος, συμπάντων τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων κόσμος, ἡγεμῶν κάλλιστος καὶ ἀριστος, ὃ χρη εἴπεσθαι πάντα ἄνδρα ἐφύμνουντα καλῶς, ᾧ δῆς μετέχοντα ἦν ἄδει θέλγων πάντων θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων νόημα.

In Thucydides the influence is strong, especially in the speeches, but in Plato's own style, as distinct from his imitations of other authors, like the passage just quoted, it is much less so. The same is true of Xenophon, Isokrates, Demosthenes, and all the Attic orators. They use τὰ Γοργεῖα σχήματα on occasion, but with restraint.

In the meantime, however, towards the end of the third century B.C., the so-called Asiatic style had been inaugurated by Hegesias of Magnesia-under-Sipylus. It flourished for several centuries, especially in the recently Hellenised cities of the East. It is simpler than that of Gorgias, but essentially similar. Three examples may be given.

The first is from Maximus of Tyre (3.9): ὁδύρεται Ζέρξης ἠττώμενος, στένει Καμβύσης τιτρωσκόμενος, οἰμῶζει Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐμπιμπράμενος, ἀνιάται Σμινδυρίδης ἀπελαυνόμενος, δακρύει Κροῖσος λαμβανόμενος, λυπεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ μαχόμενος: αἱ δὲ Διογένοους ἡδοναὶ οἰμωγῆς ἄπειροι, ἀστονοὶ, ἀδάκρυτοι, ἄλυποι.

The second is from Libanios of Antioch (*Laud. Const.* 171 = Foerster 3.294): μία μὲν ἡ πειρος, μία δὲ θάλαττα, κοιναὶ δὲ αἱ νῆσοι, ἀνεωγμένοι λιμένες, ἀναπέπταμένα πύλαι. ὁλκάδες δὲ πανταχῇ τὰ πανταχόθεν κομίζουσαι στενοχωροῦσι τοὺς ὄρους: πανηγυρὶς δὲ κοινὴ διὰ πάσης μικροῦ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τέταται, τῶν μὲν καθ' ἱστορίαν, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἄλλας προφάσεις, τῶν μὲν πελόγη περαιουμένων, τῶν δὲ δι' ἡπείρου θεόντων.

The third is from *Daphnis and Chloe* (Long. 1.14): νῦν ἐγὼ νοσῶ μὲν, τί δὲ ἡ νόσος ἀγνοῶ: ἀλγῶ, καὶ ἔλκος οὐκ ἔστι μοι. λυποῦμαι, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προβάτων ἀπόλωλέ μοι: κάσμαι, καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ τοσαύτῃ κάθημαι. πόσοι βάτοι με πολλὰκις ἤμυζαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλαυσαν: πόσοι μέλιττα κέντρα ἐνήκαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκραγον.

Lastly, the same style, with further modifications but still recognisably the same, reappears in parts of the New Testament and blossoms later into the distinctive idiom of the Byzantine liturgy.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The ensuing quotations from the Greek Orthodox Liturgy are cited from 'H Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος καὶ τὰ Μεγάλαι Πάση, Athens, 1938 (abbreviated as IS); *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Rome,

1863 (EM); *Ὁμολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Venice, 1876 (OM); S. Antoniadis, *La place de la liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques*, Leiden, 1939; R. Cantarella, *Poeti Bizantini*, Vol. I.

From the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (6.9): ὡς πλάνοι, καὶ ἀληθεῖς· ὡς ἀγνοοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι· ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν· ὡς παιδευόμενοι, καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι· ὡς λυπούμενοι, αἰεὶ δὲ χαίροντες· ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες· ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες, καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες. From the Κατηχητικὸς Λόγος of John Chrysostom (IS, p. 498): ἡ τράπεζα γέμει, τρυφήσατε πάντες. ὁ μόσχος πολὺς· μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ πεινῶν. πάντες ἀπολούετε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως· πάντες ἀπολαύσατε τοῦ πλοῦτος τῆς χρηστότητος. μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πένιαν· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία. From the Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος εἰς τὴν Ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον (IS, pp. 127-8): Χαίρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθεδρὰ· χαίρε, ὅτι βασιτάξεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα. Χαίρε, ἀστήρ ἐμφαίνων τὸν ἥλιον· χαίρε, γαστήρ ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως . . . Χαίρε, ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια συναγάλλεται τῇ γῇ· χαίρε, ὅτι τὰ ἐπίγεια συγχορεύει οὐρανοῖς. Χαίρε, τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸ ἀσίγητον στόμα· χαίρε, τῶν ἀθλοφόρων τὸ ἀνίκητον θάρσος.⁴⁵

This is the style to which Norden gave the generic name of *Satzparallelismus*. It can be traced, as he showed, from the beginnings of Greek prose through classical Greek and Roman rhetoric into the writings of St. Paul and the Christian liturgy, where it was joined by the corresponding Jewish and Syrian traditions, derived independently from a common oriental origin. Being preoccupied with the Christian period, he made no attempt to investigate in detail the earlier history of the Greek tradition; and it is from this point that my argument proceeds. Accepting his general conclusion that, in Greece as in Judaea, this style is in origin liturgical, we look for corroborative evidence on the Greek side in the historical circumstances and in the style itself.

In regard to Herakleitos the case is plain. As one of a family of priest-kings, he wrote, naturally, in a hieratic style. His writings were probably designed in the first instance as discourses for his disciples, the Herakleiteioi, who no doubt were organised, like the Pythagoreans and Orphics, as a religious society.⁴⁶

The case of Gorgias is not quite so simple. The possibility of direct influence may be ruled out, since it is very unlikely that the writings of Herakleitos became current in Sicily so soon after his death. Moreover, Gorgias was not the founder of the Sicilian school of rhetoric, having been preceded by Korax and Teisias of Syracuse.⁴⁷ The alternative is to suppose that they too had drawn on liturgical sources. They did for rhetoric what Stesichoros did for choral lyric.⁴⁸ They took over the ancient liturgical form, divested it of its ritual setting, and secularised it as an art form; and it was this sensational novelty that Gorgias brought to Athens.

It is fortunate that one of his surviving fragments is from a funeral oration. With this to guide us, the proposition just enunciated is, I think, capable of proof.

5. THE RITUAL BASIS

The funeral oration (ἐπιτάφιος) was related to the dirge (θρήνος), from which it differed in being spoken, not sung. It was also related to the encomium (ἐγκώμιον), which was a speech in praise of the living; and the encomium was related to the hymn (ὕμνος), from which it differed in being spoken, not sung, and addressed to a man, not a god.⁴⁹ These conventions rest on a common ritual basis, which can be reconstructed from a study of the numerous examples that survive, in prose and verse. Running through them all we find a few simple ideas which were evidently traditional.

1. The speaker expresses anxiety lest he may fail to find words adequate to the occasion. Gorg. 6 εἰπεῖν δυνάμην ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δ' ἃ δεῖ. Pl. *Sym.* 180d ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι τοῦτο ἐπανορθώσασθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἔρωτα φράσαι ὃν δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν, ἔπειτα αἰνέσαι ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ. *Ib.* 194c ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ βούλομαι πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖν ὡς χρή μ' εἰπεῖν, ἔπειτα εἰπεῖν. *Mnx.* 236c δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτον τινὸς λόγου ὅστις τοὺς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαινεῖσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενὲς παραίνεσται. Th. 2. 35. 2 χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιούται. D. 60. 1 ἐσκόπων μὲν εὐθὺς ὅπως τοῦ προστήκοντος ἐπαίνου τεύχονται, ἐξετάζων δὲ καὶ σκοπῶν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡύρισκον ἄν. Isoc. 10. 12-13 οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν . . . διαφερόντων ἐπ' ἀρετῇ λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσαντες πολὺ καταδεέστερον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπαντες εἰρήκασιν. Liban. *Laud. Const.* 5 ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν καταμέμψεσθαι δύναμιν ὡς πολὺ λειπομένην τῶν πραγμάτων.

2. This initial hesitancy often takes the form of a question. D. 60. 15 ἐπειδὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς εἰμι τοῖς λόγοις, ἀπορῶ τί πρῶτον εἰπω. Pl. *Mnx.* 236c τίς οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν τοιοῦτος λόγος φανεῖ; ἢ πόθεν ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀρξάμεθα ἀνδρὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦντες; Lys. 2. 1-2. A. *Ch.* 854 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τί λέγω; πόθεν ἀρξώμαι, τάδ' ἐπευχομένη κάπιθεάζουσ', ὑπὸ δ' εὐνοίας πῶς ἴσον εἰποῦσ' ἀνύσωμαι; cf. 314, 417. Ag. 775 ἀγε δὴ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πολλίπορθ', Ἀτρεὺς γένεθλον, πῶς σε προσεῖπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω, μὴθ' ὑπεράρας μὴθ' ὑποκάμψας καιρὸν χάριτος; 1490 ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ, πῶς σε δακρύσω; φρενὸς ἐκ

⁴⁵ The χορηγεῖσθαι of the Ἀκάθιστος recall the use of χοῖρε in the ancient mysteries (Call. *HCer.* 1-2, Orph. *fr.* 32f); and we may recognise an echo of the same in the cries of χοῖρε which recur throughout the *Oresteia* (see my edition, Vol. I, pp. 17-18). There are many more connexions of this kind yet to be discovered. Just as ancient Greek, especially Attic, drew on the language of the mysteries (see my article, 'Mystical

Allusions in the *Oresteia*', *JHS* LV, 20-34, 228-30), so modern Greek has borrowed many phrases from the Christian liturgy: see Antoniadis, pp. 240-6.

⁴⁶ Pl. *Th.* 180a, D.L. 9. 6. The author of the Hippocratic *περὶ τροφῆς* may have been one of the Herakleiteioi.

⁴⁷ Quint. 3. 1. 8.

⁴⁸ See my *Studies*, p. 466.

⁴⁹ Aristid. *Arr. Rh.* 1. 160 = *Rhet. Gr.* Vol. V, p. 60.

φίλιας τί ποτ' εἶπω; Theoc. 17. 11 τί πρῶτον καταλέξω; ἐπεὶ πάρα μυρία εἶπείν, οἷσι θεοὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐτίμησαν βασιλῆα; Eumath. 10. 11 ἄλλ', ὦ τέκνον Ὑσμίνη, πῶς σε θρηνήσω; πῶς ἐλεεινῶς κατακλαύσωμαι; Anaximenes *Ars Rhet.* 35. Menandrus περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν 11 τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ θρήνου πόθεν ἀρξώμαι; 17 πόθεν με χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι; Liban. *Laud.* 3. 1 πόθεν οὖν ἀρξασθαι καλόν; Andreas Cretensis Μέγας Κανών (Cantarella vol. i, pp. 100-1) 5 Πῶς ἀρξώμαι θρηνεῖν τὰς τοῦ ἀθλίου μου βίου πράξεις; ποίαν ἀπαρχὴν ἐπιθήσω, Χριστέ, τῇ νῦν θρηνωδίᾳ; Cantarella XLI (vol. i, p. 77) = IS p. 125 Ποῖόν σοι ἐγκώμιον προσαγάγω ἐπάξιον; τί δὲ ὀνομάσω σε; Ἀπορῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαι· διὸ ὡς προσετάγην βοῶ σοι, Χαῖρε, ὦ κεχαριτωμένη. These passages may be compared with many hymns, which begin with the singer at a loss to find the right name for invoking the god: Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 144-7.

3. This hesitation springs from the primitive superstition that praise may provoke envy: Pl. *Lg.* 802a τοὺς γε μὴν ἐπὶ ζῶντας ἐγκωμίοις τε καὶ ὕμνοις τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, cf. Hdt. 1. 32. 7. Gorg. 6 λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θεῖαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 282a εἴωθα μέντοι ἐγὼγε τοὺς παλαιούς τε καὶ προτέρους ἡμῶν πρότερόν τε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγκωμιάζειν ἢ τοὺς νῦν, εὐλαβοῦμενος μὲν φθόνον τῶν ζώντων, φοβούμενος δὲ μῆνιν τῶν τετελευτηκότων. A. *Ag.* 894 τοιοῖσδε τοι νιν ἀξιώ προσφθέγμασιν· φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω. Ba. 3. 67 εὐ λέγειν πάρεστιν, ὅστις μὴ φθόνῳ πιαίνεται, 5. 187 χρὴ δ' ἀλαθείας χάριν αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀπώσάμενον, εἰ τις εὐ πράσσει βροτῶν, 12. 199 εἰ μὴ τίνα θερσιεπὴς φθόνος βιάται, αἰνείτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα σὺν δίκᾳ. Pl. *O.* 8. 54 εἰ δ' ἐγὼ Μελησίᾳ ἐξ ἀγενεῖων κῦδος ἀνέδραμον ὕμνω, μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος. Th. 2. 35. 2 ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδῶς καὶ εὐνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὁ τ' ἀπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον. D. 60. 14 ἡ δὲ τῶν λόγων πειθὼ τῆς τῶν ἀκούοντων εὐνοίας προσδεῖται.

4. After these preliminaries the speaker opens his main theme by referring to the ancestry of the persons concerned. Th. 2. 36.1 ἀρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον. Lys. 2. 3 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιούς κινδύνους τῶν προγόνων διέμι. Isoc. 10. 16 τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς, cf. 11. 10. Pl. *Mnx.* 237a-b τὴν εὐγένειαν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν . . . τῆς δ' εὐγενείας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν προγόνων γένεσις, Sym. 178b πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ λέγω, ἔφη Φαῖδρον ἀρξάμενον ἐνθένδε ποθεν λέγειν, ὅτι μέγας θεὸς εἴη ὁ Ἔρως, . . . οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν. Liban. *Laud.* 3. 1 πόθεν οὖν ἀρξασθαι καλόν; ἡ δὴλον ὡς ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡ καὶ τούτους ἀγαθοὺς ἀπειργάσατο, . . . ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, cf. 2. 1, 3, 2, 4. 1. Aphthon. *Progymn.* 8 προοιμιάσῃ μὲν πρὸς τὴν οὐσαν ὑπόθεσιν· εἰτα θήσεις τὸ γένος.

5. The person concerned is addressed or described in a series of arresting images. Pl. *Sym.* 197d-e κυβερνήτης, ἐπιβάτης, παραστάτης καὶ σωτὴρ ἄριστος. A. *Ag.* 887 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κῦνα, σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης στῦλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τεκνὸν πατρὶ καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα. E. *And.* 891 ὦ ναυτίλοισι χείματος λιμὴν φανείς, Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ. Antoniadis, p. 354 (Liturgie de Saint Basile) Σὺ γάρ εἰ, Κύριε, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, ὁ τῶν χειμαζομένων σωτὴρ, ὁ τῶν πλεόντων λιμὴν, ὁ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἰατρός. G. Valetas, Ἀνθολογία τῆς δημοτικῆς πεζογραφίας, 1947, vol. i, pp. 88-9 (Lament) Χελιδόνι ἡ γλῶσσα του, ἀηδόνι ἡ φωνή του, παγῶνι ἡ μορφὴ του, περιστεράκιν ἡ ἀκακία του, ἀεράκι ἡ ἐλευθερία του, χρυσὸς αἰτὸς ἡ παρρησία του, χρυσὰ πτερά ἡ τιμὴ του. IS p. 37 (Service for the Fourth Hour) Τί σε καλέσωμεν, ὦ κεχαριτωμένη; Οὐρανόν; ὅτι ἀνέτειλας τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Παράδεισον; ὅτι ἐβλαστες τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας.

6. Lastly, the memory of the dead is imperishable; or simply, the dead live. Gorg. 6 τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι 3ῃ οὐ ζώντων. Lys. 2. 79-80 καὶ γάρ τοι ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνήμαι, ζηλωταὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί· οἱ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὕμνουںται δ' ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Simon. 121 οὐδὲ θενῶσι θανόντες. A. *Ch.* 502 οὕτω γάρ οὐ τέθηκας οὐδέ περ θανῶν. IS p. 124 (Service for Easter Saturday) Κύριε, Θεέ μου, ἐξόδιον ὕμνον καὶ ἐπιτάφιον ᾠδὴν σοι ἄσομαι, τῷ τῇ ταφῇ σου ζωῆς μοι τὰς εἰσόδους διανοίξαντι καὶ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον θανατώσαντι. This last is as forceful as Herakleitos himself: ἀθανάτοί θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι.

This is enough to show that for the content of his funeral oration Gorgias was drawing on ritual.

Let us now turn to its form. If we examine from this point of view the compositions from which we have been quoting, we shall find that they exhibit in an exceptional degree that *Satzparallelismus* which is so conspicuous in Herakleitos and Gorgias. The following passages are a few among many that might be added to those already quoted: Th. 2. 40. 1 φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἀνευ μαλακίας. D. 60. 37 λυπηρὸν παισὶν ὀρφάνοις γεγενῆσθαι πατρός, καλὸν δὲ γε κληρονομεῖν πατρῶας εὐδοξίας. Simon. 5 τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἃ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἐπαινος. Ach. Tat. 1. 13 τάφος μὲν σοι, τέκνον, ὁ θάλαμος, γάμος δ' ὁ θάνατος, θρῆνος δ' ὁ ὕμναιος, ὁ δὲ κωκυτὸς οὗτος τῶν γάμων ᾠδαί. Eumath. 7. 9 ναῦς μοι παστὰς, καὶ κύμα θάλαμος, καὶ πνεύματος ἦχος ὕμναιος, καὶ ἡ νύμφη παρθένος ἐγώ. Lucian. *de luctu* 13 τέκνον ἥδιστον, οἶχη μοι καὶ πρὸ ὥρας ἀνηρπάσθης, μόνον ἐμὲ τὸν ἀθλίον καταλιπὼν, οὐ γαμήσας, οὐ παιδοποιησάμενος, οὐ στρατευσάμενος, οὐ γεωργήσας, οὐκ εἰς γῆρας ἔλθων. Liban. *Monod. de Nicom.* 12 ὦ σεισμῶν ἀδικώτατε, τί τοῦτο ἔδρασας; ὦ πόλεως ἀπελθούσης, ὦ προσηγορίας εἰκὴ μενούσης, ὦ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀλγηδόνος δραμούσης, ὦ φήμης

ἡ πάσης μὲν ἡλικίας, πάσης δὲ τύχης ἔσεισε τὴν καρδίαν. *A. Ch.* 326 ὁποτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων, ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων. *Th.* 91 τίς ἀρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἀρ' ἐπαρκέσει θεῶν ἢ θεῶν; *Per.* 702 δέμαί μὲν χαρίσασθαι, δέμαί δ' ἀντία φάσθαι, λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν. *S. Tr.* 947 πότερα πρότερον ἐπιστήνω, πότερα τέλεα περαιτέρω, δύσκριτ' ἔμοιγε δυστάνω. *El.* 197 δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρος ὁ κτείνας, δεινὰν δεινῶς προφυτεύσαντες μορφάν. *E. Ba.* 1153 ἀναχορεύσωμεν Βάκχιον, ἀναβοᾷ-σωμεν ξυμφοράν.

Two further points remain, and the argument will be complete.

First, a conspicuous feature of the dirges is that in many of them the antithetical structure is not merely formal, as in Gorgias, but determined by the content, as in Herakleitos. *A. Th.* 941 *A.* παισθεὶς ἔπαισας.—*I.* σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.—*A.* δορί δ' ἔκανε.—*I.* δορί δ' ἔθανες.—*A.* μελεό-πνος.—*I.* μελεοπαθής.—*A.* ἴτω γόος.—*I.* ἴτω δάκρυ.—*A.* *I.* πρόκεισαι κατακτάς. *S. Aj.* 394 ἰὼ σκότος ἐμὸν φάος, ἔρεβος ὦ φαεινότερον ὥς ἐμοί, ἔλεσθ' ἔλεσθέ μ' οἰκήτορα.⁵⁰

Secondly, in the Christian liturgy, under Semitic influences, this feature renews its vitality. There are many examples, of which perhaps the finest are in the Ἀκάθιστος (*IS* p. 112 = Cantarella pp. 90-1): Χαῖρε, θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα· χαῖρε, σεπτοῦ μυστηρίου θύρα. Χαῖρε, τῶν ἀπίστων ἀμφίβολον ἀκουσμα· χαῖρε τῶν πιστῶν ἀναμφίβολον καύχημα. . . Χαῖρε, τάναντία εἰς ταὐτὸ ἀγαγοῦσα· χαῖρε, ἡ παρθενίαν καὶ λοχείαν ζευγνύσα. 'Hail, uniter of opposites!' In this magnificent passage the principle of the Heraclitean λόγος is triumphantly reaffirmed.

6. THE MYSTERIES

The suggestion, made earlier in this article, that the λόγος of Herakleitos was akin to the Orphic ἱεροὶ λόγοι and the Eleusinian λεγόμενα, is well-founded. The principle of the unity of opposites was familiar to the Orphics and Pythagoreans. Indeed, as Norden has shown, it can be traced right through Greek philosophy and reappears in the Gospels.⁵¹ The doctrine that life is death and death is life is a reformulation of the primitive concept of the totemic cycle of birth and death.⁵² It was equally well known to the Orphics and Pythagoreans, and they expressed it in the saying σῶμα σᾶμα.⁵³ This is a pun of the same type as the Heraclitean βίος βιός. The truth is that all the elements of his dialectics are imbedded in primitive religion. That is too large a subject to be investigated here; but in conclusion, remembering that his family held a hereditary priesthood of the Eleusinian Demeter, let us consider three liturgical formulas that have survived from the Greek Mysteries.

First, ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν (*Clem. Pr.* 2. 14). That was the Eleusinian formula. A similar declaration was made in the Mysteries of Attis (*Firm. Mat. Err.* 18): ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυβάλου πέπωκα· γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως. These are instances of *Satzparallelismus*.

Second, ἐφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἀμεινον. This was used in the Mysteries of Attis (*D.* 18. 259) and also at Athenian weddings (*Plu. Prov.* 16). It is another *Satzparallelismus*, and in content it corresponds to the Eleusinian ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων and the Christian 'Deliver us from evil'.⁵⁴

Third, ὤε, κύε (*Procl. in Tim.* 293c, *Hippol. Ref. Omn. Her.* 5. 7). Another pun. The initiates looked up to the sky and cried, 'Rain!' Then they looked down to the earth and cried, 'Teem!' Aeschylus must have had this little ceremony in mind when he wrote (*fr.* 44) ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα, ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν.⁵⁵ It conveys in two words the whole story of the creation—the separation and reunion of Heaven and Earth—and so provides further corroboration of Cornford's thesis that Anaximander and Hesiod were joint heirs to the mythical traditions of the Minoan priest-kings.

7. CONCLUSION

Dr. Cyril Bailey has written: 'The connexion of theology and physical science in the early Greek philosophers is well brought out in Mr. F. M. Cornford's *From Religion to Philosophy*, though I . . . think that he overrates the importance of the religious element in the philosophers of the "scientific tradition"'.⁵⁶ There is some truth in this criticism. In seeking to discern what Greek philosophy was ceasing to be it is easy to lose sight of what it was in process of becoming. Let me say, therefore, in conclusion, that, in my opinion, the work of these men—especially Pythagoras, Herakleitos, and Parmenides—marked a revolution in human thought. This—the analysis of what was new—is of course the major task, and a study of origins should be seen as a contribution to that end. As such, it is legitimate and necessary; for we cannot identify the new without first recognising the old.

GEORGE THOMSON

⁵⁰ This seems to be the origin of the figure of speech known as oxymoron, which is a conspicuous feature in the style of Aeschylus, reflecting his profound sense of dialectics.

⁵¹ *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 240-50. ⁵² See my *Studies*, pp. 45-9.

⁵³ *Pl. Grg.* 492-3, *Crat.* 400c, *E. fr.* 638, *Philol. fr.* 14.

⁵⁴ On the Eleusinian ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων see my *Orchestra*, Vol. I, pp. 14-16. In the Lord's Prayer the wording is different

(ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ), but this may have been deliberate (*ibid.* Vol. II, p. 206), and the original phrase survives in the service of baptism: *EM* p. 156 εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν πάντων τοῖς χρομήτοις πιστέα.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Paus.* 10. 12. 10 Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστι, Ζεὺς ἔσεται· ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ· Γῆ καρποῦς ἀνία, θεὸς κτήρεα μητέρα Γαίαν.

⁵⁶ C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus*, 1928, p. 10.

EVIDENCE FOR GREEK DIALECT IN THE MYCENAEAN ARCHIVES

§ 1. THE PROBLEM OF THE 'MINOAN' LANGUAGE

WITH the fuller publication of the material found by Blegen at Ano Englianos in 1939 (*The Pylos Tablets*, Dr. Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., Princeton, 1951) and by Evans at Knossos in 1899-1904 (*Scripta Minoa*, Vol. II, ed. Sir John Myres, Oxford, 1952), it has at last been possible to undertake a systematic study of the Minoan-Mycenaean texts written in Linear Script B. Their decipherment is now the central problem in Aegean archaeology, accentuated by the discovery, in the summer of 1952, of many new tablets by Blegen at Pylos and by Wace at Mycenae.*

Evans believed that Linear B (first found in the L.M. II palace of Knossos, c. 1400 B.C., and thereafter the exclusive script of the Mainland down to the 'Dorian invasion') was an administrative revision of Linear A, designed to express the same 'Aegean' language; and that Minoan colonisation of the Mainland was responsible for its occurrence at Pylos, Tiryns, Thebes, and Eleusis.

Both views have since been discredited. Kober (*AJA* LII (1948), p. 101) and Bennett (letter 28.1.50) both believe that Linear B contains a new and distinct language; while a large body of opinion (Blegen, Buck, Furumark, Picard, Schachermeyr, Wace, etc.) holds that the Mycenaean civilisation was an independent adaptation of Minoan forms by Achaean Greeks, some of whom had been in southern Greece since 1900 B.C.

If so, the close correspondence between the Knossos material of 1400 B.C. and the Mycenae and Pylos tablets of 1300-1200 B.C., both in vocabulary and in personal names, must have one of three possible explanations:

1. The Mainland tablets are imports or loot from Knossos (Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 1950, p. 18). This can safely be ruled out.

2. Linear B contains a non-Greek *lingua franca* derived from Knossos as the cultural and economic centre. This does not explain the ultimate origin of this language, apparently intrusive at Knossos itself, or why its use should have survived the fall of Knossos by 200 years.

3. Linear B represents an early form of Greek. This is in conflict with the conventional interpretation of Minoan archaeology. Either the economic centre of gravity had already shifted to the Mainland, requiring the use of Greek as the language of commerce; or a Greek aristocracy, despite stylistic indications of Minoan continuity, was established at Knossos in L.M. II.

Bennett has suggested that Linear B, and its system of indicating fractional quantities, were in fact 'fashioned to agree with the economic system of the Mainland' (*AJA* LIV (1950), p. 222); and recent archaeological research, ably summarised by Helene Kantor in 'The Aegean and the Orient in the 2nd millennium B.C.' (*AJA* LI (1947), pp. 49-55), has done much to vindicate the ascendancy of Mycenae during 1450-1400 at the expense of the Cretan thalassocracy imagined by Evans. She quotes Wace's suggestion (note 176) that the Knossos Last Palace was the seat of an Achaean prince; the same view has been developed in greater detail by Dr. Stubbings (paper, Hellenic Society, 7.11.52). In the first case the final destruction is attributed to a 'Minoan' rebellion, in the second to the jealousy of another Achaean centre.

Though the historical background is obscure, there are strong indications that Linear B was designed for a language which originated on the Mainland, which continued to be spoken there down to the end of the Mycenaean age, and which deserves, whatever its affinities, to be regarded as the characteristically *Mycenaean* idiom.

For some years Sittig's proposal of an 'Aegean' dialect related to Lemnian and Etruscan seemed to be supported by parallels in place-names and in such words as *Ἰελαχάνος* / *Velchan-*, *Ἰττηνία* / *hub '4'*, *πύρτανις* / *purthni*. But the linguistic features evident in the new material have forced us to the conclusion which Wace and Blegen favour on historical grounds: that the main language of the Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae tablets is not only Indo-European but *specifically Greek*. It is the purpose of this article to examine the new evidence, and to suggest a set of experimental phonetic values which may explain it.

A complete decipherment is still a long way off; but we hope to produce sufficient evidence to show that we are dealing with a true Greek dialect, and not merely with an Indo-European language close to Greek, similar to the 'Pelagian' reconstructed by Georgiev and van Windekens.†

* The Knossos tablets are referenced by Evans' numbering (e.g. 840, 0403), those from Pylos by Bennett's alphabetic classification (e.g. An42, Jn03). We are very grateful to Professor Wace for giving us advance photographs of the new Mycenae tablets, which are referred to by their inventory numbers in the 1952 dig. The substance of this article has grown out of an idea suggested by M. V. in May 1952, and owes much to the generous advice, criticism, or encouragement

of Professors D. L. Page, Sir John Myres, Gudmund Björck, Arne Furumark, and I. J. Gelb.

† A. J. van Windekens, *Le Pélasgique*, Louvain, 1952. Its surviving forms are supposed to show the *satem* characteristics of *σ-* for **k-*, *κ-* for the labio-velar **q-* and retention of initial and intervocalic **j-*. On all three criteria our Mycenaean dialect appears to ally itself with Greek rather than with this highly dubious language.

§ 2. THE ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS BY THE INTERNAL METHOD

When attempting to decipher texts like these, in which both the language and the script are unknown quantities, it is essential to extract as much data as possible from a purely internal study of the material, before making any assumptions about pronunciation or about language affinities. If one neglects this precaution one will arrive, like Hrozný, at unpronounceable words, at inflections which show a bewildering irregularity, and at meanings which are ludicrously out of context with the evident subject-matter of the tablets.

The following preliminary data can be tabulated with reasonable certainty:

(a) The tablets are inventories, accounts, or receipts, which were in all probability written within the last few months before the destruction of the various buildings in which they have been found.

K	P	M	T	K	P	M	T	K	P	M	T	K	P	M	T	K	P	M	T
𐀀	𐀁	𐀂	𐀃	𐀄	𐀅	𐀆	𐀇	𐀈	𐀉	𐀊	𐀋	𐀌	𐀍	𐀎	𐀏	𐀐	𐀑	𐀒	𐀓
𐀔	𐀕	𐀖	𐀗	𐀘	𐀙	𐀚	𐀛	𐀜	𐀝	𐀞	𐀟	𐀠	𐀡	𐀢	𐀣	𐀤	𐀥	𐀦	𐀧
𐀨	𐀩	𐀪	𐀫	𐀬	𐀭	𐀮	𐀯	𐀰	𐀱	𐀲	𐀳	𐀴	𐀵	𐀶	𐀷	𐀸	𐀹	𐀺	𐀻
𐀼	𐀽	𐀾	𐀿	𐁀	𐁁	𐁂	𐁃	𐁄	𐁅	𐁆	𐁇	𐁈	𐁉	𐁊	𐁋	𐁌	𐁍	𐁎	𐁏
𐁐	𐁑	𐁒	𐁓	𐁔	𐁕	𐁖	𐁗	𐁘	𐁙	𐁚	𐁛	𐁜	𐁝	𐁞	𐁟	𐁠	𐁡	𐁢	𐁣
𐁤	𐁥	𐁦	𐁧	𐁨	𐁩	𐁪	𐁫	𐁬	𐁭	𐁮	𐁯	𐁰	𐁱	𐁲	𐁳	𐁴	𐁵	𐁶	𐁷
𐁸	𐁹	𐁺	𐁻	𐁼	𐁽	𐁾	𐁿	𐂀	𐂁	𐂂	𐂃	𐂄	𐂅	𐂆	𐂇	𐂈	𐂉	𐂊	𐂋
𐂌	𐂍	𐂎	𐂏	𐂐	𐂑	𐂒	𐂓	𐂔	𐂕	𐂖	𐂗	𐂘	𐂙	𐂚	𐂛	𐂜	𐂝	𐂞	𐂟
𐂠	𐂡	𐂢	𐂣	𐂤	𐂥	𐂦	𐂧	𐂨	𐂩	𐂪	𐂫	𐂬	𐂭	𐂮	𐂯	𐂰	𐂱	𐂲	𐂳
𐂴	𐂵	𐂶	𐂷	𐂸	𐂹	𐂺	𐂻	𐂼	𐂽	𐂾	𐂿	𐃀	𐃁	𐃂	𐃃	𐃄	𐃅	𐃆	𐃇
𐃈	𐃉	𐃊	𐃋	𐃌	𐃍	𐃎	𐃏	𐃐	𐃑	𐃒	𐃓	𐃔	𐃕	𐃖	𐃗	𐃘	𐃙	𐃚	𐃛
𐃜	𐃝	𐃞	𐃟	𐃠	𐃡	𐃢	𐃣	𐃤	𐃥	𐃦	𐃧	𐃨	𐃩	𐃪	𐃫	𐃬	𐃭	𐃮	𐃯
𐃰	𐃱	𐃲	𐃳	𐃴	𐃵	𐃶	𐃷	𐃸	𐃹	𐃺	𐃻	𐃼	𐃽	𐃾	𐃿	𐄀	𐄁	𐄂	𐄃
𐄄	𐄅	𐄆	𐄇	𐄈	𐄉	𐄊	𐄋	𐄌	𐄍	𐄎	𐄏	𐄐	𐄑	𐄒	𐄓	𐄔	𐄕	𐄖	𐄗
𐄘	𐄙	𐄚	𐄛	𐄜	𐄝	𐄞	𐄟	𐄠	𐄡	𐄢	𐄣	𐄤	𐄥	𐄦	𐄧	𐄨	𐄩	𐄪	𐄫
𐄬	𐄭	𐄮	𐄯	𐄰	𐄱	𐄲	𐄳	𐄴	𐄵	𐄶	𐄷	𐄸	𐄹	𐄺	𐄻	𐄼	𐄽	𐄾	𐄿
𐅀	𐅁	𐅂	𐅃	𐅄	𐅅	𐅆	𐅇	𐅈	𐅉	𐅊	𐅋	𐅌	𐅍	𐅎	𐅏	𐅐	𐅑	𐅒	𐅓
𐅔	𐅕	𐅖	𐅗	𐅘	𐅙	𐅚	𐅛	𐅜	𐅝	𐅞	𐅟	𐅠	𐅡	𐅢	𐅣	𐅤	𐅥	𐅦	𐅧
𐅨	𐅩	𐅪	𐅫	𐅬	𐅭	𐅮	𐅯	𐅰	𐅱	𐅲	𐅳	𐅴	𐅵	𐅶	𐅷	𐅸	𐅹	𐅺	𐅻
𐅼	𐅽	𐅾	𐅿	𐆀	𐆁	𐆂	𐆃	𐆄	𐆅	𐆆	𐆇	𐆈	𐆉	𐆊	𐆋	𐆌	𐆍	𐆎	𐆏
𐆐	𐆑	𐆒	𐆓	𐆔	𐆕	𐆖	𐆗	𐆘	𐆙	𐆚	𐆛	𐆜	𐆝	𐆞	𐆟	𐆠	𐆡	𐆢	𐆣
𐆤	𐆥	𐆦	𐆧	𐆨	𐆩	𐆪	𐆫	𐆬	𐆭	𐆮	𐆯	𐆰	𐆱	𐆲	𐆳	𐆴	𐆵	𐆶	𐆷
𐆸	𐆹	𐆺	𐆻	𐆼	𐆽	𐆾	𐆿	𐇀	𐇁	𐇂	𐇃	𐇄	𐇅	𐇆	𐇇	𐇈	𐇉	𐇊	𐇋
𐇌	𐇍	𐇎	𐇏	𐇐	𐇑	𐇒	𐇓	𐇔	𐇕	𐇖	𐇗	𐇘	𐇙	𐇚	𐇛	𐇜	𐇝	𐇞	𐇟
𐇠	𐇡	𐇢	𐇣	𐇤	𐇥	𐇦	𐇧	𐇨	𐇩	𐇪	𐇫	𐇬	𐇭	𐇮	𐇯	𐇰	𐇱	𐇲	𐇳
𐇴	𐇵	𐇶	𐇷	𐇸	𐇹	𐇺	𐇻	𐇼	𐇽	𐇾	𐇿	𐈀	𐈁	𐈂	𐈃	𐈄	𐈅	𐈆	𐈇
𐈈	𐈉	𐈊	𐈋	𐈌	𐈍	𐈎	𐈏	𐈐	𐈑	𐈒	𐈓	𐈔	𐈕	𐈖	𐈗	𐈘	𐈙	𐈚	𐈛
𐈜	𐈝	𐈞	𐈟	𐈠	𐈡	𐈢	𐈣	𐈤	𐈥	𐈦	𐈧	𐈨	𐈩	𐈪	𐈫	𐈬	𐈭	𐈮	𐈯
𐈰	𐈱	𐈲	𐈳	𐈴	𐈵	𐈶	𐈷	𐈸	𐈹	𐈺	𐈻	𐈼	𐈽	𐈾	𐈿	𐉀	𐉁	𐉂	𐉃
𐉄	𐉅	𐉆	𐉇	𐉈	𐉉	𐉊	𐉋	𐉌	𐉍	𐉎	𐉏	𐉐	𐉑	𐉒	𐉓	𐉔	𐉕	𐉖	𐉗
𐉘	𐉙	𐉚	𐉛	𐉜	𐉝	𐉞	𐉟	𐉠	𐉡	𐉢	𐉣	𐉤	𐉥	𐉦	𐉧	𐉨	𐉩	𐉪	𐉫
𐉬	𐉭	𐉮	𐉯	𐉰	𐉱	𐉲	𐉳	𐉴	𐉵	𐉶	𐉷	𐉸	𐉹	𐉺	𐉻	𐉼	𐉽	𐉾	𐉿

FIG. 1.—MYCENAEAN SYLLABARY (LINEAR SCRIPT B). AFTER BENNETT.
K = Knossos. P = Pylos. M = Mycenae. T = Thebes, and other Mainland vase inscriptions.

(b) They record the listed commodities by means of *ideograms* (a kind of commercial shorthand); these are introduced by names, words, and sentences written *phonetically* (the writing system proper).

(c) The identity of some of the commodities can immediately be recognised from their ideogram (*e.g.* MEN, WOMEN, CHARIOTS, WHEELS), or from the way they are grouped and differentiated (*e.g.* HORSES, CATTLE, SHEEP, GOATS, PIGS). In other cases we have an approximate indication in the way they are counted (Bennett, *AJA* LIV (1950), p. 219): metals and precious materials by weight; cereals by volume; liquids by fluid measure; and manufactured or packaged articles by units.

(d) About eighty-eight different phonetic signs have been identified in the Linear B material: these are shown in Fig. 1 in the order which has been used by Bennett. Almost complete uniformity in the shapes of the signs, and in the spellings of words, is shown between Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae, and Thebes.

(e) The size of the signary makes it certain that we are dealing with a *syllabary*, probably similar in pattern to the classical Cypriot syllabary, to which it may be distantly related. There is no evidence that ideograms or determinatives occur *within* sign-groups, as they do in Egyptian or Hittite; but one or two very rare signs may be disyllabic. The spelling appears

to be full and regular, within its own rules of orthography, but an internal sign may occasionally be omitted in a longer sign-group.

(f) By means of a statistical count of the whole material one can group the signs as *frequent*, *average*, and *infrequent*, and list those which are predominantly *initial* or *final*. One can also discover which pairs of signs occur particularly often together, and note those which are never associated. These statistics are very valuable in comparing the material with the forms of a known language. It is characteristic, for example, that in nearly all languages when syllabically written the pure vowels *a*-*e*-*i*-, etc., will be among the most frequent initials.

(g) The language, which is identical for all Linear B inscriptions, shows inflections for at least two genders, three cases, and two numbers of the adjective and noun. The contexts in which these inflectional forms occur can be analysed, some estimate of their functions can be made, and they can begin to be tabulated as paradigms (see §§ 7 and 8).

(h) In the process of inflection many words show a vowel variation in their final syllabic sign, similar to that which would occur, for example, in Latin *bo-NUS*, *bo-NI*, *bo-NO*, *bo-NAE*,

a		a ₂		e		i		o		u	
ai											
ja				je				jo			
wa				we		wi		wo			
da				de		di		do		da ₂	
ka				ke		ki		ko		ku	
ma				me		mi		mo			
na				ne		ni		no		nu	
pa		pa ₂ ?		pe		pi		po		pu	
				qe		qi		qo			
ra		ra ₂		re		ri		ro		ru	
sa				se		si		so			
ta		ta ₂ ?		te		ti		to		tu	
				z?e				z?o		z?o ₂	

FIG. 2.—EXPERIMENTAL SYLLABIC GRID.

etc. This gives valuable evidence as to the signs which share the same consonant, and as to the vowels which are characteristic of the different inflectional functions (see § 3).

(i) Finally, by analysing the occurrences of the individual sign-groups, it is possible to divide them provisionally into four categories:

1. Place-names, and the names of buildings or 'departments'.
2. Men's and women's names.
3. The names of trades or occupations, describing men and women (see § 8 and Fig. 3).
4. General vocabulary, describing the commodities and the circumstances in which they are recorded.

In comparing the distribution of sign-groups at Knossos, Pylos, and Mycenae, we may expect vocabulary words to recur most frequently (and in related contexts); personal names to be shared less frequently (and in random contexts); and local place-names to form distinct series.

§ 3. CONSONANT AND VOWEL EQUATIONS BETWEEN PAIRS OF SYLLABIC SIGNS

For ease of printing we have been forced to quote Mycenaean sign-groups in the text by the experimental transliteration shown in Fig. 2 (the small prefixed numerals, e.g. ^aa-mi-ni-si-jo, refer

CONSONANT EQUATIONS:		59 ሃላላገገ ሃላላገገ	10 ስቶ	170 ልጃጃጃጃ ልጃጃጃጃ
1 ሃላላገገ ሃላላገገ	ፍግግግግ	60 ሃላላገገ ሃላላገገ	111 ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	171 ልጃጃጃጃ
2 ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	KNOSSOS PLACE-NAMES:		172 ልጃጃጃጃ
3 ተጋግግ ተጋግግ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	61 ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	112 ስቶ ስቶ	173 ልጃጃጃጃ
4 ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	62 ስቶ ስቶ	113 ስቶ ስቶ	174 ልጃጃጃጃ
5 ሃላላገገ ሃላላገገ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	63 ተጋግግ ተጋግግ	114 ስቶ ስቶ	175 ልጃጃጃጃ
6 ልጃጃጃጃ ልጃጃጃጃ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	64 ስቶ ስቶ	115 ስቶ ስቶ	176 ልጃጃጃጃ
7 ልጃጃጃጃ ልጃጃጃጃ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	65 ስቶ ስቶ	116 ስቶ ስቶ	177 ልጃጃጃጃ
8 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	66 ስቶ ስቶ	117 ስቶ ስቶ	178 ልጃጃጃጃ
9 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	67 ስቶ ስቶ	118 ስቶ ስቶ	179 ልጃጃጃጃ
10 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	GENDER & NUMBER:		180 ልጃጃጃጃ
11 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	68 ስቶ ስቶ	120 ስቶ ስቶ	181 ልጃጃጃጃ
12 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	69 ስቶ ስቶ	121 ስቶ ስቶ	182 ልጃጃጃጃ
13 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	70 ስቶ ስቶ	122 ስቶ ስቶ	183 ልጃጃጃጃ
14 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	71 ስቶ ስቶ	123 ስቶ ስቶ	184 ልጃጃጃጃ
15 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	72 ስቶ ስቶ	124 ስቶ ስቶ	185 ልጃጃጃጃ
16 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	73 ስቶ ስቶ	125 ስቶ ስቶ	186 ልጃጃጃጃ
17 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	KNOSSOS DIVINITIES:		187 ልጃጃጃጃ
18 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	74 ስቶ ስቶ	126 ስቶ ስቶ	188 ልጃጃጃጃ
19 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	75 ስቶ ስቶ	127 ስቶ ስቶ	189 ልጃጃጃጃ
20 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	76 ስቶ ስቶ	128 ስቶ ስቶ	190 ልጃጃጃጃ
21 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	77 ስቶ ስቶ	129 ስቶ ስቶ	191 ልጃጃጃጃ
22 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	78 ስቶ ስቶ	130 ስቶ ስቶ	192 ልጃጃጃጃ
23 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	79 ስቶ ስቶ	131 ስቶ ስቶ	193 ልጃጃጃጃ
24 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	80 ስቶ ስቶ	132 ስቶ ስቶ	194 ልጃጃጃጃ
25 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	81 ስቶ ስቶ	133 ስቶ ስቶ	195 ልጃጃጃጃ
26 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	82 ስቶ ስቶ	134 ስቶ ስቶ	196 ልጃጃጃጃ
27 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	83 ስቶ ስቶ	135 ስቶ ስቶ	197 ልጃጃጃጃ
28 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	NAME DECLENSIONS:		198 ልጃጃጃጃ
29 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	75 ስቶ ስቶ	136 ስቶ ስቶ	199 ልጃጃጃጃ
30 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	76 ስቶ ስቶ	137 ስቶ ስቶ	200 ልጃጃጃጃ
31 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	77 ስቶ ስቶ	138 ስቶ ስቶ	201 ልጃጃጃጃ
32 ስቶ ስቶ	ፍግግግግ ፍግግግግ	78 ስቶ ስቶ	139 ስቶ ስቶ	202 ልጃጃጃጃ

the reader to the original spellings given in Fig. 3). But it should be made clear that the consonant and vowel equations tabulated below had all been deduced from internal evidence before any phonetic values were allotted. They are based partly on inflectional evidence, partly on accidental or deliberate spelling variations.

If correctly determined, these equations enable the most frequent signs of the syllabary to be arranged in a two-dimensional pattern, or 'grid', which we must expect to be adhered to by any suggested system of phonetic values. The problem of decipherment is in this way reduced to the correct distribution of five vowels and twelve consonants to the columns of the grid; and since a proposed reading of only two or three words may, by a 'chain-reaction', predetermine rigid values for almost the entire syllabary, a very severe discipline is imposed on the earliest stages of a decipherment. If the initial moves are wrong, it should be quite impossible to force any part of the texts into showing the slightest conformity with the vocabulary or grammar of a known language; even though that might be quite easy if one were free to juggle with the values of eighty-eight mutually unconnected signs.

CONSONANT SERIES

Evidence for orthographic and inflectional variation.

- PURE VOWELS: *A* - *E* - and *O* - are the most frequent initial signs in Linear B. *A* alternates with *JA* in ¹*po-ni-ke-A* 1017.2 / *po-ni-ke-JA* 1568.e; *A*₂ with *JA* in ²*ko-ri-JA-do-no* 415 / *ko-ri-A₂-da-na* UNO8.5; *A* with *A₂* in ³*pa-we-A* 571 / *pa-we-A₂* Myc. 127; ⁴*ge-te-A* 363.1 / *ge-te-A₂* UNO2.1; *E* with *I* in ⁵*E-pa-sa-na-ti* ENO3.13 / *I-pa-sa-na-ti* EOO4.4; *O* with *JO* in ⁶*wi-ri-ne-O* 0408 / *wi-ri-ne-JO* 0415; ⁷*a-pi-O-to* AN22.16 / *a-pi-JO-to* AN22.6.
- 'J' - ⁸*a-mi-ni-si-JO* 601 / *a-mi-ni-si-JA* 825; ⁹*we-we-si-JO* JNO3.18 / *we-we-si-JE-ja* AB26; ¹⁰*po-si-da-i-JO* KNO2.1 / *po-si-da-i-JE-u-si* FNO1.18. 'J' syllables are extremely rare as initials, often follow the vowel *i*.
- 'W' - ¹¹*ka-WO* 87 / *ko-WA* 87; ¹²*me-U-jo* 612.2 / *me-WI-jo* 610.3; ¹³*pi-ke-re-U* EPO1.8 / *pi-ke-re-WE* EOO5.2 / *pi-ke-re-WO* EOO5.1; ¹⁴*ne-we-U* ADO2 / *ne-we-WI-ja-o* ADO1.
- 'D' - ¹⁵*ko-ri-DO-no* 415 / *ko-ri-a₂-DA-na* UNO8.5; ¹⁶*me-ri-DA-ma-te* AN18.8 / *me-ri-DA₂-ma-te* AN18.2; ¹⁷*wi-DO-we-i-jo* AD17 / *wi-DA₂-wo-i-jo* JNO8.3 / *wi-WO!-wo-i-jo* EPO3.12; ¹⁸*DA-??-ra-z'o* Eleusis / *DA₂-??-ra-z'o* 479.1; ¹⁹*ke-u-po-DA* 442.1 / *ke-u-po-DE-ja* 820.3.
- 'K' - ²⁰*e-KE* ENO2.5 / *e-KO-si* ENO2.4; ²¹*ka-KO* JNO2.9 / *ka-KE-we* JNO2.1 / *ka-KE-ja-pi* 0409.1 / *ka-KI-jo* 894.2; ²²*po-ni-KE-ja* 1586.e / *po-ni-KI-ja* 0402; ²³*??-ra₂-a-KE-re-u* NNO1.3 / *??-ra₂-a-KI-ri-jo* NA52; ²⁴*o-da-KE-we-ta* 0446.1 / *o-da-KU-we-ta* 0435 / *o-da-TU!-we-ta* 894.4 / *o-da-KUWE?-ta* 0436.
- 'M' - ²⁵*pa?-MO* 417 / *pa?-MI-jo* 749.5; ²⁶*go₂-ri-MO* 494 / *go₂-ri-MI-jo* 418; ²⁷*pe-MO* ENO1.1 / *pe-MA* ERO1.2.
- 'N' - ²⁸*u-la-NO* 13.3 / *u-la-NI-jo* 749.6; ²⁹*ke-ke-me-NO* EB20 / *ke-ke-me-NA* EA11; ³⁰*pa-ki-ja-NA* EB10.1 / *pa-ki-ja-NE* XCO1.1 / *pa-ki-ja-NI-ja* ENO2.1; ³¹*wi-ri-NE-jo* 0415 / *wi-ri-NI-jo* 0401; ³²*sa-pi-ti-NU-wo* 1516.15 / *sa-pi-ti-NE-we-jo* 841; ³³*pe-ru-si-NU* MAO9.2 / *pe-ru-si-NU₂* 0442.
- 'P' - ³⁴*u-PA-ra-ki-ri-ja* ANO8.1 / *u-PO-ra-ki-ri-ja* CN13.4; ³⁵*a-re-PA-z'o-o* UNO8.2 / *a-re-PO-z'o-o* FGO2; ³⁶*e-wi-ri-PO* AN19.6 / *e-wi-ri-PI-ja* AAO6.
- 'Q' - ³⁷*ai-ti-jo-QO* EOO4.1 / *ai-ti-jo-QE* EOO4.2; ³⁸*QO-go-ta-o* EA11 / *QO₂-go-ta-o* EA10.
- 'R' - ³⁹*ta-RA-to* EOO4.6 / *ta-RA₂-to* ENO3.15; ⁴⁰*do-e-RO* ENO2.7 / *do-e-RA* ENO2.8; ⁴¹*je-RO-jo* ACO8 / *i-je-RE-ja* ACO8; ⁴²*e-re-u-te-RO* NA56 / *e-re-u-te-Ra* NA50 / *e-re-u-te-Re* CN22.2; ⁴³*a-ta-no-RE* VNO4.7 / *a-ta-no-RO* FNO2.3; ⁴⁴*a-ke-ti-RA₂* AA16 / *a-ke-ti-RI-ja* AAO8; ⁴⁵*??-ra₂-a-ke-RE-u* NNO1.3 / *??-ra₂-a-ki-RI-jo* NA52; ⁴⁶*ku-pa-RO* 517 / *ku-pa-RO₂* UNO8.6.
- 'S' - ⁴⁷*to-SO* 1516.11 / *to-SA* 639.6; ⁴⁸*ko-no-SO* 549 / *ko-no-SI-jo* 56.1.
- 'T' - ⁴⁹*pa-i-TO* 36 / *pa-i-TI-jo* 681; ⁵⁰*o-na-TO* EA01 / *o-na-TA* EB33.1 / *o-na-TE-re* ENO2.11; ⁵¹*e-ri-no-wo-TE* CN09.5 / *e-ri-no-wo-TO* EQO1.3; ⁵²*te-mi-??-TA* 0431 / *te-mi-??-TE* 0437; ⁵³*ra-TO-de* VNO1.9 / *e-ra-TE-i* CN02.9; ⁵⁴*ko-ro-TO* Myc. 106.1 / *ko-ro-TA₂* 598.2; ⁵⁵*ra-wa-ra-TA₂* ANO8.1 / *ra-wa-ra-TI-jo* CN13.12.
- 'Z' - ⁵⁶*wo-Z'E* EPO3.7 / *wo-Z'O-te* EPO3.5; ⁵⁷*e-wi-go₂-Z'O-ko* 1007 / *e-wi-go₂-Z'O₂-ko* VA02.
- But: ⁵⁸*a-KE-ti-ri-ja* 739.1 / *a-Z'E-ti-ri-ja* 777.1; ⁵⁹*KE-ja-ka-ra-na* NNO1.3 / *Z'E-i-ja-ka-ra-na* XAO7.

VOWEL SERIES

Criteria for the distribution of vowel values.

- *A* Forms the feminine variants of masculines in *-o* (*-a*, *-ja*, *-wa*, *-na*, *-ra*, *-sa*). Masculine nouns in *-a* add *-o* in the gen. sing. (*-ta-o*, *-ka-o*). Feminine nouns in *-a* are uninflected throughout the singular, add *-o* in the gen. plur. (*-ja-o*, *-na-o*, *-ra₂-o*).
- *E* Characteristic of the dat. sing. and nom. plur. of masculine consonant stems (*-e*, *-we*, *-ne*, *-ge*, *-re*, *-te*). The typical and exclusive vowel found before the ending *-u* of masculine names and trades (*-e-u*, *-je-u*, *-we-u*, *-de-u*, *-ke-u*, *-me-u*, *-ne-u*, *-pe-u*, *-ge-u*, *-re-u*, *-se-u*, *-te-u*, *-z'e-u*). Masculine nouns in *-e* add *-o* in the gen. sing. (*-de-o*, *-we-o*), *-i* in the dat. sing. (*-de-i*, *-we-i*).
- *I* Characteristic vowel in Kober's 'Cases I and II' (AJA L 1946, p. 272) before the adjectival endings *-ja* / *-jo* (*-wi-ja*, *-mi-ja*, *-ni-ja*, *-si-ja*, *-ti-ja*). Rare ending of nominatives except in women's names.
- *O* Forms the masculine variants of feminines in *-a* (*-o*, *-ja*, *-wo*, *-no*, *-ro*, *-so*). Characteristic of Kober's 'Case III' (*-wo*, *-mo*, *-no*, *-so*, *-to*) and of the gen. sing. of consonant stems (*-wo*, *-no*, *-go*, *-ro*, *-to*). Nouns in *-o* add *-jo* in the gen. sing. (*-o-jo*, *-jo-jo*, *-ko-jo*, *-no-jo*, *-go-jo*, *-ro-jo*, *-so-jo*, *-to-jo*). Universal before the ending *-wo-ko* of agent nouns, and frequent as the connecting vowel in other apparent compounds.
- *U* Absence of marked characteristics of a fifth vowel. Note that *-u* plays a very minor part in Greek inflections and word-forming.

§ 4. POINTS OF DEPARTURE FOR AN EXPERIMENTAL TRANSLITERATION

The attempts previously made by Stawell (1931), Hempl (1932), and Persson (1932) to read the Minoan texts in Greek were frustrated by the scanty material then available. These and many other 'decipherments' have at least shown the impossibility of deriving consistent phonetic values

from a rigid correspondence with the forms of the classical Cypriot syllabary. A comparison of the latter with the equations of § 3 will be sufficient to demonstrate this.

But if the Cypriot syllabary's spelling conventions, at least, were repeated in Linear B, we should expect to find a regular name-ending to correspond to the nominatives in -os, Cypriot -o-se; and its absence for a long time prejudiced us against any Indo-European language.

In studying the ending -u, very characteristic of men's names and of masculine names of trades, we were struck by the fact that the thirteen signs which are found to precede it all appear, on the evidence of the 'grid' (§ 3), to belong to different consonants but to share the same vowel. When we noticed that the same vowel also occurs in the nom. plur. of this ending (-we, see § 8), we were irresistibly reminded of Greek -εύς, plural -ῆφες. But the omission of the final -s, both in singular and in plural, could only be justified if we assumed spelling conventions considerably more rudimentary than the Cypriot.

Since this premise is basic to the whole decipherment, it is worth stating in its fundamental form: *each syllable of the pronunciation is normally represented by only one syllabic sign, provided that all stops (β γ δ θ κ π τ φ χ) and diphthongal -u's are recorded.* The detailed rules which follow from this principle are listed in § 5, but they lead, for example, to *kóp-foi* being written ⁶⁹*ko-wo* (two syllables in both pronunciation and spelling), but to the expanded spelling of *κνᾶ-φεύς* as ¹⁴⁹*ka-na-pe-u*. Such an omission of final -s or -i had already been suspected from the fact that certain declensions (those in -o and -a, see §§ 7, 8) show no inflection in the dat. sing. or nom. plur. (and feminines none in the gen. sing.), even though other declensions, presumably consonantal stems, show well-differentiated forms for these cases. Unless the 'literary' spelling was fuller, these omissions must have had a serious effect on intelligibility, but are not more extreme than the omission of the inflectional vowels from the contemporary West Semitic 'alphabets'.

The ending -u forms the gen. sing. by changing to -wo. This sign belongs to the same vowel series as the nominatives which form their gen. sing. by adding -jo. -jo in its turn contains the same vowel, since we find frequent genitives in -jo-jo. If we interpret the consonant-stem genitive -e-wo as -ῆφος, and the vowel-stem genitive -o-jo as -οιο, we are able to give a satisfactory explanation of Kober's Knossos words in -jo / -ja, which resolve themselves into the masculine and feminine forms of ethnics in -ιος (gen. -οιο) / -ια. The vowel common to the syllables which precede this ethnic ending must be -i.

These identifications fixed the four vowel series -e, -o, -a, -i and the semi-vowel series in w and j-. It remained to discover a consistent distribution of the consonant series, and to test whether the resulting transliteration, when applied to the texts, would yield complete and comprehensible Greek words.

The identification of ⁷¹*pa-te* / *ma-te* An42 with *πατήρ* / *μήτηρ* (see § 6) opens the series *p-* and *m-*, and gives us -te, characteristic of agent nouns (-τήρ) and of present participles (-οντες). The opposition between ¹⁸⁷*e-ko-te* (ἔχοντες) and *a-* (ἀ-privative) on Jno1 (see § 9) yields the series *k-* and the pure vowels *a-* and *e-*, very frequent as initials. The value of *o* derives from its use in the gen. plur. of feminine nouns (-ῶων) and in the gen. sing. of masculines in -ta (-τᾶο).

The *n-* series results from the interpretation of the frequent words in -me-no / -me-na as medio-passive participles ²⁰⁰⁻²¹², the value *me* being supported by the terms ⁷²*me-z?o-e* / *me-u-jo-e* = *μείζους* / *μείους* applied to two categories of children at Knossos. The series *d-* and *s-* are given by the identification of the 'totalling formulae' ⁶⁸*to-so* (-de) / *to-sa* (-de) as *τοσσοί(δε)* / *τοσσαί(δε)*.

Finally, the *r-* series is indicated for Greek *p* by -te-re, nom. plur. of the same agent nouns (-τήρες), and for *λ* by *po-ro* = *πῶλοι* 'colts' on HORSE tablet 895. The provision of a separate series for *d-*, and the single series for *l-* / *r-*, are surprising features which are not paralleled in the Cypriot syllabary. We cannot get rid of them without throwing the whole 'grid' out of joint, and they may perhaps be inherited from the system of Linear A.

When this distribution of vowels and consonants is applied to the most frequent of the Knossos ethnics mentioned above, a very encouraging series of place-names results:

⁸¹ <i>Ko-no-so</i> Κνωσός	641.4	<i>Ko-no-si-jo</i> Κνώσιο-	168.1	<i>Ko-no-si-ja</i> Κνωσία-	777.1
⁸² <i>A-mi-ni-so</i> Ἀμνισός	705.1	<i>A-mi-ni-si-jo</i> Ἀμνίσιο-	601	<i>A-mi-ni-si-ja</i> Ἀμνισία-	777.2
⁸³ <i>Pa-i-to</i> Φαιστός	1156.2	<i>Pa-i-ti-jo</i> Φαίστιο-	681	<i>Pa-i-ti-ja</i> Φαιστία-	777.3
⁸⁴ <i>Ru-ki-to</i> Λύκτος	159.2	<i>Ru-ki-ti-jo</i> Λύκτιο-	168.2	<i>Ru-ki-ti-ja</i> Λυκτία-	1568.1
⁸⁵ <i>Tu-ri-so</i> Τυλισός	59.3	<i>Tu-ri-si-jo</i> Τυλίσιο-	668.2	<i>Tu-ri-si-ja</i> Τυλισία-	533
⁸⁶ <i>U-ta-no</i> Ἰτάνος	13.3	<i>U-ta-ni-jo</i> Ἰτάνιο-	749.6		

To these can be added ⁸⁷*Ku-do-ni-ja* 59.3 Κυδωνία, *Ra-to* 1209.2 Λατώ, *Wi-na-to* 606.3 Φίνατος. On 914 *A-ka-wi-ja-de* is very reminiscent of Ἀχαΐων-δε (and would support the identification of the Hittite *Aḫḫijawā* against the objection that the only Homeric form is Ἀχαΐς), but the context may demand a personal name.

Apart from *Pu-ro* Πύλος and *Pa-ki-ja*- Σφαγία?, the Pylos place-names (recurring as a group on tablets An07-09, 12, 14, 19, Cn02-07, 09-15, Jn09, Kn01, Ma01-19, On01, Vn01-04) appear to refer to local villages whose classical names are unknown, but several of them reflect Greek vocabulary: *Ka-ra-do-ro* Cn02.10 χάραδρος, *Ri-jo* Cn02.11 ῥίον, *E-wi-ri-po* An19.6 εὔριπος, *U-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* An08.1 ὑπεράκρια.

We soon discovered, to our surprise, that it would be necessary to allow a separate consonant series for the labio-velars κ^w γ^w χ^w, only traces of which survive in classical Greek. We had already realised that the button-shaped sign *-qe* represents an enclitic 'and' (clearly shown on 820, Eb32, Ep04, Jn09, Vn03, Myc. 102), even though some of its occurrences (e.g. E001, Kn02), seem more adverbial than conjunctive (cf. 'gnomic' or generic τε?). It was impossible to read this sign as *te*, since its alternate *go* seems to anticipate Greek forms with πο (e.g. *Ai-ti-jo-go* gen. sing. = Αἰθίοπος). When we applied the labio-velar value to the material as a whole, a consistent series resulted, including *go-u-ko-ro* = βουκόλοι; *a-to-po-go* = ἀρτοκόποι; *qe-to-ro-po-pi* = τετράπο[δ]φι. No sign for *qa* has yet been identified: the deduction to be drawn from the spellings *pa-te pa-si* πάντες πάνσι (**kānt*?) is uncertain.

Experimental phonetic values for sixty-five of the eighty-eight signs of the syllabary have been determined in this way, and are shown in Fig. 2. Where two signs are shown for the same syllabic value, further study may reveal a more exact differentiation (e.g. *ra*₂ = *rja*?). For the remaining twenty-three, all of them infrequent, no clues have yet been found in the available material: *mu* and *su* are obvious omissions.

The remainder of this article will be devoted to a more detailed discussion of the vocabulary and grammar of the Mycenaean archives. Suggested spellings, meanings, and compounds which are not paralleled in classical Greek, or implicit in the accepted etymology, will be *obelised* (e.g. †δῶντον), and deserve a fuller treatment than they receive. Where serious difficulties stand in the way of the Greek meaning or spelling proposed, the word will be *queried* (e.g. ?κεκειμένοι).

With no bilingual or other external aids to decipherment available, the reality of a proposed transliteration can only be tested by applying it to the material as a whole. If consistent series of vocabulary and grammatical forms result, which are in agreement with the probable context of the tablets, then we may be justified in believing that even those features which remain intractable will eventually be accounted for.

From experience gained in the unsuccessful testing of many previous lines of attack on the Mycenaean script, we are confident that the results so far yielded by this transliteration are too numerous to be attributed to pure coincidence; that some considerable part of our chain of deduction will have to be re-followed by even a rival decipherment; and that it would be very difficult for any system of values to yield a comparable mirage of Greek forms, however uncertain in its outlines, if the language was in fact of a totally different affinity.

But to those approaching the research from the viewpoint of classical scholarship, for whom the transliteration may seem vitiated by the eccentricities of the Greek and by the relatively small proportion of the tablets interpreted, we would offer the following in extenuation:

1. If the language is Greek, we are seeing it at a stage 1000 years older than Plato (a difference in date as great as between Beowulf and Shakespeare), and separated from the classical idiom by a Dark Age. It is set in a different environment, and surrounded, possibly closely intermingled, with barbarian languages spoken by peoples of equal or superior culture. Some elements of the vocabulary may be either 'Aegean', or distorted by non-Greek scribes, or part of an older stratum of Greek unfamiliar to classical philology. There is no doubt that all the Mycenaean archives are in the *same* idiom, whether Greek or barbarian, but there is still the possibility that this idiom contains some fixed proportion of elements too unfamiliar to be comprehensible, more embarrassing in some contexts than in others.

2. The palace archives are written in a highly abbreviated style, in which literary syntax has no place. Their text contains few regular 'sentences' and consists largely of personal names, many of which are probably those of non-Greeks, and of place-names, presumably 'Aegean' in formation. Even the names of Greeks, like many of those in later epic and myth, may be pre-Hellenic in form.

3. The transliteration is the preliminary result of only the first three months of a very laborious investigation. Many of the proposed values may have to be reconsidered, and the rules of orthography may not yet be fully understood: many of their most baffling features are probably due to Linear B being a script imperfectly adapted to Greek from the conventions of a quite different language.

4. We believe that prolonged study, and the aid of the new unpublished tablets from Pylos, will eventually enable the whole Mycenaean material to be interpreted in detail. But at this initial stage, when any translation must be extremely tentative, we have preferred to concentrate on a limited number of tablets which typify the most significant contexts and formulae. They together contain all the passages most crucial as linguistic evidence, and the light which they throw on the mechanics of the Mycenaean adjective, noun and verb will be useful, we hope, even to those who doubt whether they are specifically Greek.

§ 5. ASSUMED RULES OF MYCENAEAN ORTHOGRAPHY

1. The syllabary differentiates five vowels -a -e -i -o -u, indifferent as to length.
2. The second component of diphthongs in -u is regularly indicated (⁸⁹na-u-do-mo †ναυδόμοι, re-u-ko λαυκόι, z?e-u-ke-u-si †ζευγεύσι, a-ro-u-ra †άρουρα).
3. The second component of diphthongs in -i is generally omitted (¹⁷⁷po-me ποιμήν), except before another vowel (¹³⁸i-je-re-ja †ίερεια) and in the initial sign ai-. Where -i is occasionally added to endings in -a and -o, these are probably to be interpreted as -ais, -ois.
4. Vowels following i generally indicate the semi-vowel glide by j- (¹⁴⁷i-ja-te †ιτήρ), those following u by w- (e-u-wa-ko-ro Εύαργος). These glides will be omitted from the Greek spelling.
5. Apart from j- and w- (f), the syllabary differentiates at least ten series of consonants: d k m n p q (κ^w, etc.) r (λ ρ) s t and z? (gj?). Doubled consonants are not indicated.
6. There is no sign for the aspirate, nor are aspirated consonants distinguished. ξ, ψ and κ^wσ are spelt ka-sa-, ke-se-, pa-sa-, pe-se-, etc., except when final, where they appear to shed the -s and take the vowel of the preceding syllable (¹⁸⁶wa-na-ka †νάσξ, ⁹⁰ai-ti-jo-go = Αἰθίοψ).
7. The consonants λ μ ν ρ σ are omitted from the spelling where they are final or where they precede another consonant (¹⁴⁷ka-ke-u †καλέως, ¹⁹⁷i-jo-te †ιόντες, pa-ka-na †πάσσανα).
8. Initial σ- and f- are apparently omitted before a consonant (pe-ma στήμα, ri-jo †ρίον).
9. The consonant group -vʃ- is written nu-w-(ke-se-mu-wi-ja †έννις). ρ before f is more often omitted (⁸⁹ko-wo κόρφος, we-we-e-a †εφέσα).
10. All stop consonants which precede another consonant are written with the vowel of the succeeding syllable (¹²⁶ki-ti-ta †κτίτης, ku-tu-so †χρυσός). But analogy may sometimes cause a spelling to be levelled for a number of related forms (¹¹⁷wa-na-ka-te-ro †φανάκτερος 'royal' on the model of wa-na-ka nom., *wa-na-ka-ta acc.; ⁸⁴ru-ki-to †λύκτος on the model of the ethnic ru-ki-ti-jo).

The value given to the 'horns of consecration' sign (cf. πτερά??) is based on the probability that pte-re-wa 0440 is an alternative for pe-te-re-wa 894.1 πτελέρας (= OHG *fetawa*?) 'of elm wood', describing WHEELS; cf. e-ri-ka 0439, 894.4 †εράς 'of willow'. Note that the trade name ¹⁸⁹ra-pte †ραπτήρ adds -re in the nom. plur. (see § 8), as otherwise only agent nouns in -te (-τήρ / -τήρες) appear to do. Compare the feminine trade name ¹⁴²ra-pi-ti-ra₂ †ράπιτιραι; and tu-ru-pe-te 986 / tu-ru-pte-ri-ja †Αν14.5.

§ 6. VARIATIONS DUE TO GENDER

Kober in her last article (*Archiv Orientalní* XVII/1 (1949), pp. 386-98) showed that, of the two forms of the Linear B 'totalling formula', *to-so* occurs exclusively with the ideograms MEN, 'DANCERS', RAMS, 'ADZES', while *to-sa* is found with WOMEN, EWES, SWORDS, and 'BANNERS'. She concluded that ⁶⁸to-so / *to-sa* is an adjective showing a regular alternation of masculine and feminine forms, with no clear evidence of a third gender.

A grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine in adjectives and occupational names is now indicated by at least five further alternations: the words for 'children' ⁶⁹ko-wo / *ko-wa*; the descriptions ⁷⁰do-e-ro / *do-e-ra*; the adjectival endings -i-jo / -i-ja; the verbal forms -me-no / -me-na (see § 9(c)); and the distinction between agent nouns in -te / -te-re and -ti-ra₂ / -ti-ri-ja (§ 8). This important characteristic of the dialect is absent in many of the neighbouring languages, both Indo-European and 'Caucasian', notably in Hittite and in its relatives Lydian and Lycian.

⁶⁸To-so / *to-sa* appears to represent the Greek τόσσος (χαλκός), τόσσοι (ΑΝΕΠΕΣ) / τόσσα (ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ). Support for this is given by the indifferent addition of -de to both forms at Pylos (τοσσοίδε τοσσαίδε). The apparent additions of -pa (Jn02.9, 1568.6) are both damaged readings; but Bennett's correction of 1055.9 to *to-sa pa-te*: 'Dancers' 213, evidently a cumulative total, would give us τόσσοι πάντες. Compare *to-sa pa-ta* on LIVESTOCK fragment 918.3, with a subsidiary total in line 1: *to-sa qe-(to-ro-po-da ??)*. We had already suspected that a meaning 'so much, so many' would be more appropriate than literally 'all, total', from such phrases as Jn01.7, 11, where *to-so* is used without any numerical total, and from the numerous entries of the Pylos En, Eo, Ep tablets, which are separate items varying considerably in size, rather than the totals of previous additions.

Of the words for 'CHILDREN', it is ⁶⁹ko-wo κόρφος / κόρφοι which means 'boys', contrary to general opinion, since it is used to qualify the MAN ideogram on Pylos, Ad01 ff. (preceded by a number of gen. plur. fem. forms: 'the sons of the women'); leaving *ko-wa* κόρφα -ca for 'girls'. The reason why 'girls' are always counted before 'boys' on the WOMEN tablets is probably that they are potentially more useful in the context for which their mothers are recorded. It need hardly reflect matriarchy.

The long and numerous entries of the Pylos En, Eo, Ep series are, we believe, the record of *ko-to-na* 'parcels of land?' (cf. κτοίνα δῆμος μεμερισμένος Hesychius, and its use on Rhodes, possibly a survival of the Achaean settlement) leased to individuals of the less menial trades by the *ko-to-no-o-ko* †κτοινούχοι and by the *da-mo* δᾶμος, and of the amount of grain sown on each in the year under review. The individuals are referred to both by their personal names and by their occupations, the majority being described either as *te-o-jo do-e-ro* or as *te-o-jo do-e-ra* (θεοῖο? Cf. -po-to-re-mo-jo do-e-ra-i Fno3.27 -πτολέμοιο?). Sundwall agrees with us that the distinction must be one of gender, the personal names associated with *do-e-ro* most commonly ending in -o, -e-u and never in -ja, those with *do-e-ra* ending in -a, -i and never in -jo, thus conforming to the endings most

common on the large Knossos lists of MEN and WOMEN respectively (1516-17, 799; 639).⁷⁰ *Do-e-ro* / *do-e-ra*, one of only three Linear B agent nouns to show forms for both genders (see § 8) suggests δούλος / δούλη, of doubtful etymology, itself one of the very few Greek occupational names to show gender variation by means of -ος / -η endings.

Both terms *do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra* find a balanced, contrasting, use in phrase (ε) of WOMAN tablet An42, which provides the most striking evidence for an Indo-European component in the Pylos language. It is here transliterated with suggested punctuation:

ME-TA-PA: *ke-ri-mi-ja do-ge-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja*.

(Place-name) (fem. plur. terms describing the girls generally).

(a)	DO-QE-JA (<i>do-e-ro</i>)	pa-te, ma-te-de	<i>Ku-te-re-u-pi</i> :	WOMEN 6
(b)	DO-QE-JA (<i>do-e-ra</i>)	<i>e-ge-ta-i e-e-to te-re-te-we</i> :		WOMEN 13
(c)	DO-QE-JA (<i>do-e-ro</i>)	pa-te, ma-te-de	<i>di-wi-ja do-e-ra</i> :	WOMEN 3
(d)	DO-QE-JA (<i>do-e-ra</i>)	ma-te, pa-te-de	<i>ka-ke-u</i> :	WOMAN 1
(e)	DO-QE-JA (<i>do-e-ra</i>)	ma-te, pa-te-de	<i>ka-ke-u</i> :	WOMEN 3

The meaning of the description *do-ge-ja* ?δούκ?εια is unknown; but the words ⁷¹*pa-te* / *ma-te*, which alternate their positions in the formula in accordance with the gender of its components, can hardly be other than the IE 'father' and 'mother' (radicals which all the Anatolian IE dialects except Phrygian have replaced by *atta-anna-* etc.), the enclitic *-de* increasing the presumption in favour of Greek:

- (a) δόλος πατήρ, μάτηρ δὲ †Κυθηρεῦφι ('with the Cytherian colony?')
 (c) δόλος πατήρ, μάτηρ δὲ εἰς τὰ δόλια ('of Zeus' or 'goodly?')
 (d) δόλια μάτηρ, πατήρ δὲ χαλκίως

In clause (b), where the girls are too many to form a single family, the bipartite construction is apparently replaced by:

(b) δόλια ἐκ?έτας ἐέντων *te-re-te-we* 'Let the bondwomen be (??)'.

In 1946 Kober first drew attention (*AJA* L, pp. 268-76) to the alternating spellings of the type ⁶¹*Ko-no-si-jo* / *Ko-no-si-ja* / *Ko-no-so*. New Pylos evidence for declension shows that Kober's 'Cases I and II' cannot simply be oblique cases of the noun; and they probably represent a derivative adjective, analogous or identical to the Greek ethnic -ιος / -ία (see § 4).

On some tablets containing repeated *-jo* or *-ja* endings the identity of the qualified noun cannot be guessed (820, 833, Vno3). But the *-jo* ending is consistent where qualifying MEN or the 'totalling-word' *to-so* (601, 1055, An13); while *-ja* is typical before the WOMAN ideogram and before *to-sa* (611-613, 624, 629, 694, Aa01-Ab30, En02.1). Note *A-mi-ni-si-jo* before MEN on 601, *A-mi-ni-si-ja* before WOMEN on 825.

Though the plural of such masculine and feminine adjectives is made indistinguishable from the singular by the orthography, a neuter gender, unsuspected by Kober, would give *-jo* in the singular but *-ja* in the plural. The word for 'swords' on 1540, *to-sa pa-ka-na* Swords 50, is evidently a neuter plural if it is to be read as the Greek τόσσα φάσγανα; and it is qualified on 1541 ff. by ¹⁹⁸*a-ra-tu-wo-a* ἀράρφοα, archaic neuter plural of the perfect participle (cf. *a-ra-tu-ja* fem. 0401 ff., and see § 10, Morphology).

The forms in *-ja* which qualify the large number of 'BANNER' entries (471-5, 525-99) may be neuter plural, if the pronunciation of this enigmatic ideogram is represented by the *pa-we-a* φάρφεια 'pieces of cloth?' which introduce them on 571-80 (cf. *ri-ta pa-we-a* 594 λίτα φάρφεια?). 'BANNERS' are qualified on 178 and 870 by *we-we-e-a* φερφέα (> Attic ἑρεῖα 'woollen'), and on 871.2 by ¹⁹⁹*te-tu-ko-wo-a* τετυχφοα = τετυγμένα (for τετυχώς in passive sense, cf. μ 423). Consistent *-a* endings, and compounds very suggestive of Greek, are shown particularly by 587 (in Bennett's restoration):

1	<i>po-ki-ro-nu-ka</i>	CLOTHS	24	†ποικιλόνυχα (δυνε?? Cf. <i>a-mu-ke</i> 682.1, 1568.c)
	<i>re-u-ko-nu-ka</i>	CLOTHS	372	†λευκόνυχα
2	<i>ko-ro-to?</i>	CLOTHS	14	??
	<i>?-ra-ku-ja</i>	CLOTHS	42	??
	<i>po-ri-woa</i>	CLOTHS	1!	πολιρά 'grey'
edge	<i>to-sa</i>	CLOTHS	149	(evidently not a true total)

GRAIN is qualified by *-jo* on 668-70, 749, but by *-ja* on 777; this might point to a declension σῖτος / σῖτα. Compare the alternation of singular and plural in ²*ko-ri-ja-do-no* 415 / *ko-ri-a-da-na* Uno8.5 †κορίαννον > κορίαννον, κορίανδρον 'coriander'. The identity of the two forms is proved by the common ideogram, also used to measure ⁴⁷*ku-pa-ro* 517 / *ku-pa-ro* Uno8.6 κύπαιρος, *cupenus rotundus* (a West Semitic loan-word, with Lewy, and not a genetically Doric variant?). Both substances are apparently described as *tu-we-a* Uno8.2 θύφεια 'spices?'

Another heteroclite κύκλος, plur. κύκλοι / κύκλα, may be reflected in the variations *te-mi-??* / *te-mi-??-ta* (τερμιόφενς / τερμιόφεντα??) and *ka-ki-jo* χάλκιος / *ka-ko-de-ta* χαλκόδετα on WHEEL tablet 894, and in the alternating plurals *te-mi-??-te* / *ta*, *de-do-me-no* / *-na* and *wo-z?o-me-no* / *-na* on WHEEL tablets 0429-0449.

Adjectives which show *no* variation in gender are the two descriptions of CHILDREN on 611 ff.: ⁷²me-z?o and ⁷²me-u-jo / me-wi-jo: all three spellings add -e to form the plural. The lack of gender, the form of the plural, and the shared initial all suggest archaic forms of the Greek comparatives μέζων and μείων, a possibility which Sittig tells us he has also envisaged. They should perhaps be transcribed μέζων μέζοες and †μεῖων μεῖοες (the † is unexpected, cf. Boisacq s.v.). The value *me* finds support in a number of other words, particularly in the commodity *me-ri* μέλι written next to vases or issuing from them. The 'larger' children on 781-4, 828 have the annotation *di-da-ka-re* διδασκαλε[ιον]?

Concord between adjective and noun in an oblique case is shown by *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* Ep02 ff. (probably gen. sing. fem.) and *ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o* Eb33 (gen. plur. fem.); and by Ae08: *PU-RO*: i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo: *Women* 13 Πύλος ἱερείας δοέλας †ένεκα χρυσοῖο ἱεροῖο ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ 13. It is often assumed that West Semitic loan-words such as *hārūz* > χρυσός were introduced by the Phoenicians in the 11th-9th centuries; but it is hard to believe that the Mycenaeans did not already call 'gold' χρυσός. Cf. ⁹⁰ku-ru-so-wo-ko An26.8 χρυσοφοργοί, and *ku-ru-so* on Knossos tablet 872.3 describing a goblet similar in outline to the gold cup from Vaphio.

§ 7. PERSONAL NAMES: THEIR DECLENSION AND FORMATION

It has generally been supposed that the majority of the Knossos and Pylos item entries are introduced by personal names. Though there are no universal criteria for distinguishing them from place-names and vocabulary words, there are a number of regular contexts in which they can be identified with certainty:

1. Lists of the MAN ideogram followed by the number 1 (799-806, 1516-20; An13, 15-18, 21, 22).
2. Words following the preposition *pa-ro* (Cn03-04, 11-15, Vn04).
3. The first word of each subsidiary entry on the GRAIN tablets Ea01-Eq03, and of most of the LIVESTOCK tablets 1060-1383.
4. The lists of ¹⁴⁷ka-ke-we 'smiths' on Pylos tablets Jn01-08.

Feminine names occur on Eb27-Ep05 before the description *do-e-ra*, and probably on 639; but evidence for inflection is confined almost entirely to the more numerous men's names, and to the Pylos tablets.

The three cases which can be distinguished are most clearly seen in the series of names on the GRAIN tablets Ea01-Eq03 which recur in all three forms: the *nominative* as the subject of an entry (*Pi-ke-re-u* Ep01.8), the *genitive* expressing the ownership of a *ko-to-na* (*Pi-ke-re-wo* E005.1), and the *dative* indicating the person by whose dispensation the *o-na-te-re* hold their *ko-to-na* (*pa-ro Pi-ke-re-we* E005.2). The preposition *pa-ro*, which resembles πάρος in form but παρά in meaning, probably signifies 'from', 'belonging to', or simply the French 'chez'. There is no direct evidence for the accusative in names, and the syntax patterns of the tablets perhaps have no place for it.

Clear evidence of a series of parallel genitives, sometimes contrasted with nominatives on the same tablet, is given by An21-23, Cn11-16, En01, Eq01, Jn01, Fn02, Kn02.

From these examples the Mycenaean masculine names can be divided into six inflectional types:

1. Names which add -jo in the Genitive

This is the regular declension of names which end in -o, remaining unchanged in the dative. Given our rules of orthography, -o -ojo -o can be equated with the Greek -o- declension -ος -οιο -ω (or -οι as in Arcadian?). The name-ending -jo is frequent in this class, giving rise to the characteristic termination -jo-jo, which is always genitive wherever found.

⁷⁸ Wa-na-ta-jo Ep01.3	Wa-na-ta-jo-jo E001.1	pa-ro Wa-na-ta-jo E001.5
†Φαρνατάιος	Φαρνατάιοιο	παρὸ Φαρναταίω
⁷⁹ A-ke-o An16.14	A-ke-o-jo Cn11.5	
†Ἀρκέος	Ἀρκείοιο	

2. Names in -a, forming their Genitive in -a-o

This declension is characteristic for the frequent ending -ta. It, too, shows no special form for the dative.

⁷⁷ A-ko-so-ta Un08.1	A-ko-so-ta-o Cn12.2	
†Ἀφξότᾱς	Ἀφξότᾱο	
	⁷⁸ A-ma-ru-ta-o E002.1	pa-ro A-ma-ru-ta E002.4
	†Ἀμαρύντᾱο	παρὸ Ἀμαρύντᾱ

3. Names in -e, forming their Genitive in -e-o

Names ending in the vowel -e are infrequent, but there are several in -me-de, which probably add -o in the genitive like *a-pi-me-de-o* Ep03.12 ἀπιμήδεος, *pe-ri-me-de-o* Sn01.7 περιμήδεος (though these two may be offices rather than names, cf. Hom. μέδων / μεδέων 'ruler'). They appear to conform to the Greek declension in -ης, gen. -εος, which may also include the adjective *a-ko-ro-we*

plur. *a-ko-ro-we-e* ἰσχροφῆες 'of uniform colour?' applied to white livestock on Cn23. Their dative may be formed by adding *-i*, to judge from *E-ti-me-de-i* Fno3.1, and ??-*mo-ke-re-we-i* Fno3.2 Δαμοκλέφει?.

4. Names in *-e-u*, forming their Genitive in *-e-wo*

This declension, which has distinct forms for the three identifiable cases, is frequent both in men's names and in masculine names of trades. The dative singular is written with the sign *-we*, also characteristic of the nom. plur. of this declension (*-ῆες* see § 8). It perhaps represents the original IE dative in *-ei* rather than the later Greek *-i* (see § 10).

⁷⁸ <i>Pi-ke-re-u</i> Ep01.8	<i>Pi-ke-re-wo</i> E005.1	<i>pa-ro Pi-ke-re-we</i> E005.2
†Πικρεῦς	Πικρήρος	παρὸ Πικρήρει
⁸⁸ <i>Po-ro-u-le-u</i> Jn01.5	<i>Po-ro-u-le-wo</i> Jn01.12	<i>pa-ro Po-ro-u-le-we</i> Cn04.5
Πλουτεῦς	Πλουτήρος	παρὸ Πλουτήρει

5. Names adding *-ro*, *-to*, *-no* in the Genitive

This declension shows the same final vowels in the genitive and dative as the preceding, but the nominative is one letter shorter due to the omission of the stem consonant or corresponding *-s* from the spelling.

⁸¹ <i>A-ta-no</i> 1520.2	<i>A-ta-no-ro</i> Fno2.3	<i>pa-ro A-ta-no-re</i> Vn04.7
Ἀντάνωρ	Ἀντάνωρος	παρὸ Ἀντάνωρει
⁸² <i>Ko-ma-we</i> An43.10	<i>Ko-ma-we-to</i> 931	<i>pa-ro Ko-ma-we-le</i> Cn03.1
Κομᾶφεις	Κομᾶφεντος	παρὸ Κομᾶφέντει

Cf. also *Ne-ti-ja-no* Cn12.1 > Νέστωρ?? / *pa-ro Ne-ti-ja-no-re*; *Pi-ri-ta-wo-no* gen. Eno1.5 Βριθάφονος?; ⁸*A-pi-o* / *jo-to* gen. An22.6 Ἀμφίοντος. Compare the declension of the participles discussed in § 9(a).

6. Names identical in Nominative and Genitive

⁸³ <i>Ai-ti-jo-qo</i> Ep01.2	<i>Ai-ti-jo-qo</i> E004.1	<i>pa-ro Ai-ti-jo-qe</i> E004.2
Αἰθίοκ ^{ws}	Αἰθίοκ ^{ws}	παρὸ Αἰθίοκ ^{we}

This, the only example of its kind, is evidently a consonant stem whose consonant is, for exceptional reasons, retained in the spelling of the nominative. On the rules of orthography (§ 5 No. 6) the only Greek endings which would allow this are *-ξ* *-ψ* *-κ^{ws}*, and it is encouraging that this specimen can actually be equated with a Greek name of this form.

Some of these personal names correspond, on our experimental values, with fully Greek names; but many more recall the imperfectly Hellenised names of Greek epic and myth, and an even greater number, especially at Knossos, may be expected to show a completely non-Greek aspect.

Of interest, in the first category, are the ten names ending in *-o* which show the frequent initial element *E-u-*, which can apparently be transcribed as typical Greek names in Εύ-:

<i>E-(u)-wa-ko-ro</i> Jn03.23, 1005, Thebes V	Εὐαγρος	<i>E-u-na-wo</i> 799.12	Εὐνάφος (cf. <i>O-ku-na-wo</i> 60.4 Ὠκύναφος)
<i>E-u-da-mo</i> 57, Thebes II	Εὐδάμος		Εὐορμος
<i>E-u-de-we-ro</i> Abo2	Εὐδέφελος	<i>E-u-o-mo</i> 127	Εὐπλοφος
<i>E-u-do-no</i> Jn01.4	Εὐδωνος	<i>E-u-ro-ro-wo</i> Jn02.2	Εὐπορος -φορος
<i>E-u-ko-ro</i> 482.1	Εὐκόλος	<i>E-u-ro-ro</i> Myc. 102.4	= Εὐτροπος??
		<i>E-u-to-ro-qo</i> Jn05.10	

Note also *E-u-ru-da-mo* 166.2 Εὐρύδαμος, *E-u-ru-qo-ta* 147.2 = Εὐρυβάτης? (Does the frequent ending *-go-ta* represent *-βάτης*, *-φοίτης*, *-φόντης* or *-βότης*?) Cf. *A-pi-go-(i)-ta* = Ἀμφιφοίτης? *Pe-ri-go-ta-o* = Περιφοίτης? *A-e-ri-go-ta* = Ἡριβάτης? *Qo-u-go-ta* = Βουβότης? *Po-ru-go-ta* = Πολυφόντης?

Among names in *-eūs* a frequent ending appears to be *-ke-se-u*, formed from futures: *A-we-ke-se-u* Ἀφεξεύς, *De-ke-se-u* Δεξεύς, *Qo-wa-ke-se-u* Γωφαξεύς, *E-ne-ke-se-u* Ἐνεξεύς, *A-re-ke-se-u* Ἀρεξεύς, *Pa-ra-ke-se-u* Πραξεύς. Note also *Ai-ki-e-u* Αἰγιεύς, *A-ki-re-u* Ἀχιλλεύς, *Do-ro-me-u* Δρομεύς, *E-pe-ke-u* Ἐπειγεύς, *Te-se-u* Θησεύς, *Ke-re-te-u* Κρηθεύς, *Me-to-qe-u* Μετωκ^{we}εύς, *Ne-qe-u* Νηκ^{we}εύς, *Po-te-u* Ποντεύς, *Ta-mi-je-u* Ταμиеύς, *Ka-ri-se-u* Χαρισεύς, *O-na-se-u* Ὀνάσεύς.

Other apparently Greek names include: *Ai-wa* Αἰφας, *Ai-wo-ro* Αἰφολος, *Ai-ta-ro-we* Αἰθαλόφεις, *A-ka-ma-jo* Ἀλκμαίων, *A-ka-ta-jo* Ἀκταῖος, *A-pi-a-ro* Ἀμφιάλος, *A-ti-pa-mo* Ἀντίπαμος, *A-ke-ra-wo* Ἀρχελάφος, *Ka-ra-u-ko* Γλαυκός, *E-ni-ja-u-si-jo* Ἐνιαύσιος, *E-ko-to* Ἐκτωρ, *E-pi-ja-ta* Ἐφιαλτᾶς, *E-ke-me-de* Ἐχεμήδης, *E-ke-da-mo* Ἐχέδαμος, *Wa-tu-(wa)-o-ko* Φαστύοχος, *Wi-da-ma* Φιδάμος, *Ku-ru-me-no* Κλύμενος, *Ku-pe-se-ro* Κύπελος, *Ku-pi-ri-jo* Κύπριος, *Ma-na-si-we-ko* Μνασίφεργος, *Ka-sa-to* Ξανθός, *Ko-so-u-to* Ζούθος, *Pi-ro-we-ko* Φιλόφεργος.

It is conceivable that any arbitrary system of phonetic values would yield the same limited number of correspondences; but coincidence seems insufficient to account for the exceptionally long name *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* Sn01.15, which on values and orthography determined beforehand (and out of 200 billion possible permutations of syllables in an eight-sign word) so exactly yields the patronymic Ἐτεφολεφής. Compare Forrer's much-disputed reading of the name *Tawa-galawas* in the Hittite king's letter to the king of *Ahhijawā* c. 1325 B.C.

If names already known to us from Greek mythology are proved to occur at Knossos and Pylos, they will confirm Nilsson's view (*The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, 1932) that the majority of these myths were already current in the 15th-13th centuries. More surprising still, two tablets (Knossos 52 and Pylos Kno2) contain consistent lists of words whose correspondence to the names of Greek deities seems ensured by astronomical odds against coincidence:

52: ¹⁴ A-la-na-po-ti-ni-ja	Ἀβάνᾱ Πότνια
E-nu-wa-ri-jo	Ἐνυάλιος
Pa-ja-wo	Παιῆων
Pe-se-da-(o) (cf. 5560 for the spelling)	Ποσειδάων

The last name probably recurs on tablet Kno2, in the derivative forms ¹⁴Po-si-da-i-jo gen. plur.? Ποσιδάων (cf. *Po-si-da-i-je-u-si* Fno1.18) and *Po-si-da-e-ja* Ποσιδαεία (a divinity?). The tablet appears to be a list of gold vessels and men and women to carry them (Bennett: figurines?) which are to be sent to various shrines. It contains the following recognisable names, nearly all with a MAN or WOMAN ideogram appropriate to their sex: *Di-we* Διφεί, *E-ra* Ἑρᾱ (is the etymology *Ἑρᾱ faulty?), *Po-ti-ni-ja* Ποτνίᾱ, *Di-u-ja* Διφίᾱ (cf. Διφίᾱ in an early 4th-century Pamphylian inscr., Schwyzler 686¹, = Magna Mater), *E-ma-a* Ἑρμάᾱ, *I-pe-me-de-ja* (= Ἰφιμηδείᾱ despite lack of f-?).

We do not agree with Sundwall that the tablets as a whole have a religious context, but one or two more divine names may be scattered here and there: *Di-wo-nu-so-jo* Χαιῶ Διφονύσιοιο, *E-re-u-ti-ja* 705.1 Ἑλευθίᾱ (annotation to pots of honey at Amnisos!†), *Pa-si-te-o-i* 705.2, 13.2 πᾶνσι θεοῖς, *A-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* 13.3 ἀνέμων ἰέρεια?

§ 8. NAMES OF OCCUPATIONS: THEIR DECLENSION AND FORMATION

By internal evidence, independent of any decipherment, one can abstract from certain Knossos and Pylos tablets a consistent series of nouns representing the names of *occupations and professions*. Characteristic contexts for these are:

1. Descriptions of MAN ideograms listed generally with numbers larger than 1 (tablets 101, 815-817, 824, 826, 1518; Ae07-09, Ano4, 06-11, 18-20, 26, 31, 38).
2. Terms used to qualify personal names (821-2, 911-2, 962; Ae03-05, Ea01-Ep05).
3. Introductory phrases to tablets listing MAN and WOMAN ideograms (1055, 1516; Ano2, 12-14, 19, 42) or containing personal names followed by commodities (Eno2.4, etc., Ego2, Jno1-09, Vno6).
4. The bottom line of the Pylos Na series.

They are analogous to the use of such agent nouns on economic tablets of Mesopotamia and of Ras Shamra (Virolleaud, 'Les villes et les corporations d'Ugarit', *Syria* XXI (1940), pp. 123-51), and we may expect to find a comparable range of professions represented.

On close analysis they can be divided into six 'declensions', parallel to those we have shown above for personal names. They show a close correspondence with Greek, both in their inflections and in the endings chosen to form different classes of agent noun. Note the clear distinction between the *vowel stems*, which show no written inflection for the dat. sing. and nom. plur. (in conformity with the rules of orthography § 5), and the *consonant stems* which add -e in both cases. The following paradigms tabulate the endings so far identified:

Vowel stems		1	2	3
Nom. sing.	-o	-os	-la -tās	-a -ā
Gen. sing.	-o-jo	-oio	-la-o -tāo	-a -ās
Dat. sing.	-o	-φ	-la -tφ	
Nom. plur.	-o	-oi	-la -tai	-a -ai -ταιραι
Gen. plur.	-o	-ων	-la-o -tāων	-a-o -āων -ταιρᾶων
Dat. plur.	-o-i	-ois	-la-i -tais	-a-i -ais -τριαis
Consonant stems		4	5	6
Nom. sing.	-e-u	-eūs	-le -tēp	-e -v
Gen. sing.	-e-wo	-ēfos		
Dat. sing.	-e-we	-ēfei	(-te-ri -tēpi)	-ne -vei
Nom. plur.	-e-we	-ēfes	-le-re -tēpes	-ne -ves
Gen. plur.	-e-wo	-ēfων		
Dat. plur.	-e-u-si	-eūsi	-le-si -tēpsi	

If dual forms, conforming to their classical declension, were used to describe '2 MEN', the orthography would make them indistinguishable from the corresponding plurals.

The following list includes 100 occupational names which can be isolated, even though only a third of them can so far be made to correspond exactly with classical terms. Like the words found at Ugarit (many of which are incomprehensible in spite of the close relationship to Hebrew) they

† Cf. Strabo X 476.8: Μίω δὲ φασιν ἑπταεὶς χρῆσασθαι τῷ Ἀμιαῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εὐαθυλίας ἱερὸν.

may include many compounds and derivatives whose meaning is so specialised that it can never be recovered.

1. Nouns in -o, nearly all Compounds

The most striking compounds are the seven nouns in -o-wo-ko, whose finals are the reverse of the spelling *ko-wo* 'boys'. The meaning 'maker' (-τοργός as in *γα-τοργός > γατοργός) seems particularly appropriate for this most frequent agent noun element.

¹⁴ a-pu-ko-wo-ko	Ab03	†ἀπυκοτοργός	(fem.) headband makers?
¹⁵ to-wo-ko	An18.5	†ἐντοτοργός	armourers
¹⁶ to-ro-na-wo-ko	1517.11		(θρόνοι? θρόνα?)
¹⁷ i-je-ro-wo-ko	Epo4.7	ἱεροτοργός	priest
¹⁸ ko-wei-ro-wo-ko	101	†κοιλοτοργός	coopers?
¹⁹ to-ko-so-wo-ko	An26.10	τοξοτοργός	bow-makers
²⁰ ku-ru-so-wo-ko	An26.8	χρυσοτοργός	goldsmiths
²¹ e-te-do-mo	Eno2.5	†ἐντεδομός	armourer
²² na-u-do-mo	Na65.2	†ναυδόμοι	shipbuilders
²³ to-ko-do-mo	An14.1	τοιχοδόμοι	masons
²⁴ a-to-po-go	Ano7.3, Myc. 102.14	ἀρτοποιῶν	bakers
²⁵ si-to-po-go	Epo4.6	†σιτοπόκος	cook (cf. si-to 819.2 introducing CEREALS after a list of MEN)
²⁶ si-to-ko-wo	Ano2.1	†σιτοχόροι	(fem.) grain keepers
²⁷ re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo	Ab27	†ροφροτοχόροι	(fem.) bath attendants
²⁸ da ₂ -ru-to-mo	Vno6.1	δρυτόμοι	woodcutters
²⁹ re-di-na-mo	Eqo2.11		(ῥήματα? cf. ῥιζοτόμοι?)
³⁰ ka-ra-wei-po-ro / -jo	Eb32 / Aco9 / Jno9.2	κλδριφόρος / -οιο / -οι	(fem.) = κλειδοφόρος. cf. κλειτοφόρος, apparently the title of a priest at Messene, IG 5 (1) 1447; and ἥρας κλειτοφόρος at Epidaurus
¹⁰¹ di-pte-ra-po-ro	Fno2.6	†διπτεροφόροι	tanners?
¹⁰² ga-u-ko-ro ti-na	Ano2.9	γῶσινάλοι θινός	cowherds of the coast?
¹⁰³ da-ko-ro	Ano7.1	δακόροι	sweepers (cf. Boissacq s.v. γάκωρος)
¹⁰⁴ ko-to-na-o-ko	Epo4.11 / Eoo4.2	†κτοναόκος / -ω	property-owner
¹⁰⁵ pu-ka-wo	Ano4.1	†πυρκάροι	stokers
¹⁰⁶ a-re-pa / po-z?o-o	Uno8.2		(compound of a-re-pa-te Uno8.3 ἀλειφαται?)
¹⁰⁷ ku-ga-to-ro-pa ₂ ?	817, Ero2.8		??
¹⁰⁸ do-e-ro / -i / -jo	Eb24 / Aco7 / Fno2.11 / 912.b2	δόλος / -οι / -οις / -οιο	bondman
¹⁰⁹ a-ke-ro	Eao3 / Vno3.1	ἀγγίλος / -οι	messenger
¹¹⁰ wa-to	902.3, Thebes <i>passim</i>	†φαστός	citizen?
¹¹¹ ge-re-me-ti-wo / re!	An24.6 / Cno9.3		??
¹¹² po-ro-ge-re-je-wo	822		(προ- + the stem of the preceding?)
¹¹³ o-pi-go ₂ -ko	Jno9.2	†όπιγῶσσοι	= ἐπιβουκόλοι?
¹¹⁴ o-da ₂ -ru-wo / wo	902.6 / 910.1		(δρυφ—'wood'?)
¹¹⁵ o-da ₂ -ru-wei-jo / -ja	902.2, Thebes I / 982.1		
¹¹⁶ ai-ki-a ₂ -ri-jo	Fno2.4	αἰγιάλοι	longshoremen
¹¹⁷ e-pi-ue-ti-ri-jo	Eao6	†ἐπιήτριος	Cf. Hom. ἐπήτριμος 'close-woven', and Hesych. ἐπήτριος λόγιος, παροῦργος

The following are used to qualify other names of professions:

¹¹⁷ wa-na-ka-te-ro / ra	Eno2.5 / 525	†φανάκτηρος / -α	king's
¹¹⁸ ya-wo-ke-si-jo / -jo	Eao9 / Ea25	†ἀργάκτηρος / -οιο	commander's
¹¹⁹ po-ti-ni-ja-ue-jo / -jo	Epo4.14 / Jno1.14 / Eqo1.5	†ποτινιακός / -οι / -οιο	of the Magna Mater?

2. Nouns in -ta

¹²⁰ ra-ua-ke-ta	Un11.10	λαργάκτης	commander
¹²¹ ku-na-ke-ta-i	Na56.2	κυνάκτης	huntsmen
¹²² ai-ki-pa-ta	Aco3	†αἰγιάκτης	goatherd
¹²³ te-re-ta / -o	Eoo2.5 / Eno2.2 / Ero1.5	†τ-τάς / -ται / -τάων	overseer?
¹²⁴ e-re-ta	An12.1	ἑρέται	oarsmen
¹²⁵ e-ge-ta / -i	Eb32 / An42.3	ἐγεταί / -ταις	followers (adjective e-ge-ti-ja 571 ἐγεταῖς)
¹²⁶ ki-ti-ta	An19.4	κίται	inhabitants
¹²⁷ me-ta-ki-ti-ta	An19.5	†μετακίται = μέτοικοι, περικίται	
¹²⁸ pe-(re)-ga-ta	An16.12 / Eoo6.4	†περισγῶγῆς / -τα	} old man
¹²⁹ pe-re-ku-ta	An25.2	†περισγῆς	
¹³⁰ po-ku-ta	An26.7		?? (adjective po-ku-te-ro 911.6)
¹³¹ mi-ka-ta	Ano4 / An18.3	†μικάτης / -ται	??
¹³² ue-re-ka-ra-ta	Ano8.3		(cf. ἐργαλῆιον?)
¹³³ te-pa ₂ -ta	An19.15		??
¹³⁴ o-pi- / ti-ni-ja-ta	Ebo6 / Fno6.3	οπι- / τινιάτης	(θω- 'shore'?)

3. Nouns in -a

¹³⁵ do-e-ra	Eb27 / Aco8	δοῦλα / -αι	bondwoman
¹³⁶ i-je-re-ja	Eb10.1 / Aco8, Epo3.7	ἱρεα / -ας	pricesters
¹³⁷ do-ge-ja	An42	†δόργεια / -αι	(δόργος? δόργω? δόργω?)
¹³⁸ ki-ri-te-wei-ja / -i	Eb21 / 777.1	†κριτηρία / -ας	??

The following are masculine in sense:

¹³⁹ pa ₂ ?-si-re-wei-ja	Fno2.1	†βασιληρία	palace workers?
¹⁴⁰ i-na-ni-ja	Aco2		(or an ethnic?)
¹⁴¹ ke-ro-si-ja	An22.7 / r5	†γερονσίας / -αι	page?

Feminine agent nouns:

¹⁴⁸ ra-pi-ti-ra ₂	Ab09	†ράπτραι or ράπτραι	seamstresses
¹⁴⁹ ra-gi?-ti-ra ₂	Ab18		(cf. ράπτρα 'harvesting pole'?)
¹⁴⁸ pe-ki-ti-ra ₂	Ab16	πάτραι or πάτραι	wool-carders
¹⁴⁵ me-re-ti-ra ₂ -o / -ti-ri-ja	Ad05 / Aa01	†μελετριῶν / μελτραι	??
¹⁴⁶ a-ke-ti-ra ₂ / -o	Aa16 / Ad04	ἀγήτραι? ἀάστραι? †ἀγίτραι? / τερῶν	??
¹⁴⁶ a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i	Fno1.15, Myc. 101.10	-τραις	(dat. plur.)

4. Nouns in -e-u

¹⁴⁷ ka-ke-u / we / u-si	An42.6 / Jn01.1 / An15.7	χαλκός / -ήρες / -ῶσι	smith
¹⁴⁸ i-je / e-re-u	En04.7 / En03.16	ιερός	priest
¹⁴⁹ ka-na-pe-u / wo	En03.3 / Eb26.2	καπτός / -ήρος	fuller
¹⁴⁹ ke-ra-me-we / wo	An26.5 / Ea24.1	καρσιήρες / -ήρων	pottery
¹⁴⁹ ka-ma-e-u / we	Eb24.1 / Ep03.7 / Eb33.1	καμῶν? χαμῶν?	agricultural worker? καμῶν < κάμνω?
			Or cf. Hesychius: Cretan κάμω: τὸν ὄργανον (Huxley)
¹⁴² wo-pe-we	Cn14.2	†ρονήρι	wine dealer?
¹⁴³ pe-re-ke-we	Ad19, Myc. 130	†πλῆκτες	= πλῆκτις?
¹⁴⁴ pa?-si-re-u	Kn01.20	βασίλειος	??
¹⁴⁵ te-re-te-we	An42.4		??
¹⁴⁶ e-ro-pa-ke-u	0493.2		(Idafo- 'deer'? ἰδαφο- 'fish'? ὄριος
¹⁴⁶ e-ro-pa-ke-ta	Myc. 101.9 }		'net'?)
¹⁴⁷ e-sa-re-u / we	Na55.2 / 1517.11		??
¹⁴⁸ we-te-re-u	Eb32.2	†ρεστρός	(Dor. ῥέστρα 'clothes'?)
¹⁴⁹ ki-ri-se-we	An08.2	†χρηστῆς	anointers?
¹⁴⁹ ma-ra-te-u / we	An29.15 / Na67.2		(μάρσων 'fennel')
¹⁴⁹ tu-ra-te-u / we / u-si	Ae01 / 755 / Gno1.3		(τύρος? στύλος? θύρα?)
¹⁴⁹ ku-re-we	An43.14		(σῶλος?)
¹⁴⁹ o-pi-te-u-ke-we	798.10	†οπιτευχός / -ήρες	(ὄπι + τευχος- 'harness? rigging?
¹⁴⁹ o-pi-te-(u)-ke-e-u / we	Un03.2 / An18.4 }		vessel?')
¹⁴⁹ o-pi-ka-pe-e-u	Jn09.2	ὀπισκαφεῖς = ἐπισκαφεῖς	harrowers

For the declension, compare:

¹⁴³ ka-ra-we	694.2	γράφες	describing WOMEN ideogram
¹⁴³ o-pi-fo-re-we	160.11	ἀμφιφορήρες	describing two-handed JARS

5. Agent Nouns in -te / -te-re

¹⁴⁷ i-ja-te	Eq02.9	ἰατήρ	physician
¹⁴⁸ ra-pte / -re	Ea14 / An09.1	†ραπτῆρ / -τήρες	tailor
¹⁴⁹ o-na-te-re	En02.11	†ονατήρες	tenants, beneficiaries?
¹⁴⁹ pi-ri-je-te-re pi-ri-s-te-si	An26.3 / An30.10	†ριετήρες / -τήροι	πρία 'saw'? ῥίριω / ῥιμι; cf. Boisacq
			cf. φρήσω? Not πρίασθαι 'buy
			(φρι). Pi-ri-je-te SWORD tablet 1548
			is perhaps the aorist passive rather
			than the singular noun
¹⁷¹ la-te-re	An13.1	στατήρες	??
¹⁷² a-de-te-re	An26.4	-τήρες	??
??-te-re	Na57, 159.4	-τήρες	??
??-te-re	101	-τήρες	??
¹⁷² go ₂ -ra-te	Ae03		(Cf. go ₂ -ra-te, same line, the correspond-
			ing future or aorist?)
¹⁷⁴ ko-re-te / -re	Jn09.4 / Jn09.1		(χωρέω? [ἐπι]κουρέω? κολλῶ? κορή-
			νυμι?)
¹⁷⁵ po-ro-ko-re-te / -re	Jn09.4 / Jn09.2		(προ- = 'subordinate'? Cf. προβοσ-
			κός)

For the declension, compare:

¹⁷⁸ tu-ka-te-re	Myc. 106.2	θυγατήρες	daughters
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6. Other Consonant Stems

¹⁷⁷ po-me / -ne	Ae04 / Ea19	ποιμήν / -ναι	shepherd
¹⁷⁸ te-ko-to-ne	826.2	τέκτονες	carpenters
¹⁷⁹ te-ko-to-a-pe	An24.1 }	τέκτων ἀπτε-	? Or ἀπτε 'was absent'?
¹⁷⁹ te-ko-to-na-pe	An20.7 }		
¹⁸⁰ me-? ?-ne	Fno2.4		nom. plur. ??
¹⁸¹ da ₂ -ma / -te	An16.3 / Jn09.1	δάμαρ / -τις	Scems generally to be masculine, pre-
			sumably in the original sense of 'qui
			administre la maison' * δαμ- apt-,
			Boisacq s.v.
¹⁸² po-ro-da ₂ -ma-te	Fno2.7	†προ- δάμαρτες	
¹⁸³ po-ro-da ₂ -ma-te	An18.11	†πολυ-δάμαρτες	(= πολλο-?)
¹⁸⁴ me-ri-da / da ₂ -ma-te	An18.2/8	†μελλυ-δάμαρτες	
¹⁸⁵ ka-ru-ke	Fno1.5	κάρναι	herald
¹⁸⁶ ku-na-ka / -te	Na58 / Un03.1	ῥάνας / -κτε	king

§ 9. VERBAL FORMS

(a) The Verb 'to have'

The Pylos tablets Jn01-08 all show an identical division into two sections. The first part consists of a list of men's names, each of which is followed by an amount (measured by weight, Bennett, *AJA* LIV (1950), pp. 211 ff.) of a commodity finally totalled with the words *to-so-de ka-ko* τὸσσόδε χαλκός. In the second part, more men's names are listed in a continuous sentence, with no commodity attached to them.

It is the phrases which introduce the two sections which are of great interest. Omitting the variable tablet heading (probably a local place-name), the first reads¹⁸⁷:

the second: *Ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te:*
To-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we:

Ka-ke-we is the plural of the occupational name *ka-ke-u* χαλκεύς (§ 8). The unusual prefixed *a-* and the ending *-jo* of *a-ta-ra-si-jo* evidently show some grammatical modification of *ta-ra-si-ja*; and it is precisely in Greek that we find 'those who have' expressed by ἔχοντες + accusative, 'those who have not' by an adjective combining ἀ- privative with transfer to the -ος declension:

- (1) χαλκῆφες †ταλασίαν ἔχοντες
(2) τοσσοῖδε †ἀταλάσιοι χαλκῆφες

What is this ταλασία, whose possession entitles the first smiths to an entry of so much BRONZE each, and whose absence relegates the second group to a mere listing by name? Björck and Chadwick both independently suggested that ταλασία = τάλαντον 'that which is weighed out or apportioned to one'. The semantic development shown by the classical ταλασία 'wool-spinning' is exactly paralleled by the Latin *pensum*.§

Jno1 also lists the *do-e-ro* δόελοι belonging to some of the smiths, and refers to a subsidiary category of *ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* χαλκῆφες †ποτινιαφεῖοι. The last item of BRONZE on Jno4.7 is introduced, not by a man's name, but by:

to-so-de e-pi-(de)-da-to ka-ko pa-si: BRONZE $\frac{5}{8}$ unit.

'So much bronze was shared among them all?' (Cf. Vno1.1).

The two other occurrences of *e-ko-te* fit a plural participle equally well: Sno1.12 *ko-to-na e-ko-te* 'those who have κτοίνανς', introducing four names (cf. *a-ko-to-no* †ἀκτοῖνοι in a similar context on An29.9); and Eb33:

ka-ma-e-we o-na-ta e-ko-te ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o wo-z?-o-le:
†κμαῖφες †δυνᾶτα ἔχοντες †κεκειμένῶν κτοινᾶων, †φόρζοντες ΠΥΡΟΣ 30 $\frac{1}{8}$

'The farmers (?) who have the leases (? from δύνημι) of the fixed portions of land, and work them.' Compare the corresponding nom. sing. on Eb38.2¹⁸⁸ *ka-ma-e-u wo-z?o* κμαεύς φόρζων, and the dat. sing. on Ep03.5 *pa-ro ka-ma-e-we wo-z?o-te* παρὸ κμαῖφει φόρζοντε. This verb (3rd sing. *wo-z?e* Ep03.7 †φόρζει) is evidently a typical activity of κμαῖφες. From *φάρζω < *wṛgīō parallel to *φράζω > ῥέζω? Cf. *γᾱ-φοργός > γεωργός.

The 106 Pylos tablets Ea01-Eq03 are entirely devoted to a record of such *o-na-ta* held by various individuals, and of the *pe-mo* / *pe-ma* σπέρμα? appropriate to each. In the most typical entry it is the 3rd singular of the verb 'to have' *e-ke* ἔχει, sometimes reinforced by an apparently almost meaningless enclitic *e-ke-ge* ἔχει κῳε, which is the recurrent form:

Ep02.9 *I-do-me-ne-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo, to-so pe-mo:* GRAIN $\frac{2}{3}$ unit
†δομένεια, θεοιο δοῖλα, †δυνᾶτον ἔχει †κεκειμένῳς κτοίνῳς παρὸ δᾶμο, τόσσον σπέρμο ΠΥΡΟΣ $\frac{2}{3}$

'Idomeneia, servant of the god, has the lease of a fixed portion of ground on the community's land. So much sowing: $\frac{2}{3}$ unit of grain.'

In the introductory phrases on En02, En03 the individuals are referred to collectively as¹⁸⁹ *o-na-te-re* †δυνᾶτῆρες 'tenants?', and they govern the 3rd person plural of the verb 'to have' *e-ko-si* ἔχονσι. The word *o-da-a₂* is baffling, but appears from the context to be a conjunction like Latin *item* or αὐτάρ.

En02.1 *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te:* DA 40
2 *to-so-de te-re-ta e-ne-si:* MEN 14
3 *WA-NA-TA-JO-JO KO-TO-NA KI-TI-ME-NA, TO-SO-DE PE-MO:* GRAIN 2 $\frac{1}{8}$
4 *o-da-a₂ o-na-te-re e-ko-si* Wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na:
5 *A-TU-KO e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro, o-na-to e-ke, (to-so)-de pe-mo:* GRAIN $\frac{1}{8}$
etc., etc.

1 Σφαγιανία τόσσα †δυνᾶτῆρ
2 τοσσοῖδε †τελεισται ἐνένοι [= ἐνεσι]. ΔΑ 40 ('corn land'?)
3 Φαρναταῖοιο κτοῖναι κτίμεναι, τοσσόνδε σπέρμο. ANEΠΕΣ 14
4 ? = αὐτάρ †δυνᾶτῆρες ἔχονσι Φαρναταῖοιο κτοίνανς. ΠΥΡΟΣ 2 $\frac{1}{8}$
5 Ἀτυχος, †ἐντεσδόμος †φανάκτερος, †δυνᾶτον ἔχει, τοσσόνδε σπέρμο. ΠΥΡΟΣ $\frac{1}{8}$

Compare the paraphrase on E001.2 ff.:

A-TU-KO e-te-do-mo e-ke-ge o-na-to pa-ro Wa-na-ta-jo: GRAIN $\frac{1}{8}$
Ἀτυχος †ἐντεσδόμος ἔχει κῳε †δυνᾶτον παρὸ Φαρναταῖω ΠΥΡΟΣ $\frac{1}{8}$ ||

§ Cuneiform economic tablets, particularly those from Ur and Nuzi, suggest many useful context parallels. Compare the large series which record issues of Bronze to smiths for making various objects. For the phraseology, cf. the Sumerian tablet B.M. 18344 (CT III, Pls. 9f.): *gene-guraf te-ba dib-ba:* 'male and female serfs receiving barley wages'; / *gene-guraf te-ba nu-dib-ba:* 'serfs not receiving barley wages'.

|| A similar context is seen on contemporary Nuzi tablets (e.g. AASOR XVI (1935-36) No. 87): '5 *šer* of BARLEY, given to Kipali for sowing on 5 *šer* of land belonging to Uzna; the lands of Uzna are for 'partnership', and Kipali shall not dispose of them.' At Pylos, too, the acreages are presumably proportional to the amounts of seed.

²⁰⁰*ke-ke-me-na* and ²⁰¹*ki-ti-me-na* are probably synonymous, presumably in the sense of 'established' common to ?*κεῖμαι* (Cf. Skt reduplicated perfect *ῥιγε*) and *κρίζω*. Not 'fallow / cultivated'? An interesting tablet, dealing in large quantities of GRAIN, is ERO1, with its suggestion of two offices *ῥάναξ* and *λαῖῤαγέταξ*:

(a) † <i>φανώκετον τέμενος, τόσσοιο σπέρμα</i>	ΠΥΡΟΙΟ	30
(b) <i>λαῖῤαγέσιον τέμενος</i>	ΠΥΡΟΙΟ	10
(c) ? <i>τελεστών τόσσον σπέρμα</i>	ΠΥΡΟΣ	30
(d) <i>τόσσοιδε τελεσται</i>	ΑΝΕΡΕΣ	3
(e) <i>Wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ἑρῆμος, τόσσοιο σπέρμα</i>	ΠΥΡΟΙΟ	6

te-me-no conforms exactly to the original meaning 'area of cornland reserved for a chief'.

On Eb35, which contains the longest continuous Mycenaean sentence yet found, we see the present infinitive of 'to have', *ἔχεν*, the spelling confirming the derivation of the infinitive ending from *-*esen*:

- 1 *i-je-re-ja e-ke-ge e-u-ke-to-ge e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o*
 2 *ko-to-no-o-ko-de ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-ta e-ke-e:*
 1 *ἱέρεια ἔχει κ^{we}ε εὐχετό κ^{we}ε e-to-ni-jo ἔχεν θεῶ,*
 2 †*κτοينوόχῳ δὲ κτοινῶων ?κεκειμενῶων †δυνῆτα ἔχεν* ΠΥΡΟΣ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

As on An42, we find two halves of the formula contrasted by the particle *-de*. There is evidently a parallelism between the words *e-to-ni-jo* and *o-na-ta* (cf. Ep03.14) but the exact interpretation of this sentence must remain uncertain.

(b) Other Active Participles

Other evidence for these masculine qualifiers in *-o*, plur. *-o-te* which we regard as participles is provided by Knossos 823:

- ¹⁸⁹*ta-pe-o-o-te* MEN 10; ¹⁹⁰*a-pe-o-te* MEN 4
 ταρπέοντες?? ἀπεόντες

Or †*τάρφα ἰόντες* 'crowded round', from *ταρφέες* as *θάμα* from *θαμέες*? Note the singular *a-pe-o* An20.6 *τοιχοδόμος ἀπεών*; and the corresponding indicatives *a-pe-e-si* 'are absent' Xn86, *e-ne-e-si* 'are in' Eno2.3, and *po-si e-e-si* 'are attached' 0422.2.

Other participles are ¹⁹¹*e-o* Ep04.11 *κτοينوόχος ἑών*; ¹⁹²*pe-re-wo-te* Nao8 *πλέφοντες?*; ¹⁹³*e-qo-te* An32.11 *ἔκ^wοντες* 'engaged in?'; ¹⁹⁴*a-ke-ra₂-te* Vno3.1 *ἀγγέιλαντες? ἀγείραντες?*; and ¹⁹⁵*o-pe-ro-te* An29.1 *ὀφέλλοντες* 'owing?'; 'increasing?', of which *o-pe-ro-sa-de* Eb20.2 appears to be the fem. sing. *ὀφέλλονσα δέ*.

Future participles appear in the introduction to some lists of MEN to indicate the jobs assigned to them:

An14: ¹⁹⁶*to-ko-do-mo de-me-o-te* *τοιχοδόμοι δεμένοντες* 'masons for building work'.

An12: ¹⁹⁷*e-re-ta Pe-re-a-ro-na-de i-jo-te* *ἑρέτα Πλευρώναδε ἰόντες*, 'oarsmen to go to Pleuron', Homeric city in Aetolia (Κατάλογος Νεῶν B 639). Cf. the singular *i-jo ἰών* 1523.4-5 (but a man's name on Myc. 102.1).

(c) Medio-passive Participles

Kober was the first to suggest (letter 1.4.48) that the endings *-me-no* / *-me-na* which occur in four sets of words on the Knossos CHARIOT and WHEEL tablets are verbal forms, perhaps containing references to workmanship such as one may expect in long phrases dealing with manufactured articles. The new Pylos evidence (e.g. *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*, *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*, *ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o*) confirms the presence of a regular grammatical ending, but indicates that the forms in *-me-no* / *-me-na* are adjectives showing the same gender mechanism as the other words in *-o* / *-a* discussed in § 6. Both views can be reconciled by assuming that they are medio-passive participles, for which our transliteration offers an analogy in Greek (*-όμενος, -μένος*) as well as in Phrygian (e.g. *επιττετικμένος*).

Many of them show a reduplicated consonant suggesting a perfect stem, e.g. ²⁰⁰*ke-ke-me-na*, ²⁰²*de-do-me-na* 0440 *δεδομένα*, ²⁰³*de-de-me-no* Sao3 'bound', *ge-qi?-no-me-no* Vao2 (applied to a kind of ivory?); and on the CHARIOT tablets from Knossos, ²⁰⁴*me-ta-ke-ku-me-na* (whatever its transliteration and meaning) and ²⁰⁶*a-(ra)-ro-mo-te-me-no* / *na*, which for all the uncouthness of its Attic reduplication (cf. Hom. *ἀκαχμένος* etc.) may represent a perfect participle from the stem of *ἀρμόζω* / *ἀρμάτ-* 'with joinery work complete'. Compare *a-na-mo-to* *ἀνάρμοστο-* on the tablets (0421 etc.) which show only the bare outline of the chariot frame, *a-mo-te* 0442 *ἀρμόσθη?*, *a-mo-ta* 0435 ff. *ἀρμοστα?*, and *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* †*ἀρμοστειώναδε* or *ἀρμαστειώναδε* 'to the chariot workshop' (cf. *χαλκῶν*, etc.) as the destination of 'axles' on Vno6.

An analysis of the long formulae of the Knossos CHARIOT tablets reveals a syntax broken up into a number of short phrases, like those of an auctioneer's catalogue. On most of them, the

second line of text is to be read first. The following translations of three typical formulae must be extremely tentative:

- 0405.1 *wi-ri-ni-jo o-ro-go, ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi, o-u-ge ple-no:*
 2 *I-QI?-JA ro-ni-ki-ja a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na, a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi,*
 2 *ἰκῶται φοινικία ἄραρμοσμένοι, ἀραρυία ἀνιάφι,*
 1 *ῥιρινιός ὄμπροκ' κεραίαφι ἰππιάφι, οὐκ' ἔπτερο*

'Horse-(chariots), painted crimson and with joinery work complete, supplied with reins. The rail (?) is of fig-wood, with fittings (?) of horn, and there is (-no?) "heel?"

For the 'rail' (related in meaning if not in form to *ἀντυξ* / *ἄμπυξ*?) cf. Iliad Φ 37-38: ὁ δ' ἐρινεὸν ὀξεί χαλκῷ τάμινε νέους ὀρηκτας, ἴν' ἄρματος ἀντυγες εἰεν. The adjective is also spelt *wi-ri-ne-o* 0428 *ῥιρινεός*, *wi-ri-ne-jo* *ῥιρινειός* 0417 (cf. *χρύσεος* / *χρύσειος* / Aeolic *χρύσιος*), and is replaced on 0403, by *e-re-pa-te-jo* *ἐλεφάντειος* 'of ivory'. *Ke-ra-ja-pi* (... *-ra-i-ja-pi* 0483.1) 'of horn' is similarly replaced on 0481 by *ka-ke-ja-pi* *χαλκείαφι* 'of bronze'.

- 0422.1 *o-u-ge pe-pa?-jo u-ro:*
 2 *I-QI?-JA a-ro-mo-te-me-na, o-u-ge a-ni-ja ro-si e-e-si*
 2 *ἰκῶται ἄρμωσμένοι, οὐκ' ἔνιαι ποσί ἐενσι,*
 1 *οὐκ' ἐ ὕπο*

'Chariots with joinery work complete. And there are (-no?) reins to them, and (-no?) . . . under.'

- 0404.1 *do-we-jo i-go-e-ge, wi-ri-ni-jo o-ro-go, ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi*
 2 *I-QI?-JA Ku-do-ni-ja mi-to-we-sa-e a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*
 2 *ἰκῶται Κυδωνίης ἰμiltόφεσσαι ἄραρμοσμένοι*
 1 *δῶρριος ἰκῶ ῥιρινιός ὄμπροκ' κεραίαφι ἰππιάφι:*

'Chariots of Kydonia, painted red and with joinery work complete. The horse . . . is of wood (= *δούρειος*; or 'of oak?'), and the rail (?) of fig-wood with fittings (?) of horn.' For *i-go-*, 'horse' cf. *e-ne-ka i-go-jo* Eq03.5. With the alternation of *φοινικία* and *ἰμiltόφεσσαι*, compare the Homeric epithets of ships *φοινικοπάρειοι* / *ἰμiltοπάρειοι*.

The perfect participle *a-ra-ru-ja* forms its neuter *a-ra-ru-wo-a* 1541-54 *ἀραρφά* (see § 10, Morphology). Other medio-passive participles may include ²⁰⁷*qi-jo-me-no* Uno3.1 = *τιόμενο-?*; ²⁰⁸*re-go-me-no* 1517.1 = *λειπόμενοι* (cf. *o-pi-ro-go* Ab15 = *ἐπιλοιποί*); ²⁰⁹*to-ro-ge-jo-me-no* Eq01.1 = *τροπτόμενο-??*. A telling example, disturbed only by the lack of *f*-shared in the Homeric metre, is Ae04²¹⁰:

- KE-RO-WO, ro-me A-si-ja-ti-ja o-pi Ta-ra-ma-ta-o ge-to-ro-ro-pi o-ro-me-no: MAN* 1
K., ποιμήν Ἀσιατίης ἰππὶ Θαλαμάτῳ κ' ἐτρόπο[δ]φι ὀρόμενος

'K., a shepherd of the place A., looking after the animals of T.' Cf. Odyssey ξ 103-104:

*ἐνθάδε δ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν ἑνδεκα πάντα
 ἑσχατιῇ βόσκοντ', ἐπὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἑσθλοὶ ὄρονται.*

On the parallel tablet Ae05 *ro-me* is replaced by *ai-ki-pa-ta* 'goatherd'. The place-name recurs on Cnog (*A-si-ja-ti-ja ta-to-mo*) Ἀσιατίης σταθμός introducing a list of ninety-two sheep.

Two obscure participles show an ending in *-so-me-no* / *-na* (futures?): *z?e-so-me-no* Uno8.4, and Myc. 106 ²¹²*pa-we-a₂ e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* (MV: *φάρφρα εὖ ἐψησόμενα* 'cloths which are to be well boiled'?!).

(d) Indicative Forms

We have already discussed the indicatives ²¹³*e-ke* 'has' and its plural *e-ko-si*. A serious problem is presented by a number of words which show a distinct prefix in *o-*, *o-u-* or *jo-*. From their context they can all be identified as indicative forms, but the prefixes cannot yet be very satisfactorily explained.

The meaning of *o-u-* is probably the same as that shown by the conjunction *o-u-ge*. But we are not absolutely certain that this represents *οὔτε* 'and not' rather than 'in addition' (*αὐτε?*): is the phrase *e-ke o-u-ge wo-z?e* Ep03.7 *ἔχει οὐκ' ἔφορζει* meant to be synonymous with *ka-ma-e-u e-ke-ge wo-z?e-ge* Ep04.13 *ἱκμαεύς ἔχει κ' ἔφορζει κ' ἔ* or, as the spelling would suggest, its exact opposite?

Again, on the Ma tablets (which record exactly proportional contributions of various unidentified substances, divided under three accountants' headings) we can see a contrast between ²¹⁴*o-da-a₂ ka-ke-we o-u- di-do-si*: *χαλκῆφες οὐ δίδονσι* 'and the smiths do not (?) contribute.' (Ma01.2) and *o-da-a₂ ka-ke-we a₂le-ro we-to di-do-si*: *χαλκῆφες ἄτερον φέτος δίδονσι*: 'and the smiths contribute next (?) year.' (Ma13.2). Compare also Ngo2: *to-sa-de o-u- di-do-to*: *τοσσαδέ οὐ δίδοντο*. The other two regular entries of the Ma tablets are *a-pu-do-si*: *ἀπύδοσις* 'payment, repayment?' and *pe-ru-si-nu* / *-wo* / *-wa o-pe-ro*: *ἱπερυσινφόν ὀφελος* 'last year's debt (or surplus?)'.

Equally problematic is the prefixing of *o-* on *Sn* in the phrase ²¹⁸*to-to we-to o- a-ke-re-se*: τῶτο φέτος ὁ ἀγρησε? 'what he took (or will take?) this year?' which alternates with *o-u-ge a-ke-re-se*: οὐκ^{we} ἀγρησε. Both forms occur together in line 7: *Pe-ri-me-de-o i-?? Po-so-ri-jo-no Te-ra-ni-ja a-ke-re-se to-to-we-to o- a-ke-re-se*: which if it means ἀγρησε τῶτο φέτος ὁ ἀγρησε seems long-winded to say the least.

The same construction occurs in the unparalleled initial *o-o-* on *Nno*1.1 ²¹⁶*o- o-pe-ro-si ri-no o-pe-ro*: ὁ ὀφέλλονσι λίνον (φρινόνες?), ὀφέλος 'the debt (or surplus?) of linen (or hides?)': and in *Vno*6.1 ²¹⁷*o- di-do-si da₂-ru-to-mo a-mo-te-jo-na-de*: ὁ δίδονσι δρυτόμοι ἱάρματτειώναδε 'which the woodcutters contribute, to the chariot workshop' (*a-ko-so-ne* ἄξονες 'axles' and *e-pi-pu-ta* ἐπίφυτα 'saplings?').

Further examples are the three parallel aorists *Pno*1.1 ²¹⁸*o- de-ka-sa-to A-ko-so-ta* 'which A. has received'; *Ego*1.1 ²¹⁹*o- wi-de A-ko-so-ta* 'which A. has seen'; and *Uno*8.1 ²²⁰*o- do-ke A-ko-so-ta* 'which A. has given'. Also *Eb*20.2:

- 1 *Ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-[ro]-ja-pi e-ke-ge* *to-so-de pe-mo*:
- 2 *ke-ke-me-no ko-to-[no] wo-wo o-pe-ro-sa-de wo-z²o-e o- wo-z²e*:
- 1 Καπαθία, κλαριφόρος [Σφαγ]ιδίφι, ἔχει κ^{we} τοσσόνδε σπέρμο
- 2 ?κεκειμένο- κτοί[νο-] φόρφος, ὀφέλλονσα δέ ?φόρροι ὁ φόρρει

The meaning is very uncertain. *Ko-to-no* (which recurs on *Ebo*1) is probably a genitive, since all the other occurrences of *wo-wo φόρφος* and of its plural *wo-wi-ja* (= ὄρια) are preceded by a genitive. Unless it represents χθονός, *ko-to-no* is hard to reconcile with any part of the classical declension of κτοίνῃ. A gen. dual. fem. in -οιν, dating from before the analogical creation of -αιν? For the construction with ὄρος, cf. ῥεῖθρον ἡπείρου ὄρον Aesch. Pr. 790.

In Linear *B* the syllable *jo* (like *ja* and *je*) is almost non-existent as an initial, as it should be in Greek. But it occurs prefixed to three Pylos words ending in -*si*, which are probably 3rd person plurals. They all occur as the first word on their tablets, and the anomalous prefix seems in some way related to the use of *o-* (proclitic ὡς < *j^oως 'as'? Cf. Boisacq s.v. ὡς I and IV; and note *jo-A-mi-ni-so-de* 0467.1 ὡς Ἀμνισόνδε?):

(1) BRONZE tablet *Jn*09.1²²¹

- 1 *jo-do-so-si ko-re-te-re da₂-ma-te-ge*
- 2 *po-ro-ko-re-te-re-ge ka-ra-wi-po-ro-ge o-pi-ge₂-ko-ge o-pi-ka-pe-e-ke-ge*
- 3 *ka-ko na-wi-jo pa-ta-jo-i-ge e-ke-ri-ge ai-ka-sa-ma*:
- 4 *Pi-??: ko-re-te: BRONZE 3²6 po-ro-ko-re-te: BRONZE 12²6*
etc., etc.
- 1 ?ὡς δώσονσι ἱκορεστήρες δάμαρτές κ^{we}
- 2 ἱπροκορεστήρες κ^{we} κλαριφόροι κ^{we} ?όπιγ^{we} οὐκοί κ^{we} όπισκαφετήρες κ^{we}
- 3 χαλκὸν νῆριον, σπαθαίοις κ^{we} ἐγχέσαι κ^{we} αἰξμάνας

'How the (representatives of the various groups in the different villages) will contribute bronze for ships' fittings, and the points (IE **aiḱsmā*- Boisacq s.v. αἰχμή) for halberds (?) and spears:'

(2) CATTLE? tablet *Cn*22.1²²²

jo- i-je-si ?ὡς λένσι 'how they send'

(3) PIG tablet *Cn*02.1²²³

- 1 *jo- a-se-so-si si-a₂-ro o-pi-da-mi-jo*:
- 3 *Pi-??:* PIGS 3
etc., etc.
ὡς ῥέσθονσι σιάλons όπιδαμίons

'How they will send (??) domestic (local, native?) pigs:'

§ 10. THE POSITION OF THE MYCENAEAN DIALECT

The general reasons for believing the Linear *B* tablets to be written in some form of Greek have been outlined above. If the experimental phonetic values are approximately correct, they provide evidence for a more detailed identification, and enable us to assign the idiom to a specific dialect position. It has long been established that before the Doric invasion an 'Achaean' population must have inhabited the Peloponnese and the southern islands, and it is believed that the classical dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus afford a clue to the nature of their speech. Although some familiar Arcado-Cyprian peculiarities (which may well be later developments) are absent, the general features of our Mycenaean dialect contain nothing which conflicts with this theory.

1. *Phonology*

The vowel system is primitive, and agrees with the earliest texts: $\bar{\alpha}$ is never changed to η , and contraction seems to be unknown. The genitives of masculine $-a$ -stems are in $-\bar{\alpha}o$, not in $-\alpha u$ as in Arcadian and Cyprian. The change of final $-o$ to $-u$ does not appear except in the preposition $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$, shared by Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic. There is some evidence of a change of $\bar{\alpha}$ to o in contact with ρ , a phenomenon also known in the Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian dialects: e.g. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}$ = $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}$, $\kappa^w\epsilon\tau\rho o$ = $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ - (cf. Thess. $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\sigma\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$), $\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ / $\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\mu o$. The Arcado-Cyprian change of ϵu to $i u$ does not appear ($-\mu\epsilon\nu o s$, etc.).

The most striking feature of the consonants is the use of separate signs to indicate the labio-velars. The exact interpretation of the signs in q - cannot be deduced, but their sounds presumably differed substantially from those of the series k - p - t -; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the labio-velars, which were certainly present in Common Greek, were actually retained in speech down to the 13th century B.C. This is assumed in the transcription, where the spellings κ^w , γ^w , χ^w , have been used. The original labio-velar still shows traces of differentiation before ϵ and i in 5th century Arcadian (spellings $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon$ and $\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ at Mantinea).

The loss of initial and intervocalic σ is amply attested. The lack of any sign for h (a feature shared by the Cypriot syllabary) does not necessarily indicate psilosis. The use of a separate series of signs for t - and for d - makes it possible to show that the Indo-European $*dh$ has already become voiceless: e.g. e - re - u - te - ro Na56 $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho o$ -; e - ru - ta - ra - pi 573 $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota$.

φ seems to be regularly retained in all positions, though it is possible that it is not written initially before ρ . The absence of φ from a few words where it was to be expected (e.g. $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\acute{o}\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu o s$) may be due to unexplained circumstances, but perhaps we shall have to revise our etymologies in these cases.

$-\tau\acute{\iota}$ regularly yields $-\sigma\acute{\iota}$: thus the 3rd person plural is in $-\sigma\acute{\iota}$. Unfortunately the spelling rules allow so much scope that it is impossible to tell if the form e - ko - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ corresponds to $\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$, $\epsilon\chi\omega\sigma\iota$, $\epsilon\chi\omicron\sigma\iota$, or even $\epsilon\chi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$. In default of direct evidence we have tentatively written these, and similar, forms with $-\nu\sigma$ -. The same sound change yields $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}$ from $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$.

2. *Morphology*

The pattern of noun declension discussed in §§ 7, 8 above closely corresponds with the Homeric forms, excluding the Ionicisms. Especially remarkable are the genitives of $-o$ -stems in $-\omicron\iota o$, only attested, outside the epic dialect, in some Thessalian inscriptions. The termination $-\phi\iota$ occurs several times, apparently with locative, comitative, or instrumental force. Consonant stems have a dative in $-e$, presumably to be interpreted as $-\epsilon\iota$. This is known in $\Delta\iota[\varphi]\epsilon\iota$ (also in compounds), and is probably the original IE dative, which was replaced generally in Greek by the ending $-i$ of locative origin. Traces of the latter can be seen in the datives $-\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon\iota$ $-\kappa\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota$ (§ 7.3), ko - re - te - ri Ono1.5, and possibly in some Mycenae forms in $-e$ - wi .

The 3rd person plural of the verb 'to be' has the form e - e - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota$, presumably from $*esenti$ with the initial e - extended from the other persons. This may be the original form displaced by the curious Homeric $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ (Iliad H73, etc.), in which the termination $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ appears to be extended from the perfect.

The infinitive of thematic verbs is exemplified by e - ke - e $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\nu$. This is another form unparalleled in classical inscriptions, though the common type in $-\epsilon\iota\nu$ or $-\eta\nu$ is agreed to be the result of a contraction $\epsilon + \epsilon\nu$. Arcadian usually prefers the infinitive in $-\epsilon\nu$; the Cyprian forms are ambiguous.

The oblique stems of the comparative and of the perfect participle active retain the common IE forms with $*-s-$, and do not show the $-v$ - and $-\tau$ - characteristic of later Greek:

IE.	Greek.	Sanskrit.	Latin.
*-joses	$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta o\iota s$ $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} o\epsilon s$	- $\acute{y}a\tilde{m}sa\tilde{h}$	*mag-joses > maiores
	} > - $\acute{\iota} o\upsilon s$ Att. - $\acute{\iota} o\upsilon s$		
*-teusa	$\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\phi\acute{o}\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\nu\chi\phi\acute{o}\alpha$	- $\acute{v}a\tilde{m}si$	—
	} > - $\acute{o}\tau\alpha$		

3. *Vocabulary*

Not least significant are the apparent omissions. There is no trace of the definite article. The connective $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (or $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) seems to be absent, the inherited enclitic $\kappa^w\epsilon$ alone being used: this particle seems to have a wider range of meaning than in classical Greek.

A number of words provisionally interpreted are additions to the known Greek vocabulary, but except where they are compounds their meanings are not at all clear. More interesting are the words which occur in new forms: e.g. $\delta\acute{o}\epsilon\lambda o s$ (= $\delta o\tilde{\upsilon} \lambda o s$), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau o\pi\acute{o}\kappa^w o s$ (thus confirming a suggested etymology of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau o\kappa\acute{o}\pi o s$), $\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\phi\acute{o} s$ (this may explain the Homeric lengthening of this suffix in $\acute{o}\pi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\phi\acute{o}$ Iliad E 5), $\mu\epsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ for $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho o s$ as the adjective from $\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi$. The frequent agent nouns in $-\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ (§ 8. 5), and especially $\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ for $\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o} s$, confirm the connexion with Homer and with Cyprian. $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{o} s$ and its derivatives show the forms with $-\epsilon$ - typical of East Greek. The

preposition $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$ is restricted to the Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian dialects. $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\iota$ is not directly attested elsewhere, but occurs with apocope $\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Arcadian and Cyprian. $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ is found occasionally on the tablets, but its place is more often taken by $\delta\pi\acute{\iota}$, not found as a simple preposition in later Greek, but surviving in $\delta\pi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ and $\delta\pi\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$. It is surprising that no certain example of $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ occurs; $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, on the other hand, is amply attested.

The form *Po-se-da-o* Ποσειδάων is the Homeric one; and suggests that the Corinthian Ποσειδάφονι is not original, but shows an extension of -f- perhaps on the analogy of Ποιάφων. Arcadian has an -o- diphthong in this name, Ποσοιδᾶνος (*cf.* Laconian Ποιοιδᾶν).

4. Conclusion

If our Greek transliteration is justified, it points inescapably to an archaic dialect of the 'Achaean' type; which is precisely what, on historical grounds, we should expect the inhabitants of Pylos and of Mycenae to have spoken. The name 'Achaean' has been used to denote a hypothetical ancestor of the Arcado-Cyprian and of the Aeolic dialects, and it therefore seems the most appropriate term to use for this new dialect. To show that it is the speech of the Ἀχαιοί of Homer, and not of the historical Achaea, it would perhaps be as well to follow the scholars who have referred to it as *Old Achaean*.

If this was the language of Nestor and of Agamemnon, then it was presumably also that of Demodokos and the poets of the time. Should we not conclude that the 'Aeolic' stratum, which so obviously underlies the text of Homer, is not the Aeolic of Lesbos but a much older Achaean form, which had already set the conventions of epic verse within the 2nd millennium B.C.?

Attention has been drawn to similarities, especially in vocabulary, between Cyprian and Homer; but to suppose two transpositions, first from Achaean to Aeolic, and then from Aeolic to Ionic, is stretching credulity rather far. If the original stratum was of this archaic Mycenaean type, many of the difficulties disappear. Certainly the similarities outlined above seem a powerful argument in favour of such a hypothesis. A demonstration and discussion of this theory must await a more complete knowledge of the dialect; but the suggestion will serve to show that the solution of the Minoan script will contribute to our understanding of the literature as well as of the history and religion of early Greece.

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HERODOTUS II, 28 ON THE SOURCES OF THE NILE

THE story of the sources of the Nile which Herodotus says the Scribe of the Sacred Treasures of Athene told him at Sais has been discussed many times, and nearly everything which can be said about it has been said. But the following points do not seem to have been made as yet.

The story that the sources or springs of the Nile are at Elephantine is absurd as it stands, as indeed Herodotus himself realised. Many suggestions have been put forward in explanation, primarily that the story is something theological or that it represents a very ancient tradition dating from the earliest times when the First Cataract was the Ultima Thule of Egypt.¹ The flaw in such an explanation is that 'from the earliest times' the Nile's course south of the Cataract had been well known to the Egyptians. Cemeteries have been found in Nubia of the Egyptian predynastic and early dynastic times, and certainly from the Old Kingdom onwards armies and trading expeditions were commonly accustomed to go far up to the south. It was, therefore, well known to the Egyptians throughout history that the Nile did not rise at the First Cataract, but came from much farther south.

However, in Pharaonic days the Egyptians did see a connexion between the First Cataract and the beginning of the Nile, or, better, the inundation. Thus, they spoke of the two caverns of the Nile (not mountains such as Herodotus' Krôphi and Môphi)² which they placed at Elephantine. For instance, in the time of Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B.C.) Nu mentions 'the two caverns of Elephantine at the gate of the Inundation-god'.³ Again, Seti (1313-1292 B.C.) says of a well which he dug successfully that 'the water inundated it in very great plenty like the two caves of Elephantine'.⁴

I would offer the suggestion that these caverns of the Egyptians, or sources of Herodotus, were placed at Elephantine in the First Cataract because that is where the Nile enters Egypt. The Egyptians thought of the Nile as divided into sections, as may be seen in the many sculptures which show the Nile-god, or rather the Inundation-god, of each nome bringing its products as an offering. Moreover, each nome gave a special name to a certain stretch of water, which was probably its own reach of the Nile.⁵ Thus, at Elephantine it was called *Qerti* 'The Two Caverns', at Koptos *Pa-rem* 'The Fish (-water)', at Memphis *Khet-n-bah* 'The Descent of the Inundation, or sim', and so on.⁶ But more important at the moment is the division, such as we get in a Ptolemaic papyrus, of the river into 'the Nile of Upper Egypt which is in Bigah' and 'the Nile of Lower Egypt which cometh forth from Heliopolis'.⁷ This, surely, gives the clue, for it is here said that the Nile of Upper Egypt begins at Bigah and the Nile of Lower Egypt starts at Heliopolis.⁸ Heliopolis is at the apex of the Delta near Cairo, and Bigah is one of the islands at the southern end of the First Cataract, and it, rather than Elephantine at the northern end, was sometimes considered as the frontier of Egypt.

While of course it is entirely untrue to say that the sources of the Nile are at Elephantine, it is, on the other hand, perfectly correct to say that the Nile enters Egypt at the First Cataract, either Elephantine at the northern end or Bigah at the southern end, and it is clear that this is how the Egyptians were accustomed to think of their river. Like other Egyptians the Scribe of the Sacred Treasury of Athene at Sais would, of course, have thought in these terms. His interests would have been confined to his own country's section of the river, and not only would he have been ignorant of the real sources of the Nile but also would never have concerned himself with them. Hence, no doubt, he would have told Herodotus that 'the Nile of Egypt (*i.e.* in Egypt as opposed to the Nile of (in) Nubia) begins at Elephantine', and it would never have occurred to him to

¹ For instance, Spiegelberg, *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt in the Light of the Egyptian Monuments*, p. 17.

² These two mountains no doubt originate in the cliffs of the eastern and western deserts between which the Cataract rushes.

³ Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (1898), Text, p. 380, ll. 4, 5, ch. cxlix. Cf. Translation, p. 272, which, however, differs in several minor respects from that given in note 8 *infra*.

⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* iii, § 171. In Ramesses II's time (1292-1225 B.C.) we have the bald statement 'The Nile floweth from his cavern', Gardiner in *Zeit. f. ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xlii, pp. 26, 39.

⁵ Generally so accepted, but Sir Alan Gardiner does not feel quite certain that the name was not that of the mooring-place of the sacred boat of each nome or possibly even a canal (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* ii, pp. 163, 164, 166). However, this is only in passing, for he is not discussing this problem, but the very complicated one of 'The Great River'.

⁶ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, v, p. 176; ii,

p. 39; iv, pp. 188, 192.

⁷ Sethe in *Zeit. f. ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xlv, p. 17. In Graeco-Roman times we again have mention of 'The Upper Egyptian Nile, the Father of the Gods, in Bigah', which is opposed to 'The Lower Egyptian Nile, the Father of the Gods', though the latter is given no locality (Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 61).

⁸ This division is not a late idea of Ptolemaic times, but without being so expressly stated goes back at least to the fourteenth century B.C. At that time it appears in Nu's statement just referred to. The whole passage reads: 'There is this serpent belonging to them in the Two Caverns (*qerti*) of Elephantine at the gate of the Inundation-god. He cometh with water; he riseth up at that district of Kher-aha with his company of gods; Head of the inundation.' Here we have Elephantine opposed to Kher-aha, which was a town a little up-river from Heliopolis and Cairo at the apex of the Delta.

emphasise, or enlarge upon, the words 'of Egypt' seeing that he was speaking of a thing of common interest and using an ordinary expression. Herodotus, however, being a foreigner, was no doubt unaware of the Egyptian point of view. Hence, he probably did not appreciate the importance of this qualification, but vaguely supposed that the information concerned the Nile in general, which was what he was enquiring about. This he would have been specially liable to do, as he would naturally have thought of the Nile as the Egyptian river.

From modern times there comes an interesting example of what may have befallen Herodotus and his native informant. Napoleon's general, Menou, had repaired the Nilometer, and the native authorities in Cairo wrote thanking him. In the letter the writer speaks of the life-giving properties of the river 'from the beginning of the river Nile, Shellal (*i.e.* the First Cataract) the excellent, to its ending between the two seas (the Nile and the Mediterranean) in the two harbours of Rosetta and Damietta'.⁹ Here the writer simply speaks of 'the beginning' (*mubdā*) and 'the ending' (*muntaha*) of the Nile, and this he does quite plainly. Yet the French translator stretches this into 'Chellal, où le Nil prend sa source'. Did not Herodotus fall into the same error?

Herodotus goes on to say that half the water flows over Egypt and to the north, half over Ethiopia and to the south. This is an astonishing statement, and Wiedemann (*Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 116) suggests that it is a misunderstanding of 'the Nile of Upper Egypt' and 'the Nile of Lower Egypt'. On the other hand, it seems likely to be only an expansion of a physical fact of which Herodotus had been told, just as his 'sources' of the Nile seem likely to have been an expansion of another piece of information.

A certain M. Chélu, Chief Engineer of the Egyptian Sudan, travelled all down the Nile making investigations about the stream. In 1891 he published his book with a detailed study of each feature as he came to it, the rapids, cataracts, their beds, giving sections, measurements of the extent of the fall of each, rapidity of the waters, etc., etc. Of the First Cataract he says 'Aux abords de la cataracte, les barques évitent de s'approcher de la rive gauche pour ne pas être saisies par un violent contre-courant qui les renverrait au Sud. Elles utilisent ce phénomène encore inexplicé lorsque, au lieu de descendre, elles remontent le Nil. Le contre-courant les mène jusque près de Kalabcheh'.¹⁰

Kalabsha is 31 miles (50 km.) south of Shellal, which latter lies at the southern end of the Cataract just opposite Bigah, so that a current of this power must have been an important feature of this part of the river. Yet it is curious that no other travellers whom I have been able to consult mention such a thing. Moreover, so good an authority on the Nile as Dr. H. E. Hurst, late of the Irrigation Service of the Egyptian Government, informs me that he has never heard of such a counter-current. But all the same, it seems hardly possible to dismiss entirely so very precise an account as that which M. Chélu gives, and his book is clearly an important one. Can it be that this violent counter-current only existed at certain times of the year? On the other hand, Dr. Hurst makes the suggestion that the counter-current, if it existed, might in reality have been only a small one formed by some whirlpool. Herodotus also mentions whirlpools, and one such is discussed farther on.

It is no doubt the statement of Herodotus that half the Nile flows over Ethiopia and to the south which has given rise to the belief in the Little Nile. It is a belief which has flourished abundantly and still exists. Thus, Strabo, xvi, 4, 8, p. 770, says that a branch of the Astaboras flows into the Red Sea, but for the most part contributes to the Nile. The Astaboras was the Atbara, which is a large, and the last, tributary of the Nile. Its supposed branch is clearly the Khor Baraka, which runs into the Red Sea at Tokar, and rises in the intricate mountains past which flows the River Gash, the main tributary of the Atbara. It was no doubt this belief which gave rise to the idea of the River Frat. At the end of the eighteenth century Bruce says that it was marked on the charts as running into the Red Sea at about 21° 25', and was supposed to be at least as large as the Nile, though he could not believe in its existence. Even the native pilot from Kosseir far to the north told him that this mythical river came out opposite Jeddah.¹¹ Again, it is just about that latitude and opposite Jeddah that Lord Valentia shows on his chart an inlet which he marks 'River Ferat'.¹² Yet of course there is no river there or anywhere else on that coast.¹³ Browne also knew of the idea as being widely held. But, having travelled over the country between the Nile and Kosseir on the Red Sea coast, he could not persuade himself that there could ever have been a waterway, at least in that neighbourhood.¹⁴

⁹ *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, xv, pp. 442, 444. It is, of course, quite possible that the translator was influenced by a memory of Herodotus' story. None the less, the parallel is striking and, the expansion being a not unnatural one, it is hardly necessary to seek a further explanation. The French translation is not exact in a number of points.

¹⁰ A. Chélu, *De l'Équateur à la Méditerranée: Le Nil, le Soudan, L'Égypte* (Paris, 1891), p. 67.

¹¹ J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (4°, 1790) i, pp. 212-14.

¹² Viscount Valentia, *Voyages & Travels* (4°, 1809) ii, Chart of the Red Sea, Part 2, at the beginning of the book.

¹³ It was this belief in a Little Nile that throughout the centuries has so frightened the Egyptians that the King of Abyssinia might turn the Nile away from Egypt and ruin them. The fear about the Nile is still very much alive, and has led to great anxieties over the arrangements with the Sudan and Uganda about the Nile water.

¹⁴ W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt & Syria* (1799), p. 148.

In § 14 Strabo records a land watered by another river. This time he calls it the Nile and places it on the northern coast of Somaliland, whence it is supposed to flow into the Gulf of Aden. This would be the Neilopotamion, or Little Nile, which in the late first century A.D. the *Periplus* mentions in the same country.¹⁵

In the thirteenth century A.D. Ibn Said, as quoted by Abulfeda, speaks of Moqadishu a town on the south-eastern shore of Somaliland. He says that 'the country is watered by a great river which like the Nile of Egypt rises in summer. It is even said that it is a branch of the Nile of Egypt, which comes from the Lake of Kurah'.¹⁶ The river to which he refers would be the Webi Shebeli, which runs past Moqadishu on its way to the Indian Ocean. In the fourteenth century A.D. Magrizi describes the supposed branches of the Nile and says that one of them 'falls into the Indian Ocean';¹⁷ again no doubt the Webi Shebeli, though he gives no particulars by which to identify it. Still to-day the natives think that this river comes from the Nile.¹⁸

The belief in the Little Nile underlies the request made by Lebna Dengel, king of Abyssinia in the sixteenth century. Among other things he asked for the Pope 'to send him quarry men to dig through a hill where his ancestor, Eylale Belale, formerly diverted the Nile, in order to turn it there again and damage Egypt'.^{18a}

But to return to Herodotus. After recording what he understood the Scribe of the Sacred Treasures of Athene to have told him, Herodotus gives it as his opinion that there must have been whirlpools in the Cataract. As a matter of fact a whirlpool is still commemorated there to-day. About 6 km. (4 miles) south of Shellal the river takes a sharp bend and there the district on the western bank, and at one time a village on the eastern bank, is called *Sheimet el-Wah* meaning 'The Whirlpool of the Oasis'. Norden passed there in December 1737 and remarks of it '... at a league, or thereabout, above the first (village, i.e. *Sheimet el-Wah*) there is in the Nile a place very dangerous to pass on account of the stones which embarrass the channel of the river'.¹⁹ Again, in 1813 Burckhardt mentioned the district,²⁰ as did a Mr. Charles Dudley Warner at the end of last century,²¹ and it is marked on the maps, even on so small a one as that in Baedeker. Dr. Hurst tells me that he supposes it to be quite possible that there may have been a whirlpool there at certain conditions of the river, though there was none when he was there in November and December 1909, i.e. after the Aswan Dam was finished in 1902. At any rate it is worth noting that the acute angle which the Nile makes at 'The Whirlpool of the Oasis' is in the western bank of the river. That is the left bank, which is the side where M. Chélu says the violent counter-current ran.

Mr. Warner says that the place gets its name because there is supposed to be an underground channel communicating with the Great Oasis (Khargah) a hundred miles distant. Dr. Hurst adds to that, for he tells me that the story goes that a trader was wrecked in the whirlpool and lost all his belongings. A year later he was sitting beside a well in the Oases when suddenly there came up on the flow of water a wooden bowl which he recognised as his own which had gone down with his boat on the Nile.²² This, however, is no doubt romance and yet another expansion of an original physical fact.

We have seen a number of expansions of fact, and to end with we may note a reduction. It concerns Krôphi and Môphi,²³ the two hills with sharp peaks. The impression given is that of a gateway with these hills facing each other at Aswan (Syene) and Elephantine and the Nile gushing out between them. This, however, does not accord with the actual scene, for here the country has opened out.

As a matter of fact there are in the First Cataract, that is to say beyond or south of Aswan and Elephantine, not only two mountains with sharp peaks but very many. The channel is full of conical islands formed by their age-long splitting up into piles of great granite boulders just as is shown in the picture at Philae of Roman date,²⁴ and the river has to force its way past them one after the other. Besides passing the islands the river also has to flow in the gorge between the two cliffs, those of the eastern and western deserts, or rather, so far as the traveller is concerned,

¹⁵ C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, p. 265, § 11, where the text reads Neiloptolemaion, but see the note thereto suggesting that this should read Neilopotamion. Further than this Schoff states that the text is Neilopotamion (*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 84 note to § 11).

¹⁶ M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris, 1848) ii, Pt. 1, p. 233 = Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulféda, Texte arabe* (Paris, 1840) p. 161, No. 14. The Arabic text reads 'the Nile of Egypt' once again, though the translation only gives it as the 'véritable Nil'.

¹⁷ Magrizi, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* (trans. U. Bouriant), p. 160.

¹⁸ L. Reinisch, *Der Dschäbärdialekt d. Somalischprache*, p. 2 (*Sitzungsber. K. Ak. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, cxlviii (Vienna, 1904), Abhandl. v).

^{18a} *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543* (Bermudez' account), p. 131 (tr. R. S. Whiteway, Hakluyt, 1902).

¹⁹ F. L. Norden, *Travels in Egypt & Nubia* ii, p. 86. He, for instance, makes no mention of the counter-current.

²⁰ *Travels in Nubia*, p. 6.

²¹ *My Winter on the Nile* ii, p. 5 (The English Library, Heinemann and Balestier, Leipzig, 1891).

²² Apropos of this whirlpool Mr. Warner does not tell of this trader and his bowl, but of a pilgrim who lost his drinking-cup in the well Zemzem at Mecca and recovered it in the spring of el-Gebel in Syria.

²³ No further explanation of these two names seems to have been put forth since the original *qerti-Hapi* and *mu-Hapi* 'the caverns of Hapi (the Inundation)' and 'the water of Hapi' (see Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 116). Indeed, it seems satisfactory.

²⁴ It has often been published, for instance, Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, p. 18.

between one of the cliffs and the row of islands. Here the two cliffs do face each other, constricting the channel through which the water has to flow as in the bottom of a deep canal. Their tops, however, are not pointed but level, as are those of the rest of Egypt.

Thus, Herodotus' statement about Krôphi and Môphi arises from a misunderstanding of conditions which he had not seen when he wrote his Chapter 28, and proves to be a combination of two separate features of the landscape: the two cliffs between which the Nile flows, and the many pointed islands past which it has to struggle.

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE 1952

[PLATES I-II]

WHILE the great discoveries at Mycenae and Pylos have focused attention on the Peloponnese and the Mycenaean era, the record of excavations in all provinces of Greece and stages of antiquity in this past year is an unprecedented one; there have been some forty different excavations, and the activity of the Archaeological Society in the field has reached a peak. The clearing of the Athenian Agora has been greatly advanced, excavation has been resumed at Dodona and Olympia; the Temple of Poseidon at the Isthmia has at last been discovered, and the oldest known metal-working establishment in Europe has been uncovered on the east coast of Attica. Prof. Orlandos and his assistants have continued the restoration of Byzantine churches as far afield as Khanià, Siátista and the lake-island of Présa. The advance in the reconstitution of the metropolitan collections this year is not immediately perceptible, but there has been welcome progress in the museums of Olympia, Delphi, and Herakleion.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

On the *Acropolis* Orlandos and E. Stikas continue their work on the south-western wing of the Propylaea. Despite many difficulties, they have completed the restoration of the pier of the little stair leading up from the side to the Nike Temple, replaced a section of the second and third grades of the krepis and the stylobate by the double anta, and repaired the poros substructure. In the Odeum of Herodes the restoration of the damaged seats and installing of the new ones is now complete in four of the cunei, and the seats for the fifth cuneus and the front-row thrones are now being cut. The re-arrangement of the *Acropolis* Museum is continuing, and a new inventory has been started; the new basements intended to contain the objects from the Little Museum have now been completed.

The Direction of the *National Museum* reports on the progress of reconstruction and the new acquisitions: Two new galleries are being prepared for opening in the spring. One will be a continuation of the present temporary exhibition and will contain a selection of large and small bronzes—among them being the Marathon Boy and the youth from Antikythera, which has been thoroughly cleaned and is being re-erected in a more correct stance. The two statues will be framed by bronze portrait-heads from Delos and Antikythera and by smaller bronzes, all of which have also been cleaned. The second gallery to be opened shortly will be the first of the permanent exhibition of vases which will ultimately fill ten to twelve galleries on the second floor of the new wing; this gallery contains Protogeometric and Geometric vases from Attic workshops; in addition to ones previously exhibited, a number of new pieces from the Empedokles collection will be exposed. Two of these vases are shown in Fig. 1; one is an elegant skyphos of advanced Protogeometric date; the other—an amphora of the end of the Geometric era—has the main narrative scene, consisting of a fox hunted by two hounds, on either shoulder. Among other vases from the Empedokles collection are a fine early Protoattic hydria with a dance of four women holding branches painted on the neck and abstract decoration, interrupted only by two small panels with a single animal, on the body. During the arrangement of the Geometric vases in the old collection interesting conclusions have been reached about the provenience of a number of pieces and will form the subject of a special article.

Among new acquisitions of the vase collection is a small b.f. lekythos with a representation which is remarkable, if not unique: this consists of a female figure, whose body terminates in a large tail; from her back spring the foreparts of two dogs which are rending a small suspended form resembling the εἰδωλα κομόντων; the central figure is flanked by other women, in whose hands are similar phantoms. Two columns framing the scene suggest the house of Hades and Persephone; it has been suggested by E. Vanderpool that the central figure represents Scylla. Two small fragments from the *Acropolis* have been presented to the collection—one the signed fragment by the C Painter published by C. M. Robertson and correctly identified by him as a fragment of the cup Graef 1780, and the other returned from Chicago and belonging to the large *Acropolis* cup of Euphronios, with a deer and part of the legend Λέαγρος καλός.

Among the new acquisitions of the sculpture collection is the upper part of a statue in sleeved chiton and peplos of Laconian type which seems to be a second-century A.D. grave statue of a girl represented in the form of the Colonna Artemis; the piece is believed to come from Aetolia. N. Yialoures has continued the re-ordering of the sculptures fetched from the court of the old

I am especially indebted to Prof. A. Orlandos for notices of the work of the Archaeological Society and of his own department, to M. H. Gallet de Santerre, Mr. J. L. Caskey and Dr. E. Kunze for the work of their Schools, to Mrs. Karouzou at the National Museum and Prof. H. A. Thompson at the Agora, to

Dr. N. Platon for permitting me to study his annual report on Crete before its publication, to Prof. Sp. Marinatos, Dr. I. Papademetriou, and the various colleagues mentioned in the following pages who have provided notices of their own work and of discoveries in the regions under their charge.

museum to the new magazines. A marble sculpture of a dying youth stretched on his himation has been recognised as a pendant to the figure of a youth from the west pediment of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, and it is suggested that the figures occupied the two corners of this pediment; Yialoures will publish his findings in the near future. A box long-forgotten in a distant magazine has yielded some interesting bronzes. One is a hydria-handle of the end of the Daedalic



FIG. 1.—ATHENS: VASES IN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

epoch, which terminates below in a female bust and has two lion's heads above; it is in all probability an early Laconian work. Still more remarkable is a rectangular bronze sheet, skilfully wrought and half-covered with engraved Geometric decoration of a diagonal cross flanked by swastikas in a frame of linear patterns. Above the engraved band was a row of six knobby studs, with one at each of the lower corners. The sheet is believed to be the plating of a lock; it has two oblong holes in the undecorated part for the reception of the bolt. The provenience is unknown, but it is likely to come from the door of some sacred building of Geometric times.

Twenty-two inscriptions have been added to the collections of the *Epigraphical Museum* this year—among them a fine stele from Kokkiniā with a verse epitaph of a citizen of Miletoupolis, and a great stele from Spáta on which, under the heading *δημορχία ἡ μέζων*, there follows a text in five columns of sixty-seven lines relating to various festivals of the deme of Erchia. The left-hand part of the decree of the tribe Pandionis IG II².1139 has also been found. Mrs. Stathatou's private collection has been enriched by the purchase of a fine bronze figure of a naked youth in Polykleitan style.

Various discoveries in Athens are reported by I. Meliades. I. Threpsiades has continued the investigation of an extensive complex of fourth-century graves north of the Kerameikos across Piraeus St.; forty-eight graves have been opened, and pithos-burials and pyres have been noted.

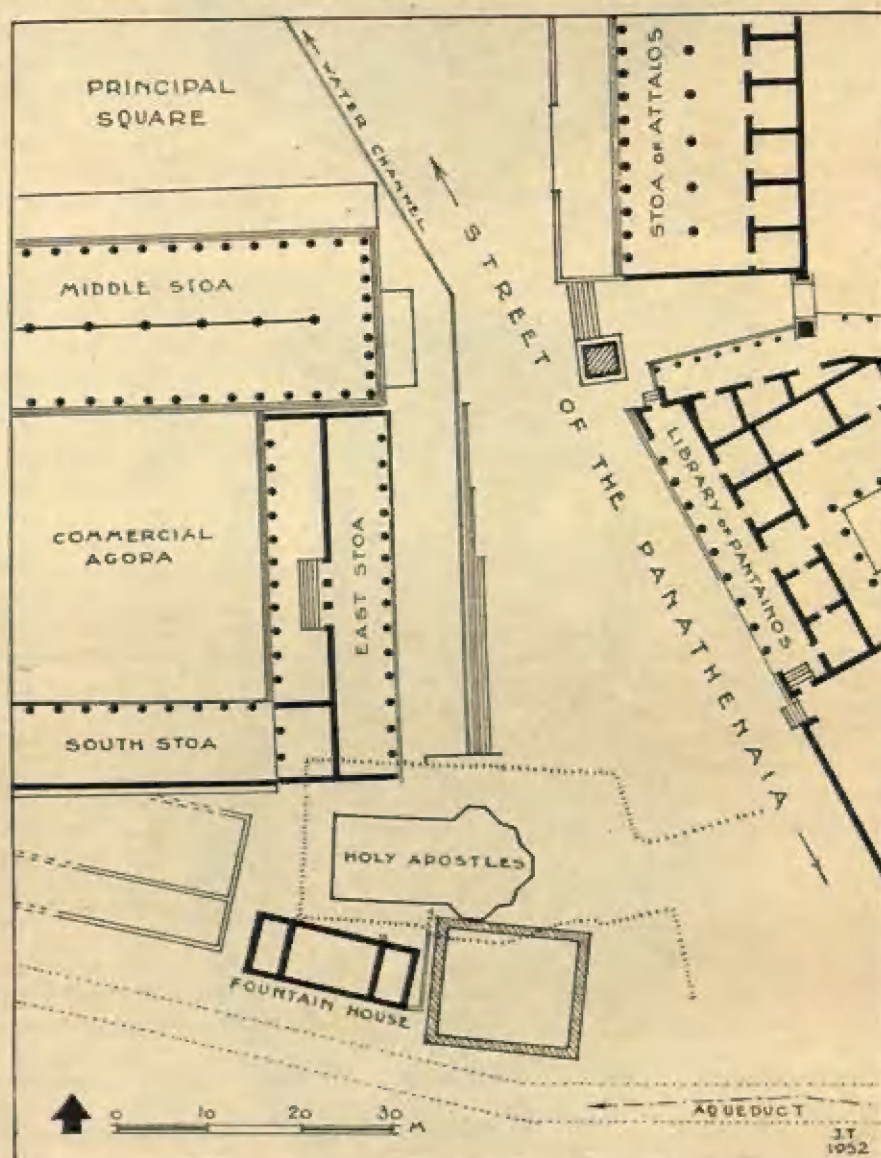


FIG. 2.—ATHENS: SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF AGORA.

Disturbed remains of fifth-century burials were found, including figured white lekythoi. This seems to be a continuation of the Dipylon cemetery. On the west of Klafthmonos Square, near the ancient city wall line, a system of Hellenistic chambered cisterns and well-shafts has been uncovered, and clay water pipes of rectangular section and Hellenistic graves have come to light in the Zappeion Gardens. On the west side of the Pnyx hill Sp. Iakovides has exposed the floor of a Hellenistic house and a cistern with well-shaft which was in use in the mid-third century B.C.; seven inscribed kioniskoi from burials of later date have also been found here. Two fifth-century graves have been excavated on the outskirts of the city—one at Patissia yielding pieces of linen cloth in a bronze urn, the other of an athlete of extraordinary stature. By the suburb of *Pankráti* close to the Ilissos, Meliades has ascertained the position of an open-air sanctuary not mentioned by ancient authors. A head of Sarapis, some other sculptures and forty votive reliefs have come to light, together with

inscriptions and numerous lamps. The reliefs present two gods, of whom one (sometimes beardless) carries the attributes of Herakles, while the other is bearded and holds a horn of Amaltheia; inscriptions show that the first deity bears the hitherto unknown name Pankrates, and the other is named Palaimon. Three of the dedicators at least are shown to be Sidonians, and Meliades suspects that this may be a shrine of the Sidonian community in Athens.

The American School continued its excavations in the *Athenian Agora* from February to June 1952. Fresh ground has been broken on the SE edge of the Agora, where a group of modern houses has been removed on the south of the church of H. Apostoloi. Three buildings of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. have come to light here flanking the main road which is known to have run parallel with the south side of the Agora (Fig. 2). H. A. Thompson observes that on the north these buildings faced onto the Agora, which must therefore have reached its full extent in early times. The two outer buildings were divided into a number of rooms of uncertain purpose. The central one, which was in polygonal masonry, had on either side a slightly sunk area equipped with a finely jointed marble pavement and draining away to the north. It appears to be a fountain-house and to have been fed by an aqueduct of poros blocks, which ran under the street and probably continued to the fountain-house at the south-western corner of the Agora. The construction is dated to the latter part of the sixth century, with alterations in the fifth or fourth century. The overflow from these two fountains was carried away in open stone conduits through the square. The discovery of this second fountain-house re-opens the problem of the identification of the Enneakrounos.

The pattern of development of the Athenian Agora is now emerging more clearly. Despite the great size of the square, it seems that before the Persian Wars the dramatic festivals had been transferred to the south slope of the Acropolis and the meetings of the assembly to the Pnyx hill. In the fifth and fourth centuries permanent buildings were set up around the square to house the law-courts, and in the early third century an attempt was made to remove the provisions market to a square hall enclosed by colonnades at the east end of the Agora; this attempt seems to have been a failure, since the foundations laid for this building (under the Stoa of Attalos) were never completed, and in the second century B.C. a bolder plan was put into effect. By the construction of the 'Middle Stoa' an area on the south side of the Agora was separated from the main part of the square (Fig. 2), and not long after this the 'Commercial Agora' thus formed was closed at its east end by a new portico—the 'East Stoa'. This new stoa has been discovered and excavated in the past season; like the 'Middle Stoa', it consisted of two colonnades back to back; owing to the higher level of the Panathenaic Way at this point, the eastern gallery stood higher than the western, and communication between the two was provided by a broad staircase in the middle of the building. Some time after this the 'Commercial Agora' was closed by yet another stoa on the south which superseded the old building excavated this season to the west of the church of H. Apostoloi. These constructions were in poros. The monumental appearance of the main square, on the other hand, was being enhanced at this time by splendid marble façades—the Stoa of Attalos on the east and the Metroön at the west end.

Considerable progress has been made with the clearing of later levels in the central part of the Agora. Several large monument bases have been uncovered in the triangle on the east of the Odeum, while to the west of the Odeum pits in the rock with loose earth above suggest the planting of trees; Thompson therefore considers that there may have been a grove here, as also in the north-eastern corner of the square. A dozen monument bases have been uncovered in the area north of the Temple of Ares. Of particular interest is the discovery just south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods of a ground altar or eschara, which consisted of a large oblong fireplace surrounded by a limestone kerb; this eschara, which is probably to be related to the cult of a hero, seems to have been constructed about 500 B.C. and to have gone out of use in Hellenistic times when an exedra was built over it; its repeated use is attested by successive layers of clay separated by thin layers of ash.

Among the early burials discovered this year are several graves of the Mycenaean period found at different points on the site, and a Submycenaean and a Late Geometric grave. No less than sixteen wells have been cleared, one being of the Mycenaean period, while two seventh-century ones contained pottery of the transition from the Orientalising to the Early Black Figure style, including three vases decorated with animal protomes; one with confronting horses on the body is shown in Fig. 3. A marble portrait-head of a young lady, with a hair style dated in the second quarter of the first century A.D., has come to light in this year's excavations (Fig. 4), and a figure of the Venus Genetrix type has been recovered from a late Byzantine wall near the new fountain-house. A bust of unusual interest, impressed on the interior of a bowl of Early Roman date, is shown on Pl. I. 2; it portrays a philosopher, in whom Thompson recognises the features of Zeno, who taught in the neighbouring Stoa Poikile. Two inscriptions of unusual interest have come to light. One is a piece of the upper part of the stele commemorating the Argives who fell fighting with the Athenians at Tanagra. The other dates immediately after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. and is directed against any attempt to overthrow the democracy, outlawing any person attempting a *coup d'état* (Pl. I. 1); in the relief panel appears the figure of Demos, old and careworn, being crowned with a wreath.

Near the Tomb of Themistokles on the Akte, by the entrance to the harbour of Piraeus, a poros

column of seven drums has been re-erected. Mr. Yeroulanos has formed a small museum at *Trákhones*; the collection, which is composed mainly of finds from ancient graves that he has excavated on his land in recent years, is especially rich in obsidian instruments and in vases of the fifth century B.C., but contains interesting groups of Geometric and early Orientalising vases and also later wares.

On the south slopes of *Pendéli*, a little above the well-known cave of Davelli, I. Papademetriou has cleared a small stalactite cave which was dedicated to the nymphs (Pl. I. 3). The roof had fallen in in antiquity, and the cave had been completely covered by debris of quarrying; consequently it has been found with its cult-installations intact. Among the finds are two fine reliefs of the fourth century B.C. with representations of three nymphs, Hermes, and Pan, together with the dedicators. The cave has been excavated except for the entrance, which is still blocked. M. Mitsos has been engaged in studying the unpublished inscriptions at the *Amphiareion*. In addition to the decrees, epitaphs, and other inscriptions already referred to in Πρακτικά 1951, he mentions nine



FIG. 3.—ATHENS: SEVENTH-CENTURY VASE IN AGORA.



FIG. 4.—ATHENS: PORTRAIT-HEAD IN AGORA.

new decrees. One of these is inscribed on a base which bore the dedication of the Athenian Meidias, son of Kephisodoros; it is a decree of the Koinon of the Boeotians, and the Boeotarchs are mentioned with their father's names and cities of origin. Five other inscriptions are carved on a semicircular base which bore a dedication of the other son of Kephisodoros, named Thrasylochos; this dedication was the work of the sculptor Leochares. On both bases the demotic has been erased, presumably after Antipater's victory by Krannon in 322 B.C. Three other decrees are referred to the third quarter of the third century B.C.; they are carved on a high base which supported a statue of Dason, son of Eukritos, made by the sculptor Herodoros.

Continuing tests begun in the preceding year, Papademetriou and D. Theokhares have investigated Early Helladic remains at *Rafina* on the east coast of Attica. A metal-workers' establishment, filled with objects of clay and other substances which were used for processing the ore, has been cleared; and a trial trench has brought to light a second workshop, piriform in outline, with a rock-cut furnace. These are the oldest metallurgical installations yet known on European soil. The finds include three clay funnels for pouring the bronze, a piece of a clay mould, and two bronze pins. A contemporary settlement, extensive enough to be called a town, has been explored on the hill immediately above the anchorage of Rafina. Three buildings with several floor-levels have been excavated; one yielded many whole vases, instruments and ornaments of bone and stone, and

objects of bronze, which include two fish-hooks, and of lead. Another building of considerable size, of which only the uppermost occupation-level has been cleared, has a plan recalling the arrangement of the Trojan megara; it had a terrace-roof of clay, of which many chunks have been preserved by accidental firing and show the impressions of branches. Apart from odd sherds of Middle Helladic and Mycenaean in the surface levels, the pottery belongs to an advanced phase of Early Helladic, and the settlement seems therefore to have been destroyed by the Middle Helladic invaders. Since this report was received Papademetriou informs me of the discovery of another settlement lower down with walls preserved to a height of several feet.

In the south of the Mesogaia at *Merénda* in the ancient deme of Myrrhinous, an excavation conducted by Papademetriou and Theokhares has brought to light an ancient road lined with graves *ca.* 3 km. east of Markópoulo; funerary statues and inscribed stelae are reported—among the sculptures a well-preserved relief of fourth-century date showing a boy bidding farewell to his pet dog. This cemetery appears to be of vast extent. Papademetriou has also noted in the vicinity the foundations in squared masonry of a large temple, which may be that of Artemis Kolainis. At *Vrdona* E. Stikas has completed the excavation of the important sixth-century A.D. basilica. The whole north wall of the building has been cleared and stands to 2.50 m. height. The hexastyle face and north end of the exonarthex have been uncovered, the latter terminating in a room with a semi-circular apse. Various adjoining constructions have been cleared on the south side of the church; walls have been secured and columns re-erected, and the basilica is now the best-preserved example of its kind in the whole of Attica. Kotzias has completed the excavation of the basilica at the *Laureotic Olympos* on behalf of the Archaeological Society, and opened some graves in the vicinity; architectural members from a large Doric building and a piece of an archaic inscription are reported to have come to light in the course of this excavation.

The Greek Archaeological Society continued its excavations at *Eleusis* in the spring with the collaboration of Washington University of St. Louis. The work was carried out in the sanctuary area and in the cemetery by the Megara road under the direction of G. E. Mylonas. In the sanctuary the triangular area in front of the north-eastern corner of the foundations of the Stoa of Philo was cleared, disclosing the remains of a paved road of the Late Geometric period, the foundations of what seems to be another 'Hiera Oikia' with a bothros of the closing years of the Mycenaean era, and Late Helladic and late Middle Helladic house-traces. The cemetery is shown to have been in use from late Middle Helladic to late Mycenaean times, and then again from the beginning of the fifth century until perhaps Roman times; forty-one graves have been explored, twenty being of the prehistoric period. The prehistoric graves are the most interesting. The earliest are cist-graves of Middle Helladic type, and they are followed by large rectangular shaft graves with built walls and regular side-entrances. Even in the earliest cist-graves more than one burial was found, the bones of the previous inhumation being brushed aside for the next burial. The same phenomenon is observed in the more spacious shaft graves also; in these the body is laid extended, as opposed to the cist-grave burials, where it is in a contracted position. In all the graves of the earlier period (Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic) vases and other furnishings were found. The earlier graves were re-used in Late Helladic III times; the bones of previous occupants were then packed in round pits dug in the floor of the grave; the later burials follow the pattern of those in the chamber-tombs of Mycenae and Prosymna. At least two child-burials of Late Helladic III times were found intact, with Mycenaean figurines among the furnishings.

The discovery of a cup with wishbone handles, of Late Helladic Ib type, on *Salamis* is reported by H. B. Lidderdale; it is the earliest Mycenaean vase known from the island.

THE PELOPONNESE

O. Broneer made a preliminary excavation in the spring at the *Isthmia*, and came upon the foundations of the Temple of Poseidon in his first trench in a levelled area 400 m. west of the Justinian fortress. Further trenches were dug to elucidate the plan of the building. The foundations had been largely pillaged for the late fortification; but the rock-cuttings are clear, and Broneer has determined the length of the peristyle as over 56 m. and the breadth just under 26 m. One nearly complete column-drum has come to light; it tallies with those built into the Justinian fortification, and thus proves that the latter were brought from the temple. Many blocks from the cella wall, parts of the marble roof, including one complete section of the raking sima, and numerous smaller fragments of the temple were brought to light.

Almost no pottery or other small objects were discovered on the temple site. The sculptural finds include several pieces of a small marble frieze, perhaps from the decoration of a statue base, and the upper half of a colossal female figure, three times lifesize; the head and arms, which were made in separate pieces, are missing, but what remains is in excellent condition and impressive both for its size and the quality of the sculpture. It is a Roman copy of a fifth-century original. What goddess it represented has not been determined with certainty. Since it was discovered close to the south-western anta of the temple it would be natural to suppose that the figure had been set up in the opisthodomos, although its colossal size would be suitable for a cult statue. Foundation blocks and

terracotta roof-tiles of an archaic temple, and many lion's head spouts from the roof of a small Roman building were discovered among the debris from the classical Greek temple. It is clear from this material that the temple had a long history and underwent several reconstructions.

Surrounding the temple area are the remains of a temenos-wall of Roman date enclosing a rectangle 116 m. \times 78 m. A small trial pit dug close to the north wall of the temenos resulted in the discovery of numerous small pieces of architectural members and fragments of bronze vessels, largely destroyed by fire and corrosion. They were found in a layer of ash containing many pieces of building stone blackened and calcined by fire. It is possible that this is part of a "Brandschutt" from one of several fires which seem to have devastated the temple. The discovery of this important temple and consequent clarification of Pausanias' account is most welcome, and it is to be hoped that the exploration of the sanctuary will be continued. Among finds made before the commencement of the excavation is an inscribed statue-base recording the victories of Themison of Miletus, who claimed the distinction of being the only person to write music for the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Timotheus.

No new excavation was carried out at *Corinth* this year, but Broneer and Piet de Jong worked continuously from May to September on the study of the South Stoa, both in its Greek period and as reconstructed in Roman times: the preparations for the publication of this great building are now completed.

In *Sikyon* Orlandos has uncovered the 105-m.-long stoa on the east of the Bouleuterion. It had forty-seven columns on the façade and most probably twenty-four Ionic columns inside, with twenty rooms behind. Apart from a few Hellenistic coins of Sikyon, the only find was an anta-capital with Ionic mouldings. The discovery of terracotta piping in the west part of the stoa and of Christian graves indicates that after the disastrous earthquake in the second century A.D. the stoa was for a time used as a workshop, and subsequently as a Christian burial-ground. In the Gymnasium of Kleinius the south end of the court is now completely cleared; a stylobate, corresponding to that on the north, with an Ionic base in position, has come to light, and also a later stylobate aligned with the stair that leads to the upper terrace. In the theatre the prohedriai and benches in the whole sector left unexcavated by the Americans have now been cleared; the drain running round the orchestra has also been cleared, and the north vaulted passage to the upper diazoma has been opened up. Two new fragments of funeral banquet or theoxenia reliefs of Hellenistic date have been brought in to the museum.

At *Mycenae* the clearing of the tholos-tombs has been continued, and some slabs of the old Shaft Grave Circle have been set up and secured. Wace has continued his excavations in the lower town with notable results, on which he writes specially at the end of the present report. The excavation of the new Shaft Grave Circle which was discovered last year has been systematically undertaken by the Archaeological Society. The circle was *ca.* 27 m. in diameter with a ring-wall 1.55 m. thick, and is to be dated, together with the tombs, in the Middle Helladic III period. Its east part was destroyed in the construction of the Tomb of Clytemnestra. On the north a stretch of a second circular wall has been excavated; Papademetriou thinks that this may be an annexe of the newly discovered circle and contain yet more tombs. In the northern part of the circle, where the surface levels were undisturbed, a layer of poros chips, representing the ground level of classical times, was encountered about 20 cm. below the modern surface; and only 30 cm. below this the base, with a piece of the shaft, of one of the original stelae was found *in situ*. It therefore seems probable that in classical times this stele was still exposed, and that it was visible to Pausanias when he was shown the tombs of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus 'a little way outside the fortress'; the grave presumed to lie under this stele has not been excavated yet. Papademetriou points out that there is no reason to suppose that the grave circle itself was originally a 'tymbos'; on the contrary, it seems that there were low mounds, contained by small-stone ring-walls, over each individual grave. The top plane of the rock in which the graves were cut is scored with channels which probably served for the passage of libations to the dead.

The circle is filled with graves, of which seven have been excavated this year in addition to that (A) cleared in the autumn of 1950. Grave B was roofed with wooden beams which rested on a shelf 80 cm. below the ground level; it contained a single skeleton, two gold bracelets, and seven Middle Helladic III vases. Grave F, with a length of 3.80 m. and a breadth of 2.80 m., was the largest and richest of all; fragments of a poros stele with a lion hunt were found above it. The construction of this grave was in some ways different from that of B; instead of a rock-cut shelf, walls of schist-stone supported the roof beams on the long sides, while the ends were closed by walls of brick. This grave contained four skeletons laid in different directions (indicating that there was no fixed orientation of the dead at this time). In the fill fragments of many vases were found and have been made up. Many complete vases were also found on the floor of the grave, the finest of them being a large jug of the last years of the Middle Helladic period; this indicates that the latest burial in this grave took place about the same time as the earliest in the graves of Schliemann's circle. Many bronze swords and daggers, an electrum mask, gold ornaments and vases, and other silver and bronze gear were also found here; among ornaments which had been contained in a wooden box was a necklace with beads of amber and bronze and an exceptionally fine amethyst sealstone carved with the head of a

bearded man. Grave Δ, measuring 3.25 × 2.55 m., was built like grave B except that its roof was covered by slabs of schist. It contained three dead, and especially rich finds. Among the clay vases found in the fill and on the floor of the grave is a small three-handled amphora of Late Helladic I date. Bronze and gold equipment and flint arrow-heads were found in this grave; among the weapons is a particularly fine bronze sword with a gold hilt and ivory pommel; on the hilt two dragons' heads are embossed.

Grave E (Pl. II. 1) can be called the 'Grave of the Bronzes'. It also had built side-walls which carried a roofing of schist-stone slabs. It contained a single skeleton in a contracted position and a heap of gold diadems and ornaments alongside. Many clay vases and four notable bronzes were also found—among the latter a large krater containing a bronze jug placed exactly as those in Schliemann's fourth shaft grave. Graves Z and H are small dug shafts, each of which contained a skeleton in a contracted position and a few Middle Helladic vases; a jug from grave H is illustrated on Pl. II. 3. Grave Θ was found looted. In addition, a chamber-tomb of Late Helladic IIIa date was discovered outside the circle on the south; it had apparently been rifled in Geometric times.

While observing that, with the excavation of the new circle unfinished, the time has not come for final conclusions to be drawn from these discoveries, Papademetriou kindly communicates the following observations: 'It is proved beyond doubt that besides the royal grave circle inside the acropolis there was another circle with royal graves, which in all probability corresponds to the tradition recorded by Pausanias. It is therefore probable that these two circles belong to two royal houses whose memory is preserved in the myths centring round Mycenae.

'With the discovery of the new circle we can conclude that the old circle discovered by Schliemann was founded on an earlier one of the Middle Helladic III period, though the research on the spot up to the present has not been sufficient to prove its existence. The ring of poros slabs uncovered by Schliemann was therefore not (as has hitherto been supposed) built to protect the tombs of older kings at the time of the extension of the acropolis wall to the west, but corresponds to the prevailing customs of the Middle Helladic III period. The discovery of new grave stelae with their bases has led to the revelation of the bases of Schliemann's stelae also.

'In the new graves, evidently from the latest burials, vases have been found which date by the prevailing chronology to the Late Helladic I period. We may therefore take it as certain that there is no clear break in the stylistic development of the pottery between the latest stage of Middle Helladic and the Late Helladic I period, but only a change of phase. I therefore consider that the limits of these two periods are not distinct and that our chronology must be revised at this point. Some of the new graves can be equated chronologically with certain of Schliemann's graves which contained very similar objects. The systematic investigation and excavation of the new graves allows the grave-forms and burial-customs of Middle Helladic III times at Mycenae to be studied with greater assurance.'

The French School has resumed excavations at *Argos*, where G. Roux, P. Courbin, and P. Charneux conducted operations in May-June. On the site of the agora, where the modern Tripolis road leaves the town, the large building which Vollgraff had taken for a temple is now shown to be a square hall of 36.6 m. side whose roof was supported by sixteen interior pillars; it may therefore be a bouleuterion. The east front had two steps above the euthynteria and apparently a row of square pillars connected by fences or gratings. The construction is dated in the first half of the fifth century B.C. In the clearing of later walls above this building much re-used architectural material came to light, one series of moulded bases, blue limestone triglyphs, metopes, and a crowning hawksbeak moulding coming from a monumental altar of the fifth century; while a second series from the entablature of another building, in poros and also of the fifth century, shows vivid traces of colour—red on the triglyphs and blue above, with white stucco on the metopes. The long poros stoa adjoining the hypostyle building, which was also discovered by Vollgraff, has been shown to be over 100 m. in length; the east part is undoubtedly contemporary with the hypostyle hall, but on the west the building was drastically reconstructed in the fourth century A.D. The stoa originally had a wing at either end, that on the east showing a façade of eleven columns with a second rank of six. Immediately south of the portico a number of rooms with white and blue mosaic and two hypocausts have been uncovered; they belong to a great bath-establishment of the fourth century A.D. A Geometric stratum has been detected under the stoa at a depth of only 30 cm. below the fifth-century level. Among the inscriptions found are a bronze decree of the fifth century B.C. conferring the proxenia on Γνώστῳ Φοινόντιος, a proxeny-decree in honour of the Athenian Agathokles, son of Nikostratos, and the dedication of a statue of L. Cornelius Ingenuus.

To the west of this an ancient cemetery came to light in the spring, when municipal workmen discovered four pithos-burials and a grave containing Late Geometric pottery and a 'handful' of six full-sized iron spits. The area has been explored by the French expedition, and rich graves have been found. Two contained metal objects and a fine collection of vases of the Late Geometric period and of a somewhat earlier phase of the Geometric; and a late archaic pithos-burial was accompanied by Late Corinthian II, Attic and local vases, including two b.f. kylikes depicting dancing satyrs (Pl. II. 2); a cache of Protogeometric vases also came to light in a lower level here. To the south of the cemetery numerous Hellenistic sherds and a splendid fragment of a Protoargive

krater were found in a sounding; the latter depicts the blinding of Polyphemos and is dated around the middle of the seventh century (Fig. 5). A burial also came to light here with Early Geometric vases and with a bead, bearing Geometric decoration, on the neck of the skeleton. A fourth-century polygonal wall, which has been located at various points, seems to be the southern circuit-wall of the city.

In the digging of the foundations for a new building *ca.* 200 m. east of the central square of the town a fourth-century or early Hellenistic statuette of Kybele was brought to light this autumn, and S. Kharitonides proceeded to make tests inside the plot. A Geometric pithos-burial, a pyre with a number of Geometric potsherds (some with interesting figured decoration), and a small rectangular building of about the beginning of the Hellenistic era were uncovered; and traces of a brick building of the Protogeometric epoch came to light in the corner of this block. A small pedimental stele with a fourth-century epitaph of Timon was also found on the spot.

There has been no further excavation at the Maleatas sanctuary this year, but at *Old Epidauros* Papademetriou has further examined the abundant remains on the ancient city-site, and reports



FIG. 5.—ARGOS: FRAGMENT OF KRATER.



FIG. 6.—OLD EPIDAUROS: PIECE OF ARCHAIC KOUROS.

numerous antiquities built into field walls. These include a fifth-century decree of the city of the Epidaurians on behalf of Φιλόξενος Φυλακίδα Ἀργεῖος, and the lower half of a kouros mentioned in the last report; the latter (Fig. 6) is of marble and over-lifesize, and Papademetriou believes that it belonged to the same statue as the National Museum head, no. 63 in Kavvadias' catalogue, which was found by Staes at Epidauros (Δελτίον 1888, 158).

J. L. Caskey carried out a trial excavation in September in an oval mound by the village of Mýloi (the ancient *Lerna*). Sherds picked up on the surface give evidence of habitation in Mycenaean, Geometric, archaic, and later times. Architectural remains of these periods, however, were not found below the surface, and the Mycenaean was only represented by a few L.H. I and II sherds. The value of the site lies in its good sequence of the prehistoric levels which have hitherto hardly been explored in the Argolid. The Middle Helladic layer proved to be very thick, and contained house-remains of several phases; the pottery comprises vessels of Minyan shapes in yellow, grey, black, and red, matt-painted ware of the familiar types, and a few examples of a polychrome ware bearing patterns in dull red and white on a black-glazed surface. The underlying Early Helladic layer appears also to be very deep in most parts of the mound; the bottom was reached in only one trench, where there was an irregularity in the contours. Beside the corner of a large building, rectangular terracotta plaques resembling tiles were recovered in great number. Fragmentary pottery of familiar monochrome and patterned types was present in abundance; notable also are a jar of

Trojan type with wing-like attachments, a flanged lid with flat top bearing a pattern of concentric circles and tangents, reminiscent of Early Cycladic motives, and a curious terracotta male figurine with a flat body and large feet projecting from the lower corners.

Remains of the neolithic period were recovered in quantity in only one of the trenches. Here there were traces of house walls and much fragmentary pottery, both plain and patterned wares; the latter show similarities to late neolithic wares from Corinth, Gonià, Ayioritika, and Asea. It is hoped that excavation on a larger scale may follow.

In *Mystrà* N. Drandakes has cleared a number of churches and chapels, and has discovered several others in excavations. At *Gortys* in Western Arcadia the French School has continued the exploration of the bathing establishment to which belonged the circular bathroom discovered last year. It is comprised by a large piscina with a bench on three sides and a hot-air heating system, which lies to the SW of the circular bathroom, a large hall to the east of this with a partly curved outline, a bench on the south, drainage channels, and an apse with a fountain at the west end (Room C), a hot-water basin and a circular heating-chamber to the north of this, and another apsidal



FIG. 7.—GORTYS: HELLENISTIC BATH ESTABLISHMENT.

room (B) on the SE; Fig. 7 shows a view across the two halls B and C to the circular bathroom. Two other circular heating-chambers, with a passage for hot air, have been detected under the two apsidal halls. On the east without doubt was a portico which gave access to the establishment. The set-up is quite original and very different from Roman baths, both in plan and heating system. The hot air, which came from a furnace not yet discovered, circulated in underground brick channels to the circular heating-chambers. Numerous lamps, dating apparently from the second century B.C., indicate that this establishment is the earliest of its type in Greece. Three hoards of coins have come to light in the excavation of this building, two of these being of the Late Roman period and containing over 5000 coins each; 251 other coins of Hellenistic and Roman date have been recovered in the various rooms.

The investigation of the potter's kiln on the east of the temple has been completed and yielded numerous fragments of Roman pottery. The building on the edge of the ravine, which has been known in succession as Propylaea and Portico, has turned out to be a small cella with a pronaos and probably two columns in antis. On a terrace across the ravine the French have proceeded with the clearing of a stoa facing the sanctuary and have discovered a strong polygonal wall (presumably of a fort) which resembles the fourth-century acropolis circuit. The season's finds include some thirty limestone and marble architectural blocks, pottery and stamped tiles, a dedication of Roman date to Asklepios and Hygieia, and a Hellenistic inscription relating to ambassadors.

The excavations of the University of Cincinnati and the Greek Archaeological Service at *Pylos* have at last been resumed under the leadership of C. W. Blegen and Sp. Marinatos. On the palace site, which is a knoll three or four miles inland from the north corner of the bay, Blegen has cleared a broad strip through the central part of the palace, and the greater part of the Megaron, oriented from NW to SE, has been exposed. With a main hall, an anteroom or vestibule, and a portico fronting on a court, it is of the typical Mycenaean or mainland plan familiar at Tiryns and Mycenae. The two-columned portico had a floor of plaster which was several times renewed. The columns, presumably made of wood, have disappeared, but the stone bases are still in position. Well-cut squared blocks form the lowest course of the walls, and the threshold is made of three large slabs of limestone; to the right of the door that leads into the vestibule is a raised platform of plaster, perhaps the place for a seat. The anteroom, somewhat less than 5 m. deep and more than 11 m. wide, has a good plaster floor. The walls, preserved to a height of a metre or more, still retain much of their fine coat of plaster, which bore frescoes; fallen fragments recovered may, when cleaned, give a clue to the subjects of the paintings. There was probably a door from the vestibule to the domestic quarters of the palace towards the SW. On the right beside the doorway to the main hall is a low platform of plaster which may have held a throne or seat.

The principal hall of the palace is nearly 13 m. long and 11.20 m. wide. The stone bases of four columns, which supported the ceiling and roof, are well preserved; the columns, no doubt made of wood, have left clear impressions of their flutings on the plaster floors. In the centre of the room is a monumental hearth, 4.02 m. in diameter, which bears relatively well-preserved remains of painted decoration. The place of the throne is indicated, as at Tiryns, against the lateral wall to the right, and beside it is perhaps an arrangement for royal libations. The hard plaster floor was marked off by incised lines into a chequer, each square of which shows traces of painted decoration. The walls, still standing to a maximum height of 1.25 m., were coated with plaster, and there are many fragmentary remains of frescoes. There was probably an upper storey in the form of a gallery around the four sides of the room, and possibly a clerestory over the hearth.

The entire palace was obviously destroyed in a tremendous fire, and all the objects recovered in the megaron had suffered more or less damage in the conflagration. The chief items include a gold pin in the form of a ewer with inlay of blue paste, many small bits of gold, silver, and bronze, a few beads of stone and metal, fifteen inscribed tablets or fragments, and a large quantity of potsherds, for the most part nondescript. Exploratory trenches towards the SW indicated that the domestic quarters lay close to the megaron. Beyond them are larger rooms and a court with a colonnade; here too there is some evidence that the columns were fluted. In the south-eastern area of the palace the Archive Room, discovered in 1939, was re-exposed along with three other small chambers. One was apparently an annexe connected with the Archive Room by a door; on its floor were found more than 300 further inscribed tablets and fragments. A dozen pots found standing on the floors of the other two rooms, and badly damaged by fire, seem to belong to a stage when Late Helladic IIIb was giving way to Late Helladic IIIc, and suggest that the destruction of the palace is to be dated not far from 1200 B.C.

While considering it perhaps premature at this stage of the excavations to discuss the identification of the site, Blegen thinks that size, architectural style, the quality of the frescoes, and evidences of wealth make it clear that this site was a Mycenaean centre at the same level as Mycenae and Tiryns; if Greek tradition counts for anything, there can be little doubt that it is the palace of the Neleid King Nestor.

While Blegen has been engaged on the Palace site, Marinatos has been searching the cemeteries of Pylos and has located tholoi and important groups of chamber-tombs. At Volimidia about 5 km. away he has cleared eight chamber-tombs cut in soft bedrock. One was un plundered and contained some forty Late Helladic II-III vases; from other tombs vases of the Late Helladic I period have been recovered. These are the earliest Mycenaean wares from the west coast of the Peloponnese, and provide welcome proof of the seniority of the Mycenaean settlement at the southern Pylos; Marinatos remarks that the position of these tombs is under the shadow of Mt. Aigaleon, below which, according to Strabo, the original city of Messenian Pylos, preceding that at Koryphasion, was situated. Two Late Helladic II vases are shown on Fig. 8. The chamber-tombs of Pylos present interesting peculiarities, comparable only to those of Kephallenia; the dromoi are relatively short and broad, with vertical walls and shallow mouth; and the chambers are circular in plan and regularly formed on the pattern of tholoi, some being entirely rock-cut while others were completed in masonry at the top of the dome. Though some of the tombs at Pylos go back to Late Helladic I, it is clear that all were still in use in Late Helladic III, the bones of earlier burials being transferred to circular or elliptical pits along the edge of the tombs; the bodies found in position had been laid flat on their backs; one man had both hands resting on his groin, another had his left leg laid on top of his right, and a woman had her left arm bent at the elbow with her palm on her abdomen. In addition to vases, arrowheads of obsidian and other hard stones have come to light in some of the tombs—among them a core of reddish flint which demonstrates that the Mycenaeans actually worked the stone themselves.

At Volimidia there are also traces of settlement in Hellenistic-Roman times, and it seems that

it was in this period that the majority of the tombs were discovered and looted. One tomb shows traces of what seems to have been a cult in Hellenistic times, with the remains of a pyre in the dromos, a large Hellenistic basin upside down and numerous sherds of West Slope cups and of cooking-pots.

At *Olympia* E. Kunze has dug two trenches to determine the limits of the track of the early classical stadium; it was closer in to the sanctuary than the later one and open at the end facing the *Altis*. This union of stadium and sanctuary was not interrupted until the fourth century B.C., when the track was moved farther out and embanked at the west end, while the Echo Stoa was built opposite the Temple of Zeus to give this end of the sanctuary an architectural frame. Excavation has also been begun at the west embankment of the later stadium and at the west end of the later track; the spoil has been transferred to the south side of the stadium, where it will replace the embankment removed in the earlier excavations. The excavation of the west embankment proved especially fruitful. A mid-sixth-century disc-acroterion, quite unlike known Laconian ones, is unique in its technique and its rich anthemion-decoration; and a superbly preserved Laconian bronze male statuette, of the third quarter of the sixth century, with a karyatid crown on its head, will command attention. Other fine bronzes have come to light, including a colossal griffin's head and the cast bronze head of a battering ram, decorated with rams' heads in relief in fifth-century style—the latter testifying to an earlier use of the ram than has hitherto been assumed; this piece may have been a dedication from Magna Graecia, as also an almost complete shield inscribed on the rim Στρακόσ[ιοι ἀπὸ] Ἀκραγαντίνων λάφυρα. Fragments of terracotta sculptures have also been found. These include the right foot of the Zeus of the Ganymede group, which has now been made up in the museum with



FIG. 8.—PYLOS: LATE HELLADIC II VASES FROM TOMBS.

the recently discovered head of Ganymede restored to its position; the height of the group is 1.10 m., and it is no longer to be regarded as an acroterion but rather as an independent dedication.

N. Yalouris has re-opened the bronze room in the museum, and the head of the Lapith woman of the splendid three-figure group on the right and the feet of the Zeus have been returned to their positions in the pedimental groups.

In Achaia N. Zapheiropoulos has made excavations near Lópesi in the former deme of *Pharai*, where a Late Mycenaean cemetery had previously been revealed. Two small tombs have been excavated; the bodies had been buried in a contracted position and covered with a heap of river stones; fragments of Minyan and matt-painted wares, including some with incised decoration, were found, and an almost complete high-handled skyphos has been restored. Three graves in rough stonework with large cover-slabs were cleared; two of them contained about fifteen Late Geometric vases of fine ware, similar to the three Geometric vases hitherto known from Khalandritsa and suggesting the existence of a local workshop, together with iron spits and bronze rings; the third grave contained fragments of two skyphoi and a late Corinthian pyxis. Two small caves, with rock-cuttings and niches for dedications, have also been examined, but yielded no finds of consequence.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

From *Thebes* a fourth-century B.C. grave with quatrefoil aryballoi and two tombstones is reported. Chance finds at *Tanagra* led to the discovery by Kh. Khrestou of a group of archaic tombs. One contained some flat lead figurines, recalling those found at Sparta, in the form of dancers, or possibly of a god wielding a thunderbolt. Axes and other implements of stone have been found at a neolithic settlement by the *Kastro of Thespiiai*. Roman antiquities also have come to light by the *Kastro*; they include a fine female head, and, from Khrestou's sounding on the spot, a well-preserved headless statue in the stance of an orator with his right hand wrapped in the drapery on his breast,

together with a child's hand holding a bird. At *Koroneia* tombstones have been discovered; and in *Levadeia* the excavation of a mediaeval aqueduct has yielded among other ancient material a Roman grave-relief with the figure of a youth holding perhaps a bird and accompanied by a seated dog and the epitaph Μελάνθιε χαῖρε; a looted cemetery of Hellenistic times has also been explored on a hill outside the town. Two manumission-decrees of Roman date, referring to Asklepios and Artemis, have been found at different points at *Káprena* near *Chaironeia*; the British School has resumed the study of the prehistoric pottery from Soteriades' excavations at sites near *Chaironeia*. At *Golími* in *Lokris* tombs have come to light with some black-glazed vases of the third century B.C. and the completely mutilated trunk of a statue of a child.

The sculptures which had been buried at the beginning of the war have now been replaced in the *Delphi* Museum. G. Mastrokostas also reports from *Delphi* a proxeny-decree for Asklepiodoros of *Koroneia*, dedications in honour of Nerva and T. Flavius Philinus, and a stele with its socketed base, reading Βούλωνος ἰδιωτικόν. Near *Kókkinos* in *Doris* the foundation-inscription of the ruined Byzantine church of H. Mone has been found; it records that the church of the Virgin was founded by the monk Myron in the reign of Alexios III Komnenos in A.D. 1199.

At *Lamia* a proxeny-decree of the *Lamieis* has come to light, honouring the Aetolian Damasias, son of Proxenos, in the strategia of Seirakes. Two marble funerary stelae of the Roman period have also come to light in the construction of the new settlement of *Neráida* in *Styllis* near the fort of *Kastráki tòn Ainiánon*; they bear the names ANΘHK - - - Ἀγάθωνος and Σώπολις Εὐκρατίδα. A cemetery with cist-graves containing vases of the Roman period has been discovered at the same place. Near the summit of an adjacent hill many figurines of kouroi, hydriaphoros, and peplophoros types, and of Hermes have been found; they date between the late archaic period and the end of the fourth century, and probably come from a deposit of an unknown sanctuary.

N. Verdeles has continued the excavation of the Archaeological Society at *Pteleós* in Thessaly. About 20 m. east of the Middle Helladic building, whose foundations were discovered last year, four contemporary graves have been found, two of them containing plain handmade vases and Minyan and matt-painted wares. Above these graves to the east a fifth tholos tomb has been found preserved to a height of about a metre and dating to the Submycenaean period; it contained five small vases, a terracotta figurine, and some conical stone buttons. To the south of the Middle Helladic building further trenching has showed that the curved south foundation runs on and that it had an entrance with a jog beside it. The clearing of the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos tomb dug last year near H. Theódoroi led to the discovery of a pit containing the bones of about ten dead just inside the entrance of the tholos; with the bones were found a small three-handled jar, a bronze sword and dagger, a steatite sealstone, and other ornament.

At *Phársala* Verdeles has further investigated the late archaic tholos tomb which he dug last year on the west edge of the modern town; under the north wall of the tholos a Mycenaean grave-shaft, built of small stones, has been discovered. At the mouth of the dromos many iron nails, an iron lock, and pieces of metal plating have been found; they indicate the presence of a plated door closing the dromos. Two other Mycenaean graves have also come to light immediately to the north and east of this tomb. The presence of these graves, which show that settlement goes back to Mycenaean times, lends weight to the proposed identification of *Pharsalos* with the Homeric *Phthia*. Farther to the east three other tomb-structures have been found. In the most easterly one a poros sarcophagus was discovered with a Protocorinthian skyphos and fragments of Corinthian alabaster close by. The second contained four damaged sarcophagi and other finds, including a fragment of a large Attic r.f. aryballoid lekythos with a mounted Amazon. The most westerly tomb, which is not yet completely excavated, has yielded small black-glazed vases of the fourth century.

The collection of reliefs from *Phalanna* which was in the school at *Týrnavo* has been transferred to the *Volo* Museum. A considerable number of epitaphs have come to light this year. Six have been found at *Demetrias* and taken in to *Volo*—two stelae of Διότιμος and Ἀρχίππος Πολυξένου, a fragment with - - - ΑΚΩΝ | - - ΡΗΜΟΥ, part of a pedimental stele of Μιτιά Καλλιμάχου, an intact stele of dark stone inscribed Δημητρία Χαρίτωνος Φήλιξ Λογγεῖνου, and the lower part of a marble relief-stele which reads Ἡράκλειτος Ἡρακλεῖ(του) - - ΝΑΙΟΣ ἥρως χαῖρε. Three crowned stelae, two with traces of red paint, have been found on the site of the new sportsground at *Velestino* (*Pheraí*) and removed to *Volo*; two are inscribed simply with the names Σωσίας and Ἀλευαγόρα, and the third reads Μηριόνη Ποτροκλέους χαῖρε. At *Gonnoi* the upper part of another stele similar to that found last year bears the epitaph ΔΙΚΑΙΟΚΡΙΤΑ | ΗΛΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ | - - ΝΩ.

The excavation on the site of *Kassope* in southern Epeiros has been continued by S. Dakares. The hundred-foot-long rectangular building discovered last year has been further investigated, and appears to be a hotel of early Hellenistic date. The middle of the building is occupied by an oblong court of 14.20 × 11.7 m., which is flanked by porticoes with a frontage of eight and seven octagonal Doric columns; the porticoes give access to outer ranges of almost square rooms—four on the north and south sides and five on the others; one of the rooms on the south side formed a porch with tristyle façades outside and in. At the corners of the building the contiguous rooms at the end of each range were separated by a heavy diagonal wall; all the rooms contained stone bases of tables, and in some of them hearths were found for heating. The outer walls are of careful polygonal on

three sides, but pseudo-isodomic on the south front. Evidence of an upper storey was found, and the partition walls at least are shown to have consisted of a stone base with a superstructure of brick and horizontal beams secured by iron nails. The finds include tiles, palmette antefixes, and sections of painted terracotta sima. A base found on the spot is inscribed with a second-century B.C. dedication to Aphrodite, the principal deity of Kassope, by four strategoi and the grammateus in the prytany of Andromenes.

Various discoveries at *Nikopolis* are reported by Dakares. Between the great building of 'Boufi' and the circuit-wall of Early Christian times part of a small brick construction on a white-stone podium has been investigated. It was composed of a vaulted chamber—open on the south and with a niche at the back—on the west, and an enclosed tank on the east; in front was a paved court. The building was probably a fountain-house. Architectural pieces and fragments of two Latin inscriptions have been found at Voliô, and carved ceiling-blocks and inscriptions of the Roman period have been recovered from the Turkish precinct in Préveza. Near Mázoma a fine Roman-period marble statue of a girl in a full-length chiton, 1.03 m. high with the base, has been unearthed (Fig. 9); on the back, which is unfinished and has an iron clamp in the left shoulder, drilled holes indicate the depth to which the folds should have been cut. Epitaphs of Late Roman date and a family



FIG. 9.—NIKOPOLIS: FUNERARY STATUE.



FIG. 10.—DODONA: LACONIAN FIGURINE.

cist of white slabs have also been discovered at this place. At *Arta* the body of a bronze hydria with a siren on the handle-junction has come to light on the road leading to the Káto Panayía; Dakares dates it in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. At Koutsomýta cist-tombs and cinerary amphorae of Hellenistic type, similar to those previously found by Meliades, have been discovered. A bronze double axe of unknown provenience and a perforated granite axe have been added to the collection of antiquities in the Paregoritissa. The thirteenth-century single-nave church at the village of Mospini near *Iodnnina* has been repaired; a piece of a Latin epitaph has been found built into one of the later aisles, and a large inscription has been noted in the neighbouring school.

Dakares has also continued excavation in the area of prehistoric settlement at *Kastrítsa* south of the Lake of Ioánnina. More pottery is reported, including vases closely related to the Middle Helladic black monochrome ware of Leukas, Eutresis, and Attica, and matt-painted wares of Bouboústi type; with the latter were found some sherds from larger vases with a pale surface of finer clay. Later tombs also came to light, and among the finds are a miniature bronze votive double axe and a piece of the rim of a bronze lebes on which are applied two stylized doves.

D. Evangelides this year resumed his excavations at *Dodona* for the Archaeological Society, clearing an area of 150 sq. m. west of the little shrine or treasury which lies alongside the great rectangular building. Though the excavation was carried down through the classical stratum and the underlying prehistoric one, no trace of buildings came to light; the classical stratum, with a depth of about a metre, consists of debris with a thin chip layer in the middle. Two exceptionally

fine bronzes were found—one, of Laconian workmanship and dated *ca.* 530 B.C., a figurine of a striding warrior (Fig. 10), and the other a horizontal handle, apparently with ram's-head endings and two plastic lizards (one biting the other's neck) along the top. A small silver-leaf cut-out figure of Zeus brandishing a thunderbolt was also found; the features and hair of the god are stamped, and the work is dated to the fifth century. A number of lead strips were found, with incised questions put to the oracle; in one inscription of considerable length ἡ πόλις ἡ Χαόνων asks τὸν Δία τὸν Νᾶον καὶ τὸν Διῶνα about the site of its temple of Athena Polias. At the same time Evangelides has investigated Karapanos' so-called trapezoidal building on the slopes east of the theatre and ascertained that it is an oblong construction with buttresses on two sides, and with two irregular interior rows of three bases at different levels; he hopes to continue the examination of this building.

Evangelides has also cleared the remains of the temple which he had begun to excavate in 1935 in a valley near *Rodotópion* NW of Ioánnina. It has suffered very seriously from the depredations of villagers, but enough remains to show that it was a peripteral limestone building in the Ionic order, measuring 19.30 × 11.00 m.; the surviving pieces of the columns seem to be of Late Roman date. Inside the cella numerous small lozenge-shaped marble paving-slabs in four colours have been uncovered. At the east end of the temple was a paved court containing a structure which may have been an altar. To the north what is presumed to be a grave-enclosure of Roman date has come to light; and all around are remains of buildings. In view of his previous discovery of a proxeny-decree here, Evangelides is convinced that this is the site of one of the cities of Epeiros.

At *Vergína* in Western Macedonia excavation has been continued by M. Andronikos for the Archaeological Society. Soundings in the great mound yielded nothing save a few Hellenistic sherds, and Andronikos concludes that the mound is not a settlement-site but covers a tomb of Hellenistic date. The small mounds, on the other hand, have repaid investigation. Five have been excavated, and numerous burials have been uncovered with finds dated to the Early Iron Age. The first mound contained pithos-burials, dug grave-shafts, and depositions both at the original ground level and in the exstructed mound. Two other mounds in addition yielded grave-shafts in rough stonework and cinerary urns. One of the other mounds had a circular peribolos of rough stonework. The finds include bronze bow- and spectacle-fibulae, spiral hair-bands, belts and numerous small 'buttons', iron knives and spearheads and an iron bow-fibula, and two sets of gold hair-rings. The pottery is for the most part local handmade ware, in which the dominant shapes are the jug with cut-away neck and an open vase with two handles with disc-like terminals—the latter a form hitherto comparatively rare; other shapes represented are semicircular bowls with regularly spaced lugs, perforated for suspension, on the lips, jars which recall Mycenaean models, and a unique three-handled alabastron of angular profile which is of local ware but clearly derived from the Mycenaean form. In addition, some Protogeometric vases were found, including two skyphoi, a small amphora and a pitcher, which bear decoration of concentric circles or semicircles. Makaronas reports the discovery at *Anárgyroi* near *Tsotýlion* of a Hellenistic grave containing a golden olive-wreath, a gold double pin with two attached chains, fragments of a silver vase, and other vessels and ornaments.

From *Salonica* there is little news this year. Kh. Makaronas reports the discovery of a marble head, perhaps of Zeus-Sarapis, and a piece of a second-century A.D. relief-sarcophagus in the grounds of the International Exhibition, and near the Square of the White Tower numerous epitaphs, fragments of an imago clipeata, and other sculptures.

Various new discoveries in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace are reported by D. Lazarides. At *Rodolivos* near *Sérrai* a Hellenistic black-glazed kantharos containing thirteen bronze coins of Macedonian kings and the Aetolian League has come to light in a tomb. A fine bronze statuette of Roman date, representing Zeus Keraunios with thunderbolt and eagle, has been found near *Dráma*. Roman tombs have been exposed in the ancient cemetery area on the east of *Philippi*; a marble sarcophagus found there bears the epitaph of the Roman G. Sallustius and his wife Lucilia. At *Kavála* sculptures and inscriptions discovered in recent years have been transferred to the museum, together with some 200 coins confiscated from jewellers. The remains of a domed cruciform church at *Pórtο Lágos* have been examined, and traces of Early Christian settlement, probably going back into Roman times, have been observed on the site, which seems to be that of Peritheorion. At *Mesokhóri* inland from *Pórtο Lágos* two interconnected graves have come to light; above them stood a marble base with a metrical epitaph giving the names Ἐχέπολις and Στράτων in a fifth-century B.C. stoikhedon script, which has been removed to the Commercial School in *Komotiné*.

Lazarides has also resumed his excavation for the Archaeological Society at *Abdera*. The Hellenistic building tested in 1950 has been excavated in greater part. The west façade, with four entrances, is preserved for a length of over 50 m.; two courts and a complex of twenty-six rooms, corridors, and halls have been cleared inside the building, and yet more rooms remain to be cleared on the east side. Hellenistic relief-antefixes, terracotta lamps and pottery, especially black-glazed ware, Megarian bowls and unguentaries, have been found in profusion; the stamped amphora handles number 310. Two marble heads of statuettes of fine workmanship came to light, also a miniature cylindrical altar with a relief showing a half-draped female figure seated with an Eros in front of her. A great number of terracotta figurines, with a few female protomes, have also been found, together with moulds for their manufacture; Lazarides therefore considers it

likely that the building housed workshops, and perhaps also shops, and that it belonged to the commercial market of the Hellenistic city. Another building of Roman date discovered in 1950 has been largely excavated, and in further soundings a peristyle house and tombs of Roman date and various building traces have come to light: no trace of the earlier Ionic city seems to have been found up to date on this site.

EAST AEGEAN AND ISLANDS

The French School continued work at *Thasos* in July-August, the principal aim being the completion of the exploration of the Agora. In the south-western part of the area the excavators have cleared a rectangular base and a circular monument which may be altars, a paved enclosure, and a number of other bases and exedras; Fig. 11 shows the condition of this area at the end of the season. Many architectural pieces belonging to the elevation of the North Stoa have been recovered this year, and the back wall of the stoa has been cleared over a great part of its length. A deep-level sounding at the Early Christian basilica has revealed an ancient court or hall with a pavement and walls of gneiss. Various soundings have been made at points on the site, especially at the north point of the island, where a bastion has been disengaged, and near the harbour, where the ancient fortification, *ca.* 2 m. thick, has been found running parallel with the shore line; behind this fortification a large marble wall on the same axis flanks a narrow street. There has been large-scale excavation in the cemeteries outside the walls near the Gate of Zeus. Tests have brought to light a Roman funerary road lined with big sarcophagi. Farther on, at *Patáryia*, a series of tombs composed of great slabs of marble has been discovered. This cemetery, which seems to have been very extensive, dates to the fourth century and the Hellenistic era.

The finds of the season include over 600 coins of all periods, twenty-three inscriptions, for the most part epitaphs, pottery, bronze mirrors and jewellery from the tombs, some fragments of sculpture, and 100 odd stamped amphora handles.

In *Samothrace* Lehmann has continued the excavation of the central part of the sanctuary of the Great Gods, and completed the investigation of the altar court which he had started to explore last year. Though only the west side had a columnar façade, the entablature continued round the other three walls. A marble stairway stretched across the interior and led up to a monumental altar. The finds in the fill are dated to the latter part of the fourth century B.C., and thus confirm the attribution of the monument to Philip Arrhidaios, while its form foreshadows the Great Altar of Pergamon. The altar itself is built over a great rock-outcrop which had been cut to serve as a rock altar; a drain for the blood of victims, presumably going with the earlier altar, was found on the rock. Lehmann has also turned his attention to the theatre, which lay opposite the Altar Court. A search for traces of the orchestra and stage buildings was unavailing, and he concludes that a temporary wooden orchestra must have been constructed every summer for the festivals. On the other hand, a terrace wall of alternating courses of red and white stone has come to light in front of the Altar Court, and Lehmann suggests that this served as a kind of *proskenion* while the façade of the Altar Court itself, though not square to the line of vision, provided a monumental background to the action.

Of the celebrated Victory monument of *Samothrace*, which stood above the theatre, a few scraps have come to light, but there is now little hope of finding any of the large missing parts of the statue.



FIG. 11.—THASOS: SOUTH-WESTERN PART OF AGORA.

A clay pipeline has been discovered in the hillside here. It seems to have fed water to the precinct of the Victory, and thus confirms Lehmann's previous assumption that the monument was furnished with a fountain; the 'position and direction of the newly discovered aqueduct appear to show not only that there was a fountain basin in front of the ship's prow, but that the prow itself stood in a shallow upper basin filled with water'. At the back of the 'New Temple' investigations have shown that a stair led up from the lower terrace to the level of the Altar Court. Under the western foundation of the Altar Court a late fifth-century pit has been cleared; it contained numerous fragments of votives, some of which link up with a deposit found last year and this in the Hall of Votive Gifts. The votives include b.f. and r.f. vase-fragments and dedications scratched on the lips of kylikes; the language of these is not Greek, and is perhaps that which Diodoros remarked as still in use in the liturgy of the Samothracian cult in his time; it seems to have no connexion with the language of the 'Tyrrhenian' inscriptions of Lemnos and may be Thracian. One graffito with fifteen letters preserved shows a rare form of beta (β), while another found previously contains the word ΔΙΝ (θεοῖς?).

Great progress has been made with the assembling of blocks from the buildings of the sanctuary, and some architectural pieces have been replaced in their positions. The construction of a road to the harbour of Kamariótissa has led to the discovery of a cemetery with tombs of the late fourth century B.C. In one tomb a fragmentary crown was found on the chest of the skeleton; it consisted of a wooden ring encased in gilded lead with inserted gilded bronze stems and leaves with gilded terracotta berries. A second-century A.D. chamber tomb excavated here yielded glass vessels and other objects which include a unique gold diadem with embossed decoration of a bust of Helios between two bigae driven by Erotes.

In the south-western quarter of the town of Chios a small area of archaic cemetery was exposed in building operations in the spring. Three monolithic poros sarcophagi and a fourth of separate slabs were brought to light. The vases inside them were mainly hydriai. Close by was a great pyre encircled by eight cremation graves, six pithoi, and two amphorae, which contained ashes and small vases. The graves were covered by a stratum 50 cm. deep which contained a few Subgeometric sherds and many 'Naucratic' fragments. Further search by Kondoleon in the vicinity did not bring to light any more graves, but many fine sherds were discovered in the 5 m. depth of fill above bedrock. The pottery found is of exceptional interest, showing a colourful intermediate stage in the development of 'Naucratic' before the conventional chalice-style. Among the other pottery from the fill are r.f. fragments and interesting Hellenistic sherds.

Trial excavations were carried out during June by M. S. F. Hood, assisted by J. K. Anderson, on the Kofiná ridge on the NW edge of the modern town of Khios. Nineteen tombs of later Hellenistic date were uncovered here; they produced about thirty complete vases, mostly fusiform unguentaries. Some of the skeletons had coins in their mouths, and one was equipped with a pair of gold earrings. A stone sarcophagus containing two skeletons yielded four finger-rings, one of silver and the others of bronze. Traces of earlier occupation, ranging from the archaic period to earlier Hellenistic, were found on the site, but had been badly denuded. A well, filled in in earlier Hellenistic times, produced fragments of pottery from which about fifteen complete vases could be reconstructed, a number of mould-made terracotta figurines, and pieces of pithoi with elaborate relief decoration. From this well also came a tile inscribed ΙΕΡΟΝ ΕΡΜΥ, and a clay head, about 10 cm. high and of excellent workmanship, which may represent Homer. About forty stamped amphora handles have been found.

At the same time Hood made soundings at Emporió on the south coast of the island and established the existence of a considerable prehistoric settlement there. The pottery so far recovered is of Early Bronze Age type. From the ruins of a house destroyed by fire came several complete or nearly complete vases, including a large 'amphora' of brown burnished ware with elaborate incised decoration. A search was made for further prehistoric tombs in the vicinity of that discovered some years ago at Dótia near Emporió but without success. An underground chamber with masonry walls and a roof of slabs, which came to light some years before the war at Dótia, has been examined and proved to be a tomb of the Roman era.

The work on the finds from the Anglo-Turkish excavations at Old Smyrna is proceeding; study of the archaic amphorae shows that the import of wine from Chios and from a centre exporting in grey jars can be dated as far back as the eighth century—in fact to Homeric times. There was no regular campaign on the site this year, but small tests have been made to check the stratification of the archaic city wall and have shown that the dates previously assigned to the three main stages of fortification are not too high. Communited seventh-century pottery has come to light at several points outside the peninsula site; this suggests that in the seventh century the city outgrew its old limits. Considerable remains of tombs of the classical era have been brought to light during building operations in the adjacent tumulus-gravefield, among them a rough palmette-finial from a grave-stele; in the more distant cemetery in the 'Meles delta' brickworkers have exposed a number of archaic terracotta sarcophagi.

The Smyrna Museum has resumed the excavation of the Agora of New Smyrna. Ekrem Akurgal has made soundings reaching archaic levels on the sites of Phokaia and Aeolic Kyme, and

L. Robert has continued the excavation of the Temple of Apollo at Klaros with rich epigraphical discoveries. On the acropolis of Erythrai T. J. Dunbabin has found a piece of the trunk of a kore similar to archaic Samian ones, which probably comes from one of the primitive Graces and Seasons seen by Pausanias at the Athenaion there. South of Ephesos the writer and his wife have noted an early Geometric stratum on the peninsula-site at Kusadası and a marble block inscribed in early fourth-century letters Ἀριστάρχο τῷ Λυκίῳ on the slopes below Anaia. Farther south, G. E. Bean and the writer have continued their surface reconnaissance of the country round *Halikarnassos*; further Lelegian town-sites, buildings, and tombs have been plotted, and it now seems possible to identify on the ground the towns synoecised by Mausolos. The quarries of the green stone used in the podium of the Mausoleum have been discovered near Myndos (Fig. 12). On the north shore of the Ceramic Gulf a fragmentary honorific decree has been found at a site at Gökbél; and in Keramos itself a number of pieces of archaic male statues have recently come to light at the spot where an archaic head was discovered nearly twenty years ago.

E. Buschor has been working in *Samos* to repair the war damage and put the finds from the excavations in order. While cleaning north of the great temple he discovered traces of prehistoric buildings and pottery, archaic dedications of bronze and clay, remains of the frieze and ornament of the great archaic temple, inscriptions and a portrait-head of a Roman; a fragment of an archaic female statue and a fifth-century grave-relief are also reported.

On *Tenos* N. Kondoleon has resumed the excavation on the west slope of the hill of Xóbourgo above the village of Tripótamos; it is clear that there was an ancient settlement here which flourished



FIG. 12.—HALIKARNASSOS PENINSULA: MAUSOLAN QUARRY NEAR MYNDOS.

in early archaic times. An early archaic sanctuary of a goddess, perhaps a Thesmophorion, has come to light but not been completely uncovered yet. It consists of a small temple with cella and prodomos, and a similar building alongside, whose north side extends at an angle to enclose the back end of the temple. Against the middle of the east wall of this building there is a square eschara, and to the east of the building are two adjacent small rooms, in one of which two large relief pithoi were found in position; other finds include fragments of terracotta protomes, including one complete example of the beginning of the fifth century. There are also two large rooms to the west of the temple. The sanctuary dates from the end of the eighth century. Kondoleon has also completed the investigation of the building which he began to excavate some years ago; it is of great size, the better-preserved northern half being divided into four rooms in line; it seems to be of a public rather than a religious character. To the north of this building a simple spring approached by a passage cut in the virgin soil has been cleared. Trial-trenches in the neighbouring fields have brought to light walls of buildings at all points, and thus indicate the existence of a considerable settlement. Two Geometric cist-graves have been discovered in a cemetery near the village of Ktikádo.

Other trials east of the Church of the Evangelistria have brought to light a large building resembling a temple, of which only a small part of the krepis and rock-cuttings are preserved; a bearded head, almost lifesize and perhaps coming from an acroterion, has been found here.

Some Mycenaean vases are reported in the archaeological collection in *Andros* from a site in the island. In *Euboea* Khrestou reports the discovery of numerous architectural remains, mainly of Roman date, at the electrical works under construction at *Alivéri* (ancient Tamynai); these seem to be scattered over a wide area and belong to various unlocated buildings. Towards the hill-top a number of plundered tombs have come to light. At Pernáki an incomplete Roman relief and

Byzantine inscriptions are reported. The buried antiquities of the *Eretria* collection have been exhumed, but cannot be properly exhibited owing to inadequate accommodation. At the same time Miss I. Konstandinou has cleaned the site of the Temple of Apollo and taken the opportunity to make some new soundings to supplement Kourouniotes' discoveries. Under the cella wall of the temple she has uncovered two earlier wall-stretches and the foundations of a circular construction which may have been a hearth, and also a stretch of an elliptical structure under the west end. Geometric sherds, some with fine decoration recalling Cycladic, were abundant in these trenches. To the north of the temple a number of Byzantine tile-graves have come to light; in one a small ancient stele with the name Ζενοκρίτη had been incorporated. In the debris here were found numerous architectural pieces of poros showing clear traces of fire; a marble hand from an Amazon of the pediment and a badly worn piece of a foot have also been recovered. In deeper levels here numerous sherds of the seventh and sixth centuries have come to light. At the southern tip of the island P. L. Shinnie has commenced an archaeological survey of the Karystos area. At the other end Mylonas, with the co-operation of the Greek Archaeological Service and suitably equipped craft, carried out a search in September for the wreck off *Cape Artemision*, from which the bronze statues were recovered in 1928. After three days the ballast of the sunken ship was located at a distance of three miles from the village of Péfki and 500 yards from the shore, lying in 23 fathoms; as it is covered by a thick layer of mud, an exploration of the wreck could not be attempted with the time and means available; but it is hoped that now that the problems of salvage are understood, a systematic exploration will be undertaken in a second campaign.

In *Rhodes* I. Kondes has carried out excavations in the city on behalf of the Archaeological Society and the Governorate-General of the Dodecanese. On the acropolis a large building has been explored at the east end of the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus, a foundation—probably of the stylobate—being uncovered for a length of 80 m. In the same area further traces of the ancient road which led from the commercial harbour to the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus have been uncovered. East of the ancient stadium a foundation of a Hellenistic colonnaded building, probably part of a gymnasium, has been cleared; many Doric and Ionic architectural members have been brought to light, and others have been recovered from adjacent field-walls into which they had been built. In the lower town trials have been made at various points; in one of these by the Venetokleian High School the east part of a building, whose interior was originally decorated with rich painting in the first Pompeian style, has come to light. The restoration of the mediaeval fortress has been continued; the damaged area by the Tower of the Angels and the fortification of the French Tongue are now completely reconstituted. Several Byzantine churches have been repaired at different points in the island.

On *Kos* the re-arrangement of the museum has been begun and the majority of the sculptures which had been taken to Rhodes have been returned. Shelters have been built over the ancient wall-paintings that remain exposed in the town. On *Peli* some Byzantine churches have been repaired, and on *Astypálaia* the mediaeval castle has been restored and Early Christian mosaics secured at various points on the island.

CRETE

Owing to lack of funds progress in the *Herakleion Museum* has been delayed; but the large sculpture gallery has nevertheless been opened, and a fuller display of bronze objects and terracottas set out. The 126 new show cases ordered from England have been received and assembled, and it is hoped that the permanent exhibition will be complete in 1953. The remarkable recent finds from Katsambá, the sanatorium tombs at Knossos, Prasá, and Mália, are now on show. The painted restoration of the H. Triada sarcophagus and further Palace-Style amphorae has been carried out by Th. Phanourakes. At *Ierápetra* the building which is to house the archaeological collection is almost ready. The Venetian Club has been restored at *Réthymno* to serve as a museum. A new collection has been formed at *H. Nikólaos* in Merabéllo; it contains the new finds from Kritsá and the remnant of the dissipated Siteía collection. The Cretan Historical Museum has been founded in Herakleion in the mansion bequeathed by the late A. Kalokairinos; a Byzantine and Venetian collection has been assembled in the basement, and the remodelling of the upper floors is proceeding.

At *Knossos* P. de Jong excavated a number of tombs brought to light in the clearing of the foundations of the new sanatorium to the north of the village; there appears to have been an extensive Roman cemetery there with numerous tile-graves and burials in jars. The outlines of four large rectangular tomb-chambers in ashlar masonry were cleared. The tombs had been plundered, and the only find of interest was a circular bronze case containing a silver mirror; the lid, which fitted on to the box, is decorated with the head of a satyr in relief, surrounded by a conventional border of palmettes. In addition, two fine vaulted tombs of ashlar masonry were discovered, with niches in the walls and the entry on the south side. These tombs were unplundered and contained a rich collection of dedications, which included wooden coffers of which only the bronze fittings have survived, tear-bottles and other glass vessels, terracotta masks, highly decorated clay lamps and vases, of which a selection is shown on Fig. 13; the finest single find was a gold ring with a red-and-white cameo of a satyr in perfect condition. A stele with a few letters in the epichoric script has

been unearthed in a field to the north of the Palace. The Villa Ariadne with the surrounding estate has now been presented to the Greek Archaeological Service by the British School, which continues to retain the smaller house, known as the Taverna, as headquarters for excavation.

Some rough figurines of worshippers and animals have been brought to light at the peak-sanctuary during the construction of a wireless installation on top of *Tioutkhtas*; and an interesting small terracotta helmeted head of Athena has been found at *Khoudétsi*, and remains of an ancient construction with water channels have been noted.

At *Vathýpetro*, south of Arkhânes, Marinatos has continued work on the site of the mansion or little palace excavated last year. The main effort this year has been devoted to securing and restoring the building at all essential points. At the same time excavation has been continued on the SW of the palace with a view to locating the potter's workshop, and resulted in the discovery of a building complex which communicated with the megaron by way of the 35-m.-long South Corridor. The new complex comprises numerous rooms, of which four have been excavated. The ground-floor rooms served domestic ends. One has four small 'treasuries' formed of upright slabs, and alongside were found two half-sunk conical stone vessels which may be kneading-troughs. Another room to the south was a kitchen; three well-preserved clay hearths have come to light—two being rectangular and accompanied by a semi-cylindrical trough made of pithos-fragments on a bedding of clay, while the third is of elliptical form and may have been an oven. The pottery found here is exclusively domestic ware, but a gold earring with a pendant like a bunch of grapes was discovered in an upper



FIG. 13.—KNOSSOS: FINDS FROM ROMAN TOMBS.

level. In the main building-group of the mansion the large magazine with two pillars and sixteen pithoi has been cleared; it contained much debris fallen from above and early plant-style pottery (Late Minoan Ia), especially cups both handleless and of the Vapheió form. This magazine has been restored with a concrete roof; the room with the farm installations reported last year has also been roofed, and the vessels found in it have been repaired and set back in position (Fig. 14).

The foundations of a light building in small-stone masonry have come to light in the central court, on the same axis as the central hall whose tristyle façade opened on to the court. This building consists of a central room flanked by two shorter side-rooms; the lay-out, as well as the discovery in front of it of the half of a pair of horns of consecration, indicates that this is a shrine; this, Marinatos points out, is the first Minoan shrine actually to come to light as yet, though the form is well known from frescoes and other representations in Minoan art.

Following on the discovery of a Late Minoan III chamber-tomb containing an empty larnax, Platon has been excavating for the Archaeological Society around *Episkopí* in *Pediáda*. Another chamber-tomb, containing two larnakes, bronze objects, and clay vases, was excavated at *Kalyvótopos*, and at *Kefála* several groups of tombs have come to light; one group consisted of tombs with double chambers which were especially rich in larnakes, most of these being box-shaped, but some elliptical and spindle-shaped—a form unique in the Late Minoan III period to which these tombs are dated. The finds include sealstones, jewellery, and among the vases a small decorated pyxis of elliptical form. Platon has also found traces of a small settlement at a surprisingly short distance from the groups of tombs. Another group of Late Minoan III tombs has been excavated near the village of *Stamnif*. One, a chamber-tomb, yielded stone vases, including a kernos with five vessels and lugs pierced for suspension; another, hollowed at the foot of a rock, yielded fifteen

Late Minoan III vases. Two others in this group are of interest; one, with a rectangular chamber, regular dromos, and blocked-up entrance, contained three burials with sixteen vases, a bronze vase, dagger, tweezers, and two razors, while the other had a horseshoe-shaped chamber and a bench on one side, a pit containing the bones of a dead man, at least ten skulls with other disturbed bones, and offerings of pottery, razors, a sword, and a spearhead. To the west of Episkopí poor tombs and Roman buildings have been found, and here and elsewhere in the neighbourhood Geometric burials have been uncovered.

Investigations of limited scope have been made by J. Deshayes of the French School at *Mália*. A drain has been found in the corner of the bathroom of one of the houses (Zβ), the waste being carried clear of the building by means of a collecting-vase and a channel 20 cm. broad; an elliptical basin of the era of the first palace has come to light under one of the rooms. A great cobbled esplanade has been uncovered on the east of the palace; it was traversed by a paved causeway which led from the SE gate of the palace (Fig. 15); esplanade and track seem to date to the time of the first palace. On the south side of the esplanade was a house (Zγ), whose plan cannot easily be recovered, but which shows two clear levels—one of Late Minoan I, and the other (15 cm. lower) of Middle Minoan I. In the later level here a small store of weapons and implements of bronze has been found; it includes eight double axe heads in perfect condition, four sword-blades (one silver-studded), dagger blades, punches, and a gold-studded scraper. Small tasks of conservation have also been carried out at the palace.

Below *Lytlos* a Later Roman built tomb with a floor of large terracotta slabs has come to light; it contained two gold rings (one of which has a stone carved with the bust of an emperor holding a spear, while the other has a gold bezel with a schematic representation of clasped hands), an inscribed bronze ring, jewellery, and two bronze coins.

In eastern Crete Platon has been excavating near *Siteia* for the Archaeological Society and made remarkable discoveries. Though partially exhausted by recent illicit digging, the Middle Minoan II–III repository of the shrine of Piskokéfalo has yielded a whole series of figurines (most of them unfortunately fragmentary) which represent worshippers of both sexes and are far finer than any hitherto known terracottas of the earlier palatial period. The women's heads have elaborate coiffures and the men long locks, sometimes with a covering, and the dresses of the women show folds at the sides and painted decoration; the modelling of some of the faces is almost classical in appearance. In addition, a whole series of terracottas in the form of the rhinoceros-beetle was dedicated to the deity. A substantial Minoan villa was found by Mrs. S. Platon on the road between *Siteia* and Piskokéfalo. Unfortunately it has been cut in two in the construction of the carriage-road, and has suffered further damage by bulldozing. It belongs to the period of transition from the Middle Minoan to the Late Minoan period. The great entrance stairway with two flights of twelve steps each, giving access from the stream which ran in front of the Megaron, the porter's lodge with two narrow interconnecting rooms, three magazines with pithoi in situ, and some small rooms approached up a short flight of steps have been uncovered. A collapsed burial-cave of latest Minoan, Protogeometric, and Geometric times has been excavated near Piskokéfalo; many vases were found, and about forty with interesting provincial Geometric decoration have been made up. At the back of the cave were found a great circular pail and a Minoan box-shaped larnax with lid; the latter bore spiral and wavy-line decoration, and contained ten Protogeometric vases belonging to a secondary burial, the first skeleton having been removed and laid beside the larnax. A small fish of terracotta of wonderful workmanship was found in this excavation.

At *Ríza Akhládion* part of the outline of a Middle Minoan house has been cleared; it is built of huge stones and is of considerable extent. The entrance and a courtyard wall have been uncovered on the south side. The finds include a piece of a plastic vase in the form of a loaded mule. Also near Akhládia Platon has cleared a section of the built dromos of the well-preserved Late Minoan III tholos tomb which he excavated in 1939. The entrance is built of huge adzed stones with a pavement underfoot. The second door of the tomb chamber had no outlet and probably served for the imagined communication of the dead with the living. At the same place considerable remains of Minoan houses have been observed, and a Minoan beehive potter's kiln has been cleared with its flue, bench for placing the pots and fuel-intake. Tombs with larnakes have come to light at Káto Episkopí near *Siteia*, with traces of later settlement near at hand; and an extensive classical settlement going back to Geometric times has been observed on a hill near Akhládia, with Roman rock-cut shaft-tombs in the vicinity.

Archaic figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries from the site of a shrine by *Roussa Ekklesia* have been given to the museum. Platon has examined the place in *Siteia* where a series of primitive archaic cylindrical-bodied figures came to light some years ago, and has found more fragments including an intact detached head of exceptionally archaic Daedalic type. In the region of *Praisós* Platon has inspected an acropolis in an impregnable position opposite the village of Kalamáfki; among the finds are Late Minoan III pithoi and a small bronze axe; a large terracotta figure probably similar to those of Karphí was previously found on this site.

At *Phaistos* Doro Levi has continued his stratigraphical investigations by the entrance of the older palace. The deep-lying room, which last year yielded wonderful polychrome pottery, has now been

completely excavated. A further series of fine vases (some from an earlier stratum of the room) has come to light. Investigations have also been continued in and outside the old propylaea; the neolithic levels, which immediately underlie those with the polychrome Kamares pottery, have been examined, and the existence of neolithic wares with added colour is confirmed. The early buildings



FIG. 14.—VATHÝPETRO: LATE MINOAN I WINE-PRESS.

are to be left in part open to view, and have been secured. In a more detailed communication to the press Levi has called attention to the presence of polychrome Kamares ware mixed with neolithic in the earliest of the Middle Minoan strata below the so-called First Palace, and insisted on the immediate succession from the neolithic era to the Middle Minoan culture; he regards the Early



FIG. 15.—MÁLIA: PAVED WAY EAST OF PALACE.

Minoan sequences as contemporary with the Middle Minoan and falling in the second millennium B.C., and suggests a similar re-arrangement of the mainland sequence to bring the end of the neolithic down to about 2000 B.C. It is hoped that further tests will be made at points where the earlier excavators reported Early Minoan levels at Phaistos. The restoration of the palace has been continued, and the inner chamber of the queen's quarter has been successfully paved with gypsum slabs from the ancient quarries.

Near *Gouledianá* in the region of Réthymno fragments of a relief pithos with splendid decoration of horses, stags, and fabulous creatures arranged in zones have been recovered, together with a piece of a pithos-neck with a gorgon's head in relief. Platon has examined the site, which is that of the ancient town of Osmida, and has found substantial traces of the ancient settlement there. In *Khaniá* a Late Minoan III chamber tomb and a Roman tomb are reported; another tomb, probably of Minoan date, is reported to have yielded a peculiar vessel consisting of two joining bodies, of which one terminates in a deer's head, while the other has a strainer mouth.

The British School at Athens.

J. M. Cook

THE British excavations at Mycenae in 1952 were conducted with a research grant from the American Philosophical Society assisted by contributions from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the British Academy, the Leverhulme Trustees, and the British School at Athens, under whose aegis the work was carried out. The principal objectives were the ruins by side of the modern carriage road once tentatively called a Hellenistic Gymnasium, further investigation of the Prehistoric Cemetery outside the Lion Gate to the west, the clearing of the House of the Oil Merchant (found in 1950 and formerly called the House of Stirrup Jars) and of the House of the Wine Merchant (found in 1951 and part of the Cyclopean Terrace Building).

The so-called Hellenistic Gymnasium, now completely cleared, proved to be a Fountain House to be identified with the *Perseia Krene* seen by Pausanias among the ruins of Mycenae. Here presumably Tsountas found the inscribed poros base¹ which mentions Perseus and clearly belonged to a fountain. There are two basins, one wide and one narrow, built against a terrace wall of ashlar poros of late classical date. The existing ruins are Hellenistic, but overlie an earlier water channel. The water was probably led down from the well-known spring (now called *neromána*) which lies about twenty minutes above the acropolis to the east. Built into one of the basins is an inscription dating from the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., a boundary stone from a shrine of Hera. The identification of this Fountain House as the *Perseia Krene* confirms yet further the accuracy of Pausanias' account of Mycenae.

South of the Fountain House a wall of ashlar poros, resting on a foundation of small stones, came to light. The wall runs up the slope from south to north for at least twenty metres and is a fine example of Mycenaean masonry, but its purpose has not yet been determined, and further excavation is necessary. By this wall many vases were discovered, including a good example of a 'chariot vase' and a stirrup jar with a painted inscription in the Linear B Mino-Mycenaean script. Near by lay a collection of bronze implements which appear to have been carried in a canvas bag long since perished. Among the bronzes are three curved knives and fragments of others, a hammer, two chisels, a drill, a dagger, a double axe, and several pieces of metal which seem to have been broken from ingots of the well-known hide shape.

In the Prehistoric Cemetery several more Middle Helladic graves of the usual types were found. What is probably part of the contents of a plundered tomb of Late Helladic II date (fifteenth century B.C.) lay in the same area. There are many fragments of amphorae of the Palace Style and other good vases, a handle inlaid with gold and niello of a silver cup of the Vaphio shape, and some remarkable ivories. The last include four model figure-of-eight shields (0.18 m. long) carved in the round and a large object (0.27 m. long) which resembles a *caduceus* and may be a sceptre. These were probably gilded, for in the earth round them a quantity of fragments of fine gold leaf was scattered. The finest ivories are two plaques (one 0.25 m. long by 0.075 m. high; one small) which show a large part of a scene of two confronted griffins carved in low relief in the finest Mycenaean style (Pl. III, *a*). The whole composition must have been made up of several plaques and have been at least half a metre long. It was fastened by ivory pegs to a wooden backing. The design and execution are superb.

The House of the Oil Merchant, of which the basement, the only surviving part, is now largely cleared dates from the thirteenth century B.C. according to painted vases found in one of its rooms. In two rooms, among debris fallen from the upper floor when the house was destroyed by fire, were thirty-eight inscribed clay tablets (Pl. III, *b*). These are the first (except for a surface find in 1950) to be found at Mycenae and the first to be found in a private house. They are in the Linear B script and appear to be accounts. On the back of one is an unusual feature, a lively sketch of a standing man holding a short sword, a soldier on guard perhaps. In another room was a small ivory plaque (0.07 by 0.035 m.) carved with a sphinx in low relief which was probably once inlaid in a wooden casket. In the ruins of another house adjoining to the north, which still awaits excavation, fragments of two fine bowls of serpentine were discovered.

In the House of the Wine Merchant there lay in a capacious store-room over fifty large stirrup jars, each about 0.45 m. high, and a number, about eight, of huge pithoi about 1.70 m. high. Among these lay a fine rhyton of the thirteenth century B.C. (Late Helladic IIIB) with a bold octopus design and about eighty discs chipped from pottery or stone which probably served as caps or lids for the stirrup jars. These stirrup jars, unlike those found in 1950 in the House of the Oil Merchant,

¹ IG IV, 493.

show no traces of oil, and so contained some other liquid, perhaps wine as suggested. The rhyton would presumably have been used as a funnel to fill them from the large pithoi, which would have been storage vats.

The success of the excavations has added much to our knowledge of the history and culture of Mycenae. The inscribed tablets and the ivory plaque with the griffin are discoveries of the first importance, and show that if the excavations can be continued Mycenae has still many treasures to reveal.

A. J. B. WACE

[PLATE IV]

PREHISTORIC

In a second campaign at *Sotira* P. Dikaïos,¹ working for the Kourion expedition, has carried forward the excavation of the hill-top Neolithic settlement. In several of the houses the original floors were uncovered; they yielded pottery of the same types as were found on the two floors above (combed, red lustrous, and red-on-white). In most of the rectangular houses a line of three post holes was found, one in the centre and the others against the shorter walls, indicating a central roof-beam along the long axis. On the northern edge of the plateau a great mass of stone intersected by rough walls was uncovered; it seems best explained as the result of stacking the stone cleared from the site after the destruction of the settlement at the stage of the second floor, when the site was cleared and the houses rebuilt for the last time. A preliminary report on the 1951 season has appeared.²

Rescue operations were undertaken by the Department of Antiquities with P. Dikaïos in charge at the well-known Bronze Age cemetery at *Dhénia*, locality *Kafkála*, much looted but never scientifically examined. A large complex of tombs, now inter-communicating, was entered and planned, and it was established that when they were prepared for re-use in the Late Bronze Age the earlier furniture was broken up and levelled-off with earth to form a hard floor on which to make the later burials. The latter had been almost completely destroyed, but in most cases the secondary floor covering the earlier remains was found undisturbed. In four chambers these lower layers were excavated, yielding great quantities of red polished IV pottery, disturbed and broken but reasonably complete. A search for intact tombs in a nearby archaic cemetery at the locality *Mdli* was unsuccessful. Equally unavailing was an attempt to save intact tomb-groups from a small Middle Bronze cemetery at *Tráchonas* between Galinópori and Rizokárpaso, where recent looting had brought red-on-black pottery of the best quality onto the local market. Specimens, including some unusual forms, were secured for the Cyprus Museum.

The attention of excavators was again focused on Late Bronze Age sites. At *Koúklia* (Palaipaphos) the expedition led by T. B. Mitford and J. H. Iliffe excavated at the locality *Eoretí* eight partly-disturbed tombs, in most of which the main contents were Late Cypriot III, but which Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB sherds proved to have been previously used. A characteristic of the chambers, which were not large, was a deep trench cut in the floor on the long axis. The offerings associated with the second use of one of the tombs (No. 8) were particularly rich and included two hemispherical silver bowls, an ivory mirror-handle with, on both faces, a man slaying a lion cut in high relief, very close in style to that in the British Museum from Enkomi,³ and, among gold jewellery of familiar types, a remarkable series of finger-rings. One of these, of solid gold, has an inset seal-stone bezel of outstanding quality engraved with two recumbent bulls and in the field two Cypromycenaean signs (Pl. IV, *b*). Six others had bezel ornaments worked in gold *cloisonné* and filled with coloured pastes or enamels, not all of them preserved, which are of the greatest technical interest. These new indications of the importance of the city in the Bronze Age are focusing attention on the possibility of an early date for the massive masonry walls in the sanctuary area cleared in 1888, which their excavators recognised as pre-Roman and assigned to 'Phoenician builders'.⁴ The present expedition has started, and plans in 1953 to continue, the re-examination of these remains.

The Koúklia expedition resumed its soundings on the site of Nea Paphos. In this enterprise they were joined by a French mission under J. Bérard, who was particularly concerned to test the tradition that Agapenor was the founder of the new city. The whole western part of the site, from the harbour to the Palaiókastro cemetery, has now been tested without the location of any pre-classical strata.

At Kourion G. McFadden, working for the Pennsylvania University Museum, has succeeded in locating and has re-excavated the tomb where some fifty years ago looters found the well-known gold sceptre-head,⁵ two bronze tripods, and the rim and handles of a bronze crater,⁶ which were later confiscated by the Police and are now in the Cyprus Museum. The Mycenaean affinities of the bronzes were not in doubt, but the sceptre has commonly been assigned to the archaic period. Mr. McFadden has obtained confirmation from an eye-witness of the original discovery that the tomb he has found is that from which these objects were removed, that the sceptre was found with the remains of the bronze crater and that the latter contained a cremation. The tomb is in the Kaloríziki cemetery,⁷ and its re-excavation has yielded an undisturbed group of finds from a rock-cut bench which escaped the attention of the looters. These include a good series of transitional pottery and a second bronze crater containing a cremation, almost certainly female,

and a gold pin. The dating of the gold sceptre to the twelfth century B.C. or thereabouts is a most important result of this discovery, and the paste-filled cloisonné technique employed on the two hawks and the orb which surmount it is no longer surprising at this early date, since it recurs on the Kouklia finger-rings.

At *Enkomi* the French component of the joint expedition did not resume its excavations, but Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer published the most important results of his campaigns between 1946 and 1950,⁸ including the splendid silver bowl with gold and niello inlay which was exhibited on loan in the British Museum during the summer. Dikaïos, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, resumed the excavation of an area of the *Enkomi* site immediately within the northern sector of the town wall (Fig. 1). The buildings in this area were found to antedate the wall, but by how long a period is still uncertain, since they have so far only been excavated down to floors of the end of Late Cypriot II or the beginning of Late Cypriot III. They include a section screened by its own defensive wall, distinct from the later fortifications, and west of it a complex of courts and chambers built in rough masonry, in which sling bullets and bronze weapons were found. In the thirteenth century the town wall, in places 3.50 m. thick, was constructed outside both sections, after which the whole complex was re-arranged and new floors laid. A major catastrophe at the end of the thirteenth century destroyed all these buildings and sealed Mycenaean III C: 1 pottery in their debris. After reconstruction came a final destruction by fire, while Mycenaean III C: 1 pottery was



FIG. 1.—ENKOMI: THE NORTH WALL AREA.



FIG. 2.—KOKKINÓKREMMOS: LATE CYPRIOT III AMPHORA (1/10).

still in use. Early in the twelfth century the town wall was thickened with an outer row of massive blocks and a tower added, but immediately within it, unlike the central part of the town, there was no rebuilding at this point. This is borne out by the lack of pottery of the later twelfth century (decorated Late Cypriot and 'granary' styles), found in quantity in the centre of the town. A further campaign in this area is planned for 1953, when the lower levels will be examined. A notable find was a fragment of a large tablet of baked clay inscribed on both sides but much defaced, the first example to be found in Cyprus. It is of the prevalent Near Eastern form, but the script used is apparently Cypro-Mycenaean. The complete width of the tablet is estimated at not less than 18 cm., while the spacing of the lines is only 5 mm. Consequently the characters are smaller than in any known Cypro-Mycenaean text, excepting those on seals, and this document, perhaps not more than one-tenth of the whole tablet, is by far the longest known in the script.

A group of Late Cypriot gold jewellery, including ear-rings with pendant bucrania of the best style, which was purchased for the Cyprus Museum, was traced to an isolated plateau known as *Kokkinókremmos* overlooking Larnaca Bay near the village of Pýla. In a trial excavation there Dikaïos uncovered a house with one floor only, on the bedrock, on which Mycenaean III C: 1 pottery was found. The house type conforms with those excavated in the *Bamboúla* settlement at Kourion⁹ and in contemporary levels at *Enkomi*. The site appears to be extensive but ill-preserved. Among debris dug out by cultivators and dumped on the edge of the plateau were picked up fragments of a painted amphora of Mycenaean style, exceptional size (diam. 73 cm.) and presumably local manufacture (Fig. 2). A bucranium (the details of the face are not clear) between two birds adorns both sides of the vase. The site overlooks a marsh, which may well have been a land-locked

harbour in antiquity, and adjoins the classical site *Vikles*, where the stone amphora inscribed with the dedication to Apollo Kereates was found in 1951.¹⁰

During this trial, information was received about the looting of a rich tomb a few years ago in the *Verghí* cemetery, in the angle between the main road and the secondary road leading to *Pýla* village.¹¹ This tomb was stated to be the source of three cylinder seals, among them that with the Cypro-Mycenaean inscription figured in *JHS* LXXI, Pl. XLVII, *b*. The tomb was cleared and yielded an extraordinarily rich group of Late Cypriot II pottery, disturbed and fragmentary but including forty restorable vases of Mycenaean style, one of them a crater with four chariots. The plain wares include jugs with Cypro-Mycenaean characters on the handle, several ovoid Syrian jars with two handles and knob-base,¹² and a crater, which Professor Wace identifies with the grey Minyan ware found at Tell Abu Hawám and close in form to a crater from Minet el Beida.¹³

A party of Swedish anthropologists led by Professor Hjortsjö was engaged on the study of the skulls from the current excavations at Enkomi and took the opportunity to examine those recently found in other prehistoric sites. H. W. Catling continued his researches on the connexions between Cyprus and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age as illustrated by the metal industry, and located a number of unrecorded sites.

ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC

Collection of stone for work at the Nicosia airport brought to light a small archaic sanctuary at the locality *Litharkés* near Meniko, which was excavated by V. Karageorghis for the Department of Antiquities. He uncovered the walls of a small cella, in which most of the votives were found, and of a forecourt and annexes adjoining it, constructed of river stones below and mudbrick above. The votives, nearly all of terracotta and of mid-sixth-century style, were not numerous but of good quality with rather well-preserved colour. Among them were a small seated figure of that Ba'al-ammán who was assimilated to Zeus Ammon and of whom other Cypriot figurines are known (Pl. IV, *d*), a bull with two attendants, a fleecy ram, and a chariot. With them were found several painted incense-burners of stone and pottery. Other sanctuaries have been located by chance discoveries of terracottas: close to the abandoned monastery of *Ayios Geórggios Rigátos* near Kyrá and outside the village of *Pomós*. In the latter case some of the figures, which are of rustic quality, are of life size and fourth-century style; they are now in the Paphos Museum.

Purchases for the Cyprus Museum's archaic and classical collections included a choice Chiot phiale mesomphalos from Marion, with rosettes and lotuses alternating in the main zone; a mid-sixth century black-figure skyphos from the collection of the late Capt. C. S. Timins (Pl. IV, *e*), which has the same subject on both sides and has lost much of its white paint; and a small amphora from Amathous of a well-known type painted in black and purple (Gjerstad's Bichrome V), but with an unusual subject, in the panel on both faces: a cock (Pl. IV, *f*). A syllabic inscription from *Lapithiout*, which was located and is being studied by T. B. Mitford, has been purchased for the Paphos Museum, where other acquisitions include a good group of circle style pottery from *Akoursós*. In spite of the archaic appearance of its occupant, this may not be the place to mention the minute bronze pony-carriage figured on Pl. IV, *a*, for in the archaic period it would be much before the accepted date for the invention of shafted vehicles.¹⁴ Among acquisitions of the Limassol Museum is a fifth-century tomb-group containing an Attic black-glaze cup, found during building operations in the *Ayios Nikólaos* quarter of the town, which has thrown new light on the topography of the ancient Neapolis.

The Kouklia expedition resumed the investigation of the Persian siege-mound and the stretch of the city wall of Palaipaphos against which it was built.¹⁵ A section through the latter revealed an original core of mud-brick on a stone foundation about 3 m. in width dating from the twelfth or eleventh century B.C., thickened on the inside first with an addition of similar construction and later with an addition of stone, and finally revetted with stone on both faces in the archaic period. The same section was carried right through the mound, and revealed the end of a tunnel entered from the town side of the wall, passing under the latter and into the fosse, athwart which the mound had been raised. Here the incinerated core of the mound lay over a series of mud-brick piers, perhaps constructed to prop up the roof of the tunnel, which evidently served as a furnace and stoke-hole for an attempt to fire the mound. Here was found a bronze cauldron, full of carbonised wood and lime, which may have been used in this attempt. On the west flank of the mound another tunnel was found, but not excavated, passing close to the stone-faced mud-brick bastion projecting from the town wall, which was found in 1951 and is now completely uncovered.

Against the inner face of another sector of the city wall were laid bare the remains of an important building, the erection of which associated pottery dates to the fifth century, its destruction, after removal of all its contents, to the early fourth. The walls have ashlar faces and a rubble core (Fig. 3), and the fine quality of the masonry may be judged from the fact that the top of the foundation course throughout the building varies not more than 2 mm. above or below the mean level. The city wall is here 5.70 m. thick and the wall of the building which backs on to it 4.90 m., including a slot or air space 0.85 m. wide, perhaps designed to cushion the effects of any attack on

the wall. The plan of the building has not been completely recovered, but its heavy walls, small rooms, and narrow corridors suggest that the main accommodation was in an upper storey likewise constructed in masonry. In plan and masonry technique the excavators observe affinities with early-fifth-century structures at Persepolis, which, together with its evident connexion with the city wall, warrants their suggestion that they may have found the quarters of some Persian military official.

In the area west of that excavated in 1888 the Kouklia expedition had previously laid bare Roman and earlier buildings when testing the theory that the centre of the sanctuary lay in this direction. Further investigations have revealed that, though the lowest layer in this area is rich in Mycenaean and contemporary local sherds, it contains no early structural remains.

The discovery of further fragments of inscribed Hellenistic pottery on the slopes of the *Kaphizin* hill near Nicosia has made possible further restoration of the vases previously found and of the curious texts they bear, on which T. B. Mitford is working. The multiple lamp figured in *JHS*



FIG. 3.—KOUKLIA: FIFTH-CENTURY BUILDING.



FIG. 4.—KOURION: PAVEMENT OF BATH BUILDING.

LXX, 15, Fig. 11, is now seen to have had five rows of nozzles, five inscriptions and, to judge by a smaller example, to have been surmounted by a small cup, perhaps an incense-burner. The work at Salamis which is mentioned below produced the marble head of Aphrodite on Pl. IV, *e*, of good quality and evidently a fourth century original.

GRAECO-ROMAN AND LATER

The most important discovery dating from the Roman period was a bathing establishment with mosaic pavements and marble-revetted walls partly excavated by the Kourion expedition at the western entrance to the city. In one room Mr. McFadden identifies a representation of Achilles, Deidameia and Odysseus at the court of Lykomedes, at the moment when Achilles reveals himself though still clad in female attire. In another room there is a much-damaged representation of the kidnapping of Ganymede by the eagle of Zeus, within an elaborate border (Fig. 4). It appears that the building was in use from the second to the fourth century A.D. and that the mosaics are of various dates. Mr. J. S. Last, continuing his investigation of the city's water supply, for the Kourion expedition, followed up two conduits within the walls. Though both were in use in the Roman period, a cistern with an archaic fill was brought to light.

Tombs of the Roman period containing glass, lamps, and coins accidentally discovered at *Phterikoudhi* (Antoninus Pius) and *Polemidthia* (Augustus? and Trajan) have been excavated by the Department and their contents placed in the Cyprus and Limassol Museums respectively.

At *Salamis* the Antiquities Department, with A. I. Dikigoropoulos and V. Karageorghis in charge, carried out its first campaign of excavation and anastylosis. The purpose was to render more intelligible the remains partially investigated by Munro and Tubbs at the site tentatively named by them 'the temenos of Zeus' and by Jeffrey 'the marble forum'.¹⁶ Of the colonnaded court, measuring about 70 by 50 m., the stylobates on three sides were cleared and short sections of the walls behind them located in 1890, since when there had been considerable filling-in by blown sand. The whole of the west stoa and parts of those on the east and south have now been cleared

to their back walls and down to the original floor level. The colonnades on the north, south, and west, of which eight of the marble columns have been re-erected, were in their last form a reconstruction, in which miscellaneous materials were used, carried out not earlier than the fifth century A.D., to judge by the latest of the Corinthian capitals employed. Under one of the fallen columns the marble head Pl. IV, e, was found. A bench added along the west wall contained coins of Heraclios, indicating that the building still stood and was modified in the seventh century. In their earlier state these three colonnades consisted of stone drums finished with plaster. The angle supports were square piers with two engaged half-columns, a feature repeated in the reconstruction. The date of the earlier state was not determined, but some of its stone columns were used in construction of the wall of the east stoa. This stands 8 m. high, 3.30 m. thick, and 11 m., back from the larger marble colonnade found on this side in 1890. The tessellated marble pavement between them was partly cleared. Further investigation of this massive East Building, which fragments of wall mosaics indicate was repaired, if not rebuilt, in the Christian period, and study of its relationship with the smaller colonnades is planned for 1953. Finds included a fragmentary inscription naming a gymnasiarch, which is a more satisfactory pointer to the original function of this large peristyle court than the inscription mentioning the temenos of Zeus found in 1890.

In further work by the Department (A. H. S. Megaw and A. I. Dikigoropoulos) at the early Christian basilica at Cape Drepanon near *Péyia* (*JHS* LXX, 15), the mosaic pavement of the chancel and the scant remains of that in the nave were cleared and one of the columns re-erected. Finds included fragments of the marble ambon. The remains of the marble furniture lying in the ruined church at *Sykádhia* (*JHS* LXVI, 55, fig. 13) have been removed to the Cyprus Museum, which has also acquired some early Christian architectural fragments of carved plaster accidentally discovered at *Geunyeli*, the inscribed marble column from Lapethus naming the Rabbi Atticus,¹⁷ and a hoard of 178 gold coins of Heraclios, 155 of them solidi, found on the foreshore at *Limassol* during the extension of the sea-wall. During works designed to protect the apse mosaic in the church at *Kiti* an elaborate but damaged border across the front of the apse was uncovered. This has certain affinities with the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock which would favour the pre-iconoclastic date which some prefer for this composition.¹⁸ In the castle at *Kyrenia* further investigations by the Department have revealed unsuspected remains of the Byzantine structure in the southern part of the courtyard and some light has been thrown on the level and limits of the western outer ward of the Frankish fortress. In *Nicosia* there have been further finds of medieval pottery, notably a fourteenth century group including a Syrian bowl from the *Palaeóchora* area outside the present walls. A bequest received by the Cyprus Museum from the late Capt. C. S. Timins included a number of Coptic textiles and oriental rugs.

A. H. S. MEGAW

Nicosia.

¹ Thanks are due to all those named in this report for kindly communicating information concerning their excavations and research, and to the Kouklia and Kourion expeditions for photographs.

² *Pennsylvania Univ. Mus. Bull.* 17 (1952), No. 1, 49 f.

³ Murray, Smith and Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. II.

⁴ *JHS* IX, 201.

⁵ S. Casson, *Ancient Cyprus*, Pl. XI.

⁶ *BSA* XVIII, 95 f.

⁷ *AJA* XLI, 56 f.

⁸ C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*. Paris, 1952. See also *ILN* May 24 and 31, 1952.

⁹ *AJA* XLII, 261 f.

¹⁰ *JHS* LXXII, 115.

¹¹ Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 13.

¹² Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, Fig. 86, 5 and 7.

¹³ *QDAP* IV, pl. XXII, a-c; Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, Fig. 60, 11 and p. 156.

¹⁴ So Professor Gordon Childe informs me. This little bronze was included in a gift to the Cyprus Museum by Mrs. D. Shepeleff and its provenance is unknown.

¹⁵ Preliminary reports on the 1951 excavations have appeared in *Liverpool Bulletin*, 2, 29 f. and *Kypriaká Eprousaí* IE' 155 f.

¹⁶ *JHS* XII, 106 ff., Pls. IV and VI; G. Jeffrey, *The Ruins of Salamis* (1926), 13.

¹⁷ For references see Mitford in *Byzantion* XX (1950), 115.

¹⁸ Sotiriou, *Βυζ. Μνημεία τῆς Κύπρου*, Pl. 61a (ninth century); Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin* (1910), 190 (sixth century).

NOTES

An Inscribed Marble Portrait-Herm in the British Museum.

1. *The Herm and Portrait.*

Pl. V and figs. 1-3 illustrate a small inscribed portrait-herm recently acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, to whom thanks are due for permission to publish it here.¹ It was discovered in 1948 in the lumber-room of a Kentish antique-dealer, but nothing more is known of its history. The material is a coarse-grained, rather grey marble which resembles specimens from Proconnesus. The total height of the herm is 22 inches (56 cm.); from the top of the inscription panel to the top of the head measures 8½ inches (21.5 cm.). The tip of the nose

part of a cloak thrown over one of the shoulders, more probably the left, since this is the shoulder over which the cloak is normally draped. The notch, to judge from its position, was part of the lowest *linea transversa* on the left flank. In its general pose the figure must have been close to the type of the Belvedere Hermes.² From shoulder to fork it measured roughly 21.5 inches (54.5 cm.), from which we may estimate that the complete figure stood just over 4 feet high (1.20 m.).

The form of the herm is unusual. The recessed inscription field and the absence of a phallus suggest that the sculptor meant it to be a herm-bust on a pedestal rather than a curtailed version of a full-length herm. The reverse and sides of the

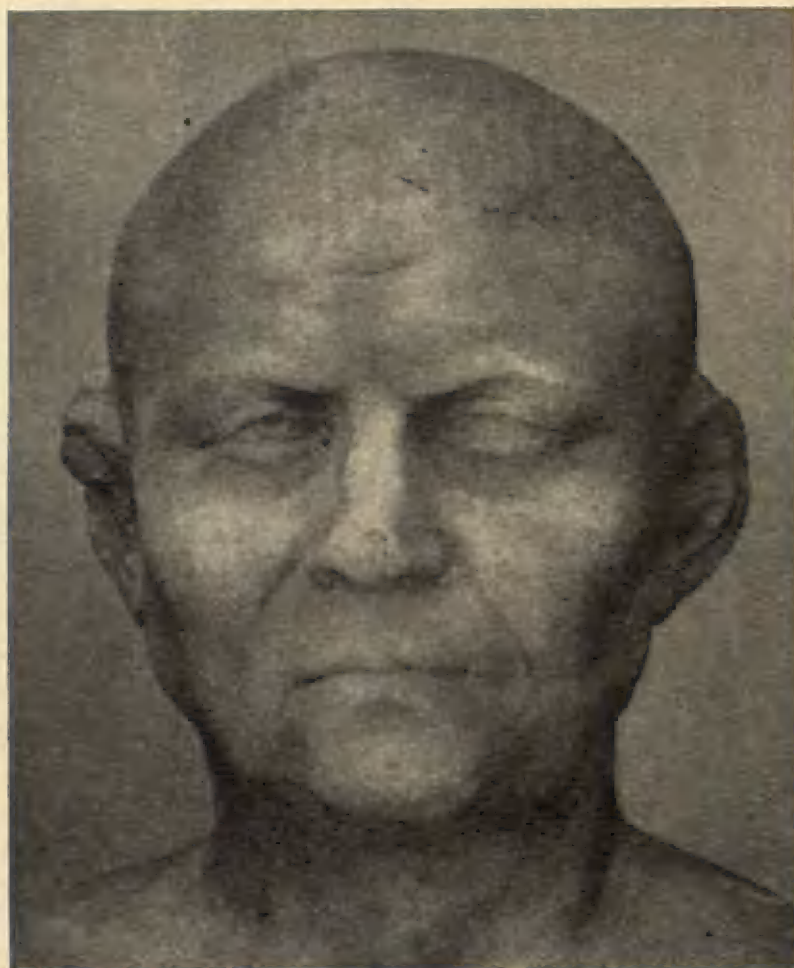


FIG. 1.

and the right ear are damaged; but otherwise the herm is in good condition. There are no restorations and no signs of modern reworking. The surface is finished with a moderately high polish.

The herm has been carved from the torso of an earlier statue. The block of marble furnished by this torso was not quite large enough to get the herm out completely, and the surface of the earlier figure remains visible at three points. Part of its buttocks can be seen at the bottom of the rear of the shaft (Pl. V, *b*); drapery folds appear on the crown of the head (Fig. 3); and there is a wide notch in the right-hand border of the inscription next to the leaf ornament at the end of line 5 (Pl. V, *a*). From these vestiges we may infer something of the original figure. The buttocks prove it to have been naked; and, since the right buttock is higher than the left, it stood with the weight on the right leg, the left relaxed. The drapery folds, running (as their direction in relation to the buttocks shows) from back to front of the body, must have been

shaft and the head from the ears back are only roughly blocked out; probably the herm stood in a niche or against a wall.

The half-life-size portrait (Figs. 1, 2) represents an elderly man, bald and clean-shaven. The left eye is blank, but the iris and pupil of the right are represented plastically by means of two shallow, partially overlapping drill-holes within an engraved semicircle. This difference in the treatment of the two eyes must, I think, be intended to indicate blindness in the left³; and blindness in one eye may also explain the asymmetry of the brows and of the furrows on either side of the mouth. The dry, factual style of the carving, the protruding, tight-lipped mouth, the carefully observed contrasts of prominent bone and loose, leathery skin, are characteristics which recall late republican portraits.⁴ But a republican date is ruled out for our herm by the right eye. Plastically rendered eyes are not found in stone sculpture of the pre-Flavian period and are not common before Hadrian.⁵ The herm is not likely, then, to be pre-Trajanic. On the other hand, the epigraphic

evidence discussed by Dr. Tod below points to a date not later than A.D. 150. Dated between these limits, we may compare the herm with two other second-century herms which show considerable stylistic affinity with ours. The first is the herm



FIG. 2.

of the Athenian cosmete Heliodorus of Peiraeus dated by its inscription to 113-114;¹ the second, the herm of Moiragenes from the Agora, which, though not certainly dated, must be of the same period.² Vessberg has recently suggested³ that the dry, fact-bound style which we associate particularly with late republican portraiture may have originated in Alexandria. These three herms, all Greek works, show that at all events the style was not confined in time or space to republican Rome.

D. E. L. HAYNES

¹ 1948. 10-19. 1.

² Amelung, *Sculpturen des vatikanischen Museums* II, pl. 12, no. 53.

³ Cf. the probable representation of one-eyed blindness in heads of the so-called 'Lycurgus' type (Strong, *Catalogue of the Greek & Roman Antiques in the possession of Lord Melchett*, p. 26, no. 20).

⁴ Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, pll. XXX 1, XXXI 3, XLII 2, XLIII 2, LXI 1-3 & 4, LXV 1.

⁵ Cf. Hekler, *ÖJh* XXI/XXII, 194 f. Berlin No. 415 (= Blümel R 65) is not Trajanic, but dates from the end of the second century.

⁶ Brunn and Arndt, *Porträts*, No. 382.

⁷ *Hesperia* V, 16 f., fig. 14.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 254 f.

2. The inscribed Epigram and the Person commemorated.

On the front of the shaft is an epigram of three hexameter verses, neatly engraved on a slightly sunk panel, every letter of which is unmistakably legible. The panel is 27.5 cm. high and 11 cm. broad, and the letters are 1.5 cm. in height. The script shows the influence of the cursive writing in the 'lunar' forms of ΕCΩ, the slight prolongation of the right-hand stroke of ΑΔΑ above the top of the left-hand stroke, and the curved form of ΛΛ, but the letters are not tall, narrow, and crowded, as is often the case with the cursive script. Α has an unbroken cross-bar, the straight stroke of Θ touches the circumference on both sides, and the horizontal stroke of Π extends to right and left considerably beyond the verticals. All letters are represented except ΖΞΦΥ. The ends of many strokes are thickened so as to form rudimentary serifs. The syllabic division of

words is strictly observed, though this has necessitated the introduction of a leaf-ornament to fill the vacant space at the end of l. 3 and the continuation of l. 8 beyond the edge of the panel. A mark of punctuation like a Greek colon indicates the close of the first metrical verse.

The text of the epigram runs thus:

- 5 Πουμῶν | δούρα βλεπόν|τες ἐν εἰκό|νι μαρμαρο|ποιούσιν|
 γνωρίσατε | μεγάλως π|ίστις δούσα|τα δὲ | εὐχῆς ||
 10 οὐκ ἔστιν | γε θανά|, δγασθῆς γάρ|ἐτύχησε | γυνώμης.

The name of the man commemorated by portrait and poem is emphasised by its position, occupying as it does the first line of the inscription and the first foot of the epigram. It recurs, but with a single μ, in the epitaph Πουμῶς | χρηστὸς | χαίρει, engraved on a *columella* of Hymettian marble now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 1125), which J. Kirchner, its latest editor, assigns to the latter part of the first century B.C. (*IG* ii². 2573); the engraver seems to have written ΠΟΜ and then to have changed the Μ to Υ. Elsewhere I have found it only at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates, where it and closely related names are common. Πουμῶς occurs in F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 445 no. 125, and in the provisional reports on the American Excavations at Dura-Europos, i. 46 no. 3 (= *SEG* vii. 665), iv. 147 no. 282 (= *SEG* vii. 779) and vi. 248 f. no. 742, Πουμῶς in *op. cit.* v. 114 no. 418 and vii-viii. 307 no. 914, Πουμῶς in iv. 173 nos. 353 (= *SEG* vii. 464), 354, Πουμῶς in Cumont, *op. cit.* 436 no. 110 (= *SEG* ii. 802), and Πουμῶς in 419 no. 69 (= *SEG* vii. 690); see Cumont's notes, *op. cit.* 436, 445, pointing out that the name is Nabatean and recurs in a feminine form at Palmyra. Four of the examples at Dura can be accurately dated and fall between A.D. 28 and 62. The Πουμῶς Μενέππου Ἀντιόχισσα of an epitaph of uncertain provenance, now in the Museum at Modena (*CIG* 6912), and the Πουμῶν of a building-inscription at Amman (Philadelphia), dated between A.D. 161 and 164 (*Princeton Univ. Arch. Expeditions to Syria*, iii. 4 no. 4), are probably cognate, as are also Πουμῶ, a concubine of Nahor (*Genesis*, xxii. 24², Josephus, *Arch.* i. 6. 5), and Πουμῶ, a nominative or vocative recorded on an epitaph of Antioch (*IGI Syria*, 970).

The epithet μαρμαροποιός (l. 4) is, I believe, new, but it is wholly appropriate to an εἰκὼν 'struck out of marble'. Leaving out of account the metrical terms δούσατος and its compounds (C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *Reverse Index*, 512), we have



FIG. 3.

δούσατος in the sense of 'hammered', 'forged', applied to a key, ἐμμοστος 'embossed', θεόμοστος 'struck by a god', and μαρμαροποιός 'demented', all derived from the verb πλάω.¹

Apart from this one word, the language of our epigram is perfectly simple and straightforward and contains no unfamiliar terms. Yet there is about it something enigmatic

and almost mysterious, which challenges and perhaps baffles interpretation. We may translate it thus:

'Recognise Rhoummas when ye see him in a portrait wrought in marble, a man who through prayer accomplished great deeds of faith; he died, and yet he died not, for he obtained a good repute'.

Of Rhoummas' parentage and place of birth, of his office or profession, of the length of his life and the cause of his death, of those who wished by this memorial to pay him tribute nothing is said. His praise is sounded, but in quite general terms, and the epithets *μυθῶς* and *ἀγαθῆς* are ordinary, not to say banal.

Who then was Rhoummas? An Oriental, a Semite, probably a native of Syria—so much the name indicates; but Hellenised—so much we learn from the language of the epigram. My first thought, prompted by the phrase *μυθῶς πιστός* *ἀνίσταται* *δὲ* *εὐχῆς*, was that the inscription was crypto-Christian, but this view I have abandoned. There is no Christian symbol on the monument, nor is the language that of the New Testament, which does not use *γνώμη* or *πίστις* in this sense nor the plural *πίστις* at all, in which *δύω* is never found and *εὐχή* occurs only once (*James*, V. 15 *ἡ εὐχή τῆς πίστεως*) with the meaning 'prayer', elsewhere always denoted by *προσευχή* or *δέησις*. Moreover, the denial of death in verse 3 is not based on the Christian belief in immortality, but is more akin to Thomas Campbell's 'To live in hearts of those we love is not to die'. Nor, again, do I think it likely that an early Christian community would erect so costly and striking a memorial, obviously intended for public exhibition, of one of its leaders. More probable seems the conjecture that Rhoummas was one of those many philosophers and 'saints' who abounded in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the early Imperial period—men such as Pliny's friends the Syrian Artemidorus and Euphrates of Tyre (described by von Arnim as a 'popularphilosophischer Prediger stoischer Richtung'), Taurus, the Platonist of Berytus, or Apollonius of Tyana, the Pythagorean wonder-worker—and he, like them, may have migrated to Rome, exciting the disgust of a splenetic Juvenal but basking in the favours and flatteries of wealthy Romans, occasionally interrupted by periods of Imperial disfavour and proscription. Even so the puzzle of verse 2 remains for me unsolved,² but verse 3 may be regarded as merely a briefer exposition of the thought expressed towards the close of the letter in which the younger Pliny tells of the death of his guardian, benefactor and hero L. Verginius Rufus, 'Necesse est tamquam immaturam mortem eius in sinu tuo defleam, si tamen fas est aut flere aut omnino mortem vocare, qua tanti viri mortalitas magis finita quam vita est. vivit enim vivetque semper atque etiam latius in memoria hominum et sermone versabitur, postquam ab oculis recessit' (*Epist.* ii. 1. 10 f.).

One question remains, that of date. The epigraphical criterion is notoriously fallacious, especially in the case of an inscription of uncertain provenance like the present, but my impression on a review of all the evidence is that the epigram may well belong to the century from A.D. 50 to 150. It must be admitted that, of the examples of Attic writing presented in Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, it is no. 145 (=IG ii². 3764), dated about A.D. 217, which is most like our inscription, but it is clear from the tables given by W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, ii. 487 ff., that all the letter-forms used in our epigram were fully established, at least in Athens, by A.D. 50.

MARCUS N. TOD

² *Χρυσόπαιστος* occurs in P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, 508, but this word is not recognised by Liddell and Scott, who give only 'χρυσόπαιστος, *ov*, inlaid with gold, BGU 781 iv 1 (i A.D.)', a word also recorded by Kretschmer and Locker. In his copy of BGU A. S. Hunt underlined *-κτος* and wrote '=*στος*' in the margin, but I am uncertain whether he regarded *στος* as the true reading of the papyrus or as a possible synonym. No other *-παιστος* compounds are known, and this would be more naturally derived from *παῖς* than from *παῖς*.

³ Since writing the above I have consulted Prof. G. W. H. Lampe, who has kindly filled some of the gaps in my knowledge. He points out that *πίστις*, meaning 'works of faith', occurs in the LXX, *Prov.* xiv. 22, xv. 27, coupled with *δουλοῦναι*, and that Procopius of Gaza, commenting on the former passage, speaks of *οἱ πρὸς θεὸν πίστεως* (*Patrol. Græc.* 87¹, 1365A); also that *εὐχή* is very frequently used by the Fathers with the meaning 'prayer', as in Origen's homily *περὶ εὐχῆς*, and that *γνώμη* too is common in patristic literature with a wide variety of senses—indeed, John of Damascus asserts that *κατὰ εἰκοσι ὁμῶς σημανόμενα λαμβάνεται τὸ τῆς γνώμης ὄνομα* (*Patrol. Græc.* 94. 1045B). Prof. Lampe's impression of the

epigram is that it is neither pagan nor fully Christian, but betrays either a 'sub-Christian' religious attitude or Jewish thought as expressed in *Ecclesiasticus* and other similar Jewish writings.

A Column Krater in Dunedin.

(Plates VI-VII)

I am indebted to the authorities of the Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand, for permission to publish a column-krater which they have recently acquired. The vase is unbroken,¹ but the main scene is badly pitted; the reverse is practically undamaged. The glaze is a good lustrous black except for an area below one handle which has fired red and dark brown. There are lotus-buds on the neck above the main scene only, and rays round the base between two bands of red. The pictures are unframed, but a third red line runs round the vase to serve as a ground line for the figures.

On the front (pl. VI and fig. 1) Dionysos stands facing to the left, wearing a long-sleeved chiton and a himation, with a wreath round his head and his hair bound up at the back; in his left hand he holds an ivy-branch, in his right a kantharos. Before him a bald-pated satyr, nude save for a wreath or fillet, capers to the left with his right arm flung up above his head; the surviving traces of beard and ear show that he was looking behind him, his gaze fixed on the oinochoe in his left hand. Relief contour for all save the soles of the feet and the outline of the hair; dilute glaze for the god's moustache and the satyr's abdominal markings; red for the wreaths and ivy-leaves. When the background was filled in the toes of the satyr's right foot were cut off. On the reverse (pl. VII and fig. 2) is a satyr moving to the left and looking back, his right hand above his head and his left arm outstretched; he, too, is bald and wears only a fillet. No relief contour; dilute glaze for the markings of the abdomen; red for the fillet.

The column-krater was a favourite shape among the mannerist group of vase-painters, and the Dunedin krater is by a member of the group, the Pig painter. Most of the details can be paralleled on vases attributed to him,² though the treatment of the upper part of Dionysos' chiton seems unusual for him, and the drawing in general is more careful than most of his work; it is perhaps an early vase by him, and may be dated 480-470 B.C.

P. E. CORBETT

¹ Height, 0.412 m.; diameter of rim, 0.343 m.; maximum diameter of body, 0.333 m.

² ARV 370-2. Dionysos; for the pose, cf. No. 5; for the himation, Nos. 4, 5, 9, 21, 28; for the beard, Nos. 4, 9, 11, 22. The satyr on the obverse; for the line of the hip, cf. Nos. 7 and 23; for the right hand, No. 7 (the woman on B); for the line round the ankle, Nos. 7 and 13. The satyr on the reverse has a strong family resemblance to the satyrs on no. 11. For the general pose, except for the arms, cf. No. 4 (the left-hand youth on B); for the anatomy, Nos. 5, 9, 11, 19. The attribution is confirmed by Beazley; Paralipomena 901, to ARV 370-2; 'Pig painter, add as No. 10 his column-krater Dunedin'.

Mopsos.

In 1946 an expedition led by Professor H. Bossert and his Turkish colleagues of the Institute for Research in Ancient Oriental Civilisations at the University of Istanbul investigated a site, now called Karatepe, in Cilicia, in a wild and remote part of the Taurus Mountains overlooking the Ceyhan River. There they found a small citadel fortified by a wall and ornamented with lions in the gateways. They excavated the gateways and found them to be flanked by sculptured slabs and inscriptions partly in Phoenician, partly in Hittite hieroglyphs. A further excavation on the summit of the hill found other inscriptions in these two languages, which finally, when compared, proved to be versions of the same text. The long-sought bilingual which would interpret Hittite hieroglyphic script had been found. Confirmation was now to be available of the slow and hesitant interpretations of the hieroglyphs which had been attempted over ninety years.

The Phoenician text, which is of 61 lines, is the longest known Semitic inscription. The dedicant is one Azitawad (or Asitawad),¹ a chieftain of the Danunim (or Danuniyim), who dwell in the plain of Adana. Where the hieroglyphic text gives 'king of the city of Adana' the Phoenician gives 'king of the Danuniyim'. The two names must thus be virtually identical, and the prefixed *A* must have some implication at present obscure. The inscription appears to be of the late



FIG. 1.—COLUMN-KRATER IN DUNEDIN: DETAIL OF OBVERSE.



FIG. 2.—COLUMN-KRATER IN DUNEDIN: DETAIL OF REVERSE.

Mopsouhestia would produce L.M. IIIc ware, which might be identified with the advent there of the settlers who, if originally Greek, seem to have been absorbed into the local population.

It remains to try to sketch in outline the half legendary, half historical, events of this period in Asia Minor in which the career of Mopsos is to be set. Thus c. 1395 we have to place the Danunim's invasion of the Syrian coast (and perhaps at about this time they became known as invaders in Greece). We hear of the 'Sea Raiders', apparently from Asia Minor, attacking Egypt by sea in 1229 B.C., where they are defeated in the Western Delta by Ramesses-Merneptah. These raiders include the Akaiwaša (Achaeans), Turša (Etruscans?) and Lukka (Lycians). Turning to legend, we learn from Herodotus I 94 of a great famine in Lydia which led the Etruscans to rise up and emigrate to Italy. Again reverting to history, one is most

1110 B.C. only by the Assyrian armies on the South East. Thus Mopsos' career is seen as part of the larger history of Asia Minor as it was rebuilt in the Iron Age.

R. D. BARNETT

Where was Attila's Camp?

Many scholars who have studied Priscus' account (frg. 8, pp. 289 to 323 in L. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, vol. 1, to the pages and lines of which reference will be made throughout) of his visit to the court of Attila in summer 449,¹ have concluded that the Hun king's camp was on the North-eastern part of the Hungarian plain, between the Theiss and the Körös,² and all whose works I have been able to consult have stated, or implied by their narrative, that it was somewhere in Hungary.



strongly tempted to connect this with a famine which occurred when Merneptah caused 'the Pedetishew to take grain in ships to keep alive that land of Kheta' (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 580). It is clear from all this that Asia Minor was in a turmoil. Meanwhile, the Hittite empire was in its death-throes. Its enemies were massing on East and West. Tudhaliya IV and Arnuwandas IV conducted campaigns against enemies in Western Anatolia not previously mentioned. They included Vilusa, possibly Troy-Ilios (and it may be to this that Priam alludes when he describes how he fought on the Sangarios in his youth with the Phrygians against the Amazons, long thought to represent the Hittites). Meanwhile, Madduwattas, Mukšuš, and the Ahhiyawa were increasing their intrigues. Boğaz-köy, the Hittite capital, was overthrown by its enemies, c. 1200 B.C., and very shortly afterwards (c. 1196 B.C.) the same wave of assault rolled on through Syria and Palestine to spend itself on the frontier of Egypt. The assailants were now Philistine, Shardana, Danunian, and others. Then came c. 1190-80 the Trojan War, and Mopsos' trek through Pamphylia to Cilicia, perhaps to repopulate with a half Greek *Herrenschicht* a sacked Adana, emptied by the recent mass-movements. A few years later, c. 1160 B.C., the Phrygian tribes, the Muški, moved through the centre of Anatolia, to be thrown back in

That Attila usually made his headquarters in the plain of Hungary is true and early became a commonplace.³ It is perhaps as a result of this that scholars have been so ready to assume that in 449 he was there, and have even 'emended' the text of our one and only eye-witness to accord with their views.⁴ Let us begin by a fresh examination of Priscus' narrative.

Maximinus and his suite leave Naissus *en route* for the Danube, and not far from the town they fall in with Agintheus, Master of Soldiers in Illyricum, with whom they spend the night (291. 15 ff.). The next morning, before first light, they continue on their way, which takes them through a *χαλινὸν συννεπές*, full of twists and turns, in which they completely lose their sense of direction (291. 23 ff.). Later they proceed through a *πέδιον* *ῥόδης* until they reach the Danube, across which they are ferried by *βάρβαροι* *νορθαὶς* *ἑς* *σκάπτοι* *μονοξύλοις* (292. 1 ff.). They march some seventy stades on the North of the river, and then camp for the night (292. 12 ff.).

Now the road from Naissus down the Morava valley to Viminacium via Pompeii, Horrea Margi, and Municipium—the road which a traveller to Eastern Pannonia would follow—is quoted in the Antonine Itinerary (pp. 133 ff. Weis.) as 119 Roman miles in length. The distance as the crow flies is

about 100 English miles, so we can accept the figure of the Itinerary as approximately correct. This is surely much too long a distance for the Roman party (consisting of Maximinus, Priscus, Rusticius, Edeco, Orestes, Bigilas, and their entourage, plus five Hun deserters,⁵ to cover in two days, of which the first was partly spent conferring with Agintheus, while of the second enough time was left after the crossing of the Danube to push on nine or ten miles on the other side. Furthermore, the description of the difficulties of the route does not fit the road from Naissus to Viminacium. The Morava valley, from the confluence of the Nisava to the Danube, is wide, open, and straight. There are no defiles, no confusing sinuosities. A further point is that Priscus, who seems to have been interested in rivers (cf. 300. 1 ff., 303. 14 ff.), would scarcely have failed to mention that the whole of his two days' journey lay along the bank of a stream so imposing by its magnitude as the middle and lower Morava.

The nearest point on the Danube to Naissus is Ratiaria (now Arčar, on the bend of the river South of Vidin⁶), distant just under 60 miles as the crow flies, and linked with Naissus by a road built in the time of Augustus.⁷ The distance is such as could reasonably be covered by the party in two days. Moreover, this road (which must have followed in its early part approximately the line of the present road and railway from Niš to Zajčar) makes a rapid ascent shortly after leaving Niš, followed by an equally rapid descent into the upper Timok valley, and a further ascent over the ridge which forms the present Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier. This pass once surmounted, its descent to the Danube is relatively gentle. Priscus' description therefore tallies with the road to Ratiaria much better than with that to Viminacium.

Continuing his narrative, Priscus says that the Roman party reach Attila's temporary encampment on the next day (292. 23 ff.), and later, setting off ἐν τῷ ἀπριλίῳ (299. 25), travel for some seven days (301. 21) until they reach the village in which the court of the Hun monarch is established (303. 14 ff.). During this journey they cross a number of rivers, on the three largest of which, the Δρῆκον, the Τίγρις, and the Τηρῆος (300. 2) they find boats, while the others are crossed on portable rafts which the Huns carry in their carts (300. 6). There have been many attempts to identify these rivers,⁸ the outcome of which is suspension of judgment.⁹ The Τηρῆος may be the Ternes, and the Τίγρις may (though here the probability is less) be the Theiss. These identifications depend mainly on the assumption that Attila's camp was in Hungary, and so cannot be used as arguments in favour of that assumption.

Let us suppose that Maximinus and his party crossed the Danube at Ratiaria, landing not in the plain of Hungary, but in Wallachia. They then proceed ἐν τῷ ἀπριλίῳ τῆς χώρης for one day,¹⁰ and continue for seven days in a more Easterly direction. They will then have to cross a number of rivers, the Dniestr, the Jiu and its tributaries, the Olt and its tributaries, of which the largest is the Olt, and possibly the Vede. The ancient names of these rivers are unknown to us, except that of the Olt—Aluta, Ἀλούτος, Alutus.¹¹ While none of them is navigable in the commercial sense except the Olt, and that only in its last 50 kilometres,¹² several, e.g. the Jiu, the Olt, the Olt, and the Vede, have sufficient water at most times of the year to make it worthwhile maintaining fishing-boats, ferry boats, and other small craft. We may suppose that the Roman party did not move very quickly over country containing so many obstacles; and in any case they had no longer any need to hurry, as they knew that Attila was occupied and would not be accessible to them for some time (299. 27). Their journey's end would therefore be somewhere in central Wallachia, probably East of the Olt. Wallachia is not so flat as the plain of Hungary, but it is certainly a μέλιον compared with the high mountains to the North and West. Priscus' account of this part of the journey, then, seems quite as compatible with the location of Attila's camp in Wallachia as with the more usual location in Hungary. It cannot therefore be used as an argument to support either view against the other.

Let us now glance at Priscus' story of the return journey of the Romans. They leave Attila's court in company with the Hun noble Berichus (320. 22), they spend at least two days on the journey to the Danube (320. 29), Berichus is ἄνευτος καὶ ἐντρίβιος until the party crosses the river (321. 7), when suddenly his character changes, and he demands back the horse which he has given to Maximinus (321. 11) and shows his ill-will in other ways. They continue their journey through Philippopolis to Adrianople (321. 20), where they decide to ask Berichus the cause of his rancour (321. 22 ff.).

For the wary reader this passage is very difficult to reconcile with the view that the Romans were on their way from somewhere in Hungary. There is no mention of a single place before Philippopolis, though the party must have passed through Naissus and Serdica, to name only two large towns.

Throughout the long journey the normally shrewd, observant, and circumstantial historian seems to have noticed nothing worthy of comment. And are we to suppose that, once on the Roman bank of the Danube, the ambassadors tolerated the unconscionable sulking of their Hun companion all the way from Viminacium to Adrianople (453 Roman miles according to the Antonine Itinerary, pp. 133-7 Wess.) before having it out with him? Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the return journey was in fact a comparatively short one, and that Philippopolis was the first place of any note through which the party passed.

A road runs Northwards from Philippopolis over the Trojan pass to Melita¹³ (the modern Loveč), where it divides into two branches reaching the Danube at Oescus and Novae respectively.¹⁴ The Tabula Peutingeriana gives the distance from Oescus to Philippopolis as 78 Roman miles, but this figure is about 20 miles too little.¹⁵ If Attila's camp were actually in central Wallachia, this would be the natural route for the return of the Roman ambassadors, and it fits Priscus' account much better than the usual view that they crossed the Danube in the neighbourhood of Viminacium.

To summarise what must appear at first sight to be a structure of suppositions: Priscus' narrative of the outward and return journeys of Maximinus makes sense if Attila's headquarters were in Wallachia, while it presents considerable difficulties if they were in the Hungarian plain; and his narrative of his movements while in Hun territory is too imprecise to admit of firm conclusions, but is at least as compatible with the former conclusion as with the latter.

In the light of the previous discussion we may now turn to an interesting passage in Jordanes' *Getica* (§ 178), where the Gothic historian relates that when Priscus and his party had crossed the three great rivers and were already near Attila's camp they passed the place 'ubi dudum Vidigoia Gothorum fortissimus Sarmatum dolo occubuit'. Vidigoia was a Visigothic leader of the period before the crossing of the Danube, mentioned elsewhere only in § 43 of the same work. Jordanes' language suggests that he was surprised by Sarmatian raiders in his own territory; but even if he was victim of an ambush in Sarmatian territory, he cannot have been far from home, as the Sarmatians in question are presumably those who lived in the 'Caucalandensis locus', from which they were expelled by Athanarich and the rump of the Visigoths in 376 (Amm. Marcell. 31.4.12). This region is generally believed to have

¹ For the arguments in favour of this date rather than 448 cf. E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, pp. 219-21.

² Cf. L. Schmidt in *Cambridge Mediaeval History* 1. 365; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* 1st. 276; Thompson, *op. cit.* 221-2, whether further literature is cited.

³ E.g. Greg. Tur. 2. 6 'Chuni a Pannoniis egressi, ut quidam ferunt, in ipsa Sanctae Paschae vigilia ad Mettensem urbem reliqua depopulando pervenerunt'.

⁴ Tomaschek, Melich, Fluss, and others wish to alter Τίγρις, the name of a river in Priscus 300. 2, to Τίγρις or Τίγρις, the Theiss.

⁵ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.* 102-3.

⁶ Cf. Vulić, *RE* 1A. 261.

⁷ Cf. von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 21 (1902), 175.

⁸ The same triad is mentioned by Jordanes *Get.* § 178 'Tisia, Tibisiaque et Dricca' and Geogr. Ravenn. 204. 13 'Tisia Tibisia Drica Marisia', both no doubt obtaining their information directly or indirectly from Priscus (though Geogr. Ravenn. quotes as his authorities, besides Jordanes, 'Menelae et Aristarchum, Gothorum philosophos'). Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that Geogr. Ravenn. makes all three rivers flow into the Danube: it would be difficult, on the Hungarian hypothesis, to find a tributary of the Danube to identify with the Δρῆκον.

⁹ Cf. Tomaschek, *RE* 5. 1696; Patsch, *RE* 5. 1706 (Δρῆκον); Fluss, *RE* 6A. 941 (Τίγρις) and *ibid.* 6A. 1426 (Τηρῆος); Thompson, *op. cit.* 221-2.

¹⁰ There seems to be nothing in Priscus' text to imply that the whole of their journey was necessarily in a Northerly direction.

¹¹ Cf. Tomaschek, *RE* 1. 1707. The Ἀραβῶν ποταμός of Ptol. 3. 8. 2 is not, as the cartographers generally suppose, the Jiu, but the Drâncea, an insignificant little stream flowing into the Danube almost opposite Vidin. Cf. Tomaschek, *RE* 2. 365.

¹² Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana* 25. 312.

¹³ Cf. Fluss, *RE* 15. 590.

¹⁴ Cf. Danoff, *RE* 17. 2034. 8-25.

¹⁵ Cf. von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* 190.

been in Transylvania or Eastern Wallachia.¹⁶ Therefore when the Roman ambassadors had almost reached their journey's end, they were still in or very near former Visigothic territory, and certainly not in the plain of Hungary. Thus this fragment of the lost portion of Priscus' narrative, preserved by Jordanes, supports the hypothesis to which we have been led by an examination of the surviving text of Priscus himself.

If we ask why the embassy did not proceed at once by the shortest route, the obvious answer is that they did not know where Attila was. The Huns lived scattered throughout their extensive empire,¹⁷ and their king spent much of his time on the move. In addition, the Romans had to collect the Hun deserters from Agintheus, who was near Naissus.

To speculate upon the motives which prompted the Scourge of God to establish himself in Wallachia in the summer of 449 is perhaps vain. But there is some evidence that at this time Attila was particularly interested in the Eastern portion of his vast domain. Romulus, the envoy of the Western Romans whom Priscus met at the Hun court, believed that Attila was likely to make an attack on Persia through the Caucasus in the near future (311. 30-314. 16). And Attila's eldest son, Ellac, had recently been sent to govern the Acatziri (229. 1-18), who lived in the region of the Sea of Azov.¹⁸ If Attila was preoccupied with his Eastern subjects—whatever the cause of this preoccupation may have been—it would not have been unreasonable for him to fix his headquarters for the time being on the Eastern side of the Carpathian mountain system, which divided his empire in two by a barrier which could be troublesome to an army of primitive horsemen.

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¹⁶ Patsch, *RE* 3. 1801, places it in Central Transylvania, near the headwaters of the Târnava Mare and Târnava Mică (German Gross- and Kleinkökel), tributaries of the Máros, and this has been the general view. The same writer in his *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa* III (Sitzungsb. d. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, ph.-b. Kl., 208 (1928) 2. Abhdl.), p. 64, advances arguments for identifying it with the Banater Gebirge, the rugged, mountainous country North of the Danube Gorge. Diculesscu, *Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien*, 1923, p. 41, wishes to place the Caucalandensis locus in the region of Buzău, in North-eastern Wallachia, South of the Transylvanian Alps. The argument of the present article is unaffected by these differences of view.

¹⁷ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.* 177.

¹⁸ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.* 95-7, Tomaschek, *RE* 1. 131.

POSTSCRIPT. Since this note was sent to the press, I have discovered that my conclusions were in part anticipated by two nineteenth-century Russian scholars. Yurii Venelin, in *Dramie i Nymeshie Bolgare i Politicheskoe, Narodopisnoe, Istoricheskoe i Religioznoe ikh Otnoshenii k Rossiyanam*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1829, pp. 133 ff., points out that the journey from Nîs to the neighbourhood of Belgrade could not be accomplished in two days, and concludes that Priscus crossed the Danube near Vidin and that Attila's camp was in "Little Wallachia." A. F. Veltman, in *Attila i Rus' IV: V Veka*, Moscow, 1858, identifies the three mysterious rivers Τηρόος, Δρόκων, and Τίγρις with the Seret, the Pruth, and the Dniester respectively, and locates Attila's camp in the neighbourhood of Kiev.

R. B.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

✓ **The British Academy: the first fifty years.** By F. G. KENYON. Pp. 37, 13 pll. London: Oxford University Press, 1952. 3s. 6d.

It is singularly fitting that Sir Frederic Kenyon's last work should have been a history of the British Academy. Though not an original Fellow, he was closely connected with the negotiations which led to its formation and incorporation and was elected a Fellow in 1903. He became a Member of Council in 1906, was President from 1917 to 1921, and in 1930, on the death of Sir Israel Gollancz, succeeded him as Secretary, a post which he held till 1949, and to which in 1940 he added that of Hon. Treasurer. He represented the Academy at almost all the annual meetings of the Union Académique Internationale from 1919 to 1947. He had therefore a knowledge of the Academy's development and an acquaintance with all sides of its activity which no one else could claim and was uniquely qualified to write its history.

This pamphlet has thus a special authority for events of which, had he been a man of less modesty, the author might well have said 'quorum pars magna fui'. His narrative, the story of a typically British institution, is clear, factual, and unadorned. It was no act of king or government which created the Academy. A meeting at Wiesbaden in 1899 which proposed the formation of an International Association of Scientific and Literary Academies had to face the fact that, while the Royal Society adequately represented Great Britain in the natural sciences, there was no corresponding body for the humanities. It was from the Royal Society and a group of scholars approached by it that the initiative came. First constituted privately in 1901 as an unincorporated society, the Academy obtained its Charter in 1902, but the Government for long did little else to forward its development. Not till 1924 was a Treasury grant (of only £2000 a year) conceded; not till 1927 were free quarters assigned in Burlington House. The Academy lectureships are due to private benefactors, and the Treasury grant has always been an early victim of economy cuts. The Academy has none the less, as appears clearly from Kenyon's survey, done a remarkable work for scholarship and the defence of humane learning, and to-day, with a much more substantial Treasury backing and recognised by the Government as the channel through which Government subventions for the Schools of Archaeology are made, it occupies a far stronger position than ever before. Thus Kenyon could conclude his review with the words, 'The Academy has thus, after fifty years, acquired its rightful position at the head of humanistic scholarship in this country, and my successors will have a more varied tale to tell.'

At the end of the pamphlet are well reproduced portraits of the thirteen Presidents who have held office to the present.

H. I. BELL.

Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Vol. I, 1951. Pp. 147, 12 pll. Published annually by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 56 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1. £1 12s. 6d.

This is the journal of a new British archaeological School in a foreign land. It follows hard upon the first Annual Report, which itself in due season followed the foundation of the Institute by Professor Garstang; and it shows that the management of the new Institute and the honorary editor do not let the grass grow under their feet. The journal gives the proceedings of the institute in an account sufficient to exhibit the range of its activities and concise enough not to be obtrusive. It also contributes a summary description, of special value to classical scholars, of the work carried out by Turkish and foreign students and missions in the field in the preceding season.

These preliminaries occupy no more than twenty pages, and the remainder of the volume is filled by three communications in which the Director and Students publish the results of recent excavations which they carried out as members of the Institute. Seton Lloyd, in collaboration with Nuri Gökçe of the Ankara Hittite Museum, presents a prompt, and at the same time final, account of the Anglo-Turkish soundings in the mound at Polatlı west of Ankara. Small though these soundings were, the precise recording and relating of the closely superimposed levels of occupation has done much to clarify the sequence of third- and second-millennium cultures on the Anatolian plateau. The authors give an admirably lucid exposition of the strata and systematic typology of the pottery, together with a brief

analysis of the historical conclusions that may be drawn and the relation of their site to contemporary ones already excavated on the plateau. The article is rounded off by appendices which give the specialists' reports that are now expected by the archaeological public. M. S. F. Hood reports on soundings which he conducted with Woolley's blessing at a site near Atchana and which introduced into the third-millennium stratigraphy of the region a series of levels belonging to the culture known under the name 'Khirbet Kerak'; in a scholarly article Hood gives a brief conspectus of this culture and a detailed description of the finds.

Sandwiched between these two reports, which all can admire but few enjoy, comes a thirty-page article which is a fascinating example of what can be discovered through a ground survey without excavation and a thorough examination of written sources—when undertaken by two scholars who seem, in conjunction at least, to be at home in all ages, languages, field accomplishments, and branches of knowledge. Harran, where Abraham sojourned and the Assyrians made their last stand, the Carrhae where Crassus came to grief, has long attracted the attention of scholars by its splendid mediaeval ruins. But no general survey of the site had been attempted, and the buildings had been only partially explored. In three weeks Seton Lloyd and W. C. Brice corrected these omissions and elucidated the structural history of the buildings. Their findings are illustrated by admirable plans and drawings (which in fact constitute the first proper record of such buildings as the castle and basilican church) and well-selected photographs; and their collation and re-examination of the *testimonia* throws new light on the topography of Harran and its environs. The spectacular Anglo-Turkish excavations at Sultan Tepe, in which the B.I.A.A. is now engaged, are one by-product of this survey.

It will be remarked by many readers of this *Journal* that there is nothing for the classical scholar here. That is almost true, but it gives no grounds for alarm. Research in the classical field is generally deeper-rooted and takes longer to mature; in fact, the record of 'Student Activities' shows that the classical element at the Institute is as strong as any. The editors of the new journal have wisely thrown out a few sopas to Envy; there is a fair crop of misprints in the opening pages, and the type-setting of Greek has not quite been mastered. Also, the copy in your reviewer's hands has a number of loose sheets which escaped the stitching. These are growing-pains which will quickly pass off. One fault is likely to be more enduring. The word 'Studies' in a book-title, when used in the nominative and to denote the written products of research, is only too often a cover for miscellaneous work-offs and effusions; it is certainly inappropriate in the title of a journal which is concerned with primary publication of work in the field. Let us, nevertheless, wish that a long life and brilliant future lie ahead of these 'Anatolian Studies'.

J. M. COOK.

Jacob Burckhardt. Eine Biographie. Band II: Das Erlebnis der geschichtlichen Welt. By W. KAEGI. Pp. xxiii + 586, 31 pll. Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1950. Swiss Fr. 29.

In this second volume of his great biography, Professor Kaegi carries the story on through Burckhardt's student years in Berlin and Bonn, his early travels to Belgium and Paris, and the beginnings of his career as a Lecturer in Basle. The period covered is 1839-46, from his twenty-first to his twenty-eighth year. That means that Burckhardt was still a very young man. We find all the youthful enthusiasms and immature judgements which we should expect from this sensitive and sparkling mind, but we also find a clarity and a wisdom far beyond his years. No short résumé could do justice to a story, long but never too long, which Kaegi narrates in lively, yet dignified language. In Burckhardt's letters he has a source which time and again throws illuminating light upon Burckhardt's own developing mind as well as the events of the time. Romantic Germany, with Ranke's, Kugler's, Droysen's teaching and the *schwärmische* friendship of Kinkel and his circle, are the background to what in any other person's life could have been called the formative years. To Burckhardt it largely remained a passing experience; the traditions of the town and university of Basle, at that time largely felt as fetters only, and the beauty of Mediterranean art were in the end to exert a far stronger impact. Although Burckhardt always remained a disciple of Ranke, his passionate humanism led him away from Ranke's almost

nhuman historical objectivity. What we come to realise in reading this volume, and also in looking at the many plates of competent drawings of fine architecture (to which unfortunately there are no references in the text), is that we are present, as it were, at the birth of the first great historian of art.

One of Burckhardt's *Kolleghefte* contains the notes he took from August Boeckh's lectures on Greek Antiquities. Actually, it was an attempt at sketching a *Kulturgeschichte*, of which the famous *Staatshaushaltung* is the only part ever worked out and published. Boeckh divided his material into sections dealing with the state, private life, cult, and the arts. However different Burckhardt's own approach was later to be from Boeckh's, and though he never found his way to the inscriptions, some seed was sown which was to bear fruit in the *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* and the *Reflections on History*.

There was probably more of Ranke and Droysen in the course of lectures on the Middle Ages which Burckhardt held at Basle in 1844/5. The subject is largely seen as a continuous tension between East and West (not between North and South), and Kaegi is probably right in discovering Greek conceptions at work: Eastern empires attacking Western civilisation. Burckhardt later held a very successful two years' course of public lectures on the history of painting. They show, in the greatness of conception no less than in the elaborate, often one-sided verdicts on individual artists and works of art, what was to come: the *Cicerone* and the *Culture of the Renaissance*. But at that moment, having earned enough money by writing articles for the Brockhaus Lexicon, he was only just leaving for Italy. 'Thursday before Easter', he wrote to a friend, 'I hope to be in Rome. Vogue la galère!'

VICTOR EHRENBERG.

Sabrinæ Corolla: the Classics at Shrewsbury School under Dr. Butler and Dr. Kennedy. By D. S. COLMAN. Pp. 18. Shrewsbury: Adnitt & Naunton, 1950.

Few, if any, collections of renderings into Greek and Latin verse have enjoyed such popularity as *Sabrinæ Corolla*, which first appeared in 1850, and of which a fourth edition was published in 1890. On 14 April 1950, the centenary year of the first edition, Mr. D. S. Colman, a Salopian boy and master and formerly Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, read to the Classical Association a paper with the above title, which has now been printed as a pamphlet. It is not only Old Salopian readers who will find his essay both charming and informative. After rehearsing the astounding record of Salopian successes in classics at both Universities between approximately 1820 and 1870 Mr. Colman tries to discover the reasons. The material for an answer to the problem is more extensive than might have been anticipated, and the author makes good use of it. His investigations convinced him, and will convince his readers, that Gladstone's criticism of the system that its object was 'not to educate the mind but to cram it and stuff it' for the purpose of success in examinations is disproved by the facts. Shrewsbury boys of the Golden Age did not read far larger quantities of the ancient authors than their successors of to-day (this is established by an interesting comparison of the books read by C. E. Graves, who was at Shrewsbury in the 1850s, and by a boy who left the school in 1950); they did not write much more classical compositions as a whole, though they certainly did a good deal more original composition in Greek and Latin, and the teaching was not exclusively verbal and grammatical. Most readers of the essay will feel that when all is said and done the chief explanation of the Salopian successes lies in the personalities of two very great headmasters, who were also very inspiring teachers, but some of their methods, e.g. the learning by heart of very large quantities of verse and prose, deserve study even to-day. The essay is enlivened by quotations from the reminiscences of Heitland and others who had been Kennedy's pupils. It can be recommended without reserve.

E. A. BARBER.

A History of Greek Literature. By M. HADAS. Pp. vi + 327. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. \$4.25.

'There is one sufficient reason for writing a new history of Greek literature, and that is that the year is 1950', says Professor Hadas in one of the frankest yet most provocative prefaces to a work of this class that has appeared. Yet if the preface is provocative the work itself is more so, for it is characterised throughout by a modernity and freshness of approach that is all too rare on this side of the Atlantic.

The entire absence of footnotes, quotations from the original Greek, and lengthy bibliographies show that the book is not designed primarily for advanced students or professional scholars, though the author's hope that it 'may find its way to many shelves' is likely to be realised.

The disproportionate amount of space devoted to the great writers of Greece, and those whom Professor Hadas himself describes as 'third-raters' constitutes at once the book's most remarkable and—from a strictly utilitarian point of view—most valuable feature. For it is to such epitomes as these that the less advanced student has invariably turned when he wished to gain some acquaintance with an author whose works lay outside his ordinary range. That such students should be generously and accurately supplied with information on at least the more important of these authors' works appears to be Hadas' main intention in writing this book.

Hadas employs the idioms of modern speech with considerable effect in his brief but pithy chapter on Homer. Nothing that he says is new, except his way of saying it; but some phrases linger in the memory. 'Zeus and Hera indulge in a conjugal spat in the first book' (of the *Iliad*) while 'the long battle pieces seem repetitious to a reader who is impatient of battles, as reports of football or bridge games seem repetitious to hearers whose interests are elsewhere'. His views on the Homeric Question are generally orthodox, though he holds that 'The expenditure of industry, acumen, and paper on the so-called Homeric Question is appalling in retrospect and carries a lesson of humility for scholarship.' Some readers may be surprised to find Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Empedocles tacked on as an appendix to the Hesiodic School; but their place as poets will hardly be denied.

Pindar would have boggled at the dictum that 'lyric poetry was intended not for the entertainment of the gentry, but for all people', and indeed throughout this chapter the author presses the emergence of democratic principles much farther than the evidence would allow. One would like to know Hadas' authority for stating that Bacchylides was 'born some dozen years earlier than Pindar', but one remembers from one's own experience how 'a student fresh from the difficulties of Pindar almost resents the ease with which he reads Bacchylides'.

The author refuses to be drawn into the question of the origins of the Greek drama, on the reasonable grounds that they 'need concern us no more than they did the tragedians and their audiences'. On the other hand, he gives a sound if brief analysis (too brief in the case of the *Agamemnon*) of most of the plays. His closing words on Sophocles are memorable. 'As so often in considering Sophocles the analogy of sculpture suggests itself. A sensitive hand passing over a Greek marble can feel its inexhaustible energy.' In his discussion of Euripides Hadas cannot resist having a go at 'sober scholars who like a clear partition between the serious and the gay'. Again his conclusions are generally orthodox, though it is surely going a little far to say that 'Andromache can only be understood by a generation which fought a war against fascism'.

Old Comedy is strong meat, and strong meat is clearly to Hadas' taste. He rightly divines Aristophanes' intellectual appeal, though his apposite reference to the Marx Brothers may be missed by serious scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.

He has many interesting things to say about Herodotus, and realises that a different set of critical criteria must be applied in his case. 'The wolf never suckled Romulus and Remus, and George Washington did not cut the cherry tree down; but ignorance of these episodes would become a serious gap in our knowledge.'

He has less to say about Thucydides, though he agrees that he may well claim 'the title of the greatest historian in our civilization'. He clearly prefers the 'easier atmosphere' of Xenophon, to whom he does full justice.

His masterly summaries of the works of Plato and Aristotle are almost the best things in the book. He is fair to the *Republic* and roundly catechises the critics who 'have erred in taking it either as a liberal blueprint for the organization of society, or else as one long jest'. 'To attend to Aristotle as literature is like attending to the eagle for his voice', says Professor Hadas in a telling phrase, but his 'towering achievement' in other spheres entitles even his biological treatises to respect.

Hadas devotes a long chapter to the orators, and an even longer section to Isocrates. His elegant summaries of the latter's works, and of the speeches of Demosthenes, cannot but act as a spur to many to read the originals for themselves.

The final third of this work is entirely devoted to post-classical literature, but even this liberal allotment of space is insufficient to permit the author to treat any but the better-known writers in detail. An acute discussion of the merits and demerits of the Alexandrian poets includes a startling estimate in modern terms of the character of Theocritus. 'Nevertheless, if the author of these poems is not a man who would choose to rise before dawn to do the chores in the barn when he could have room service, he has clearly seen and heard and smelled and felt the fields and animals and has not been repelled.' Why Herodas is called Herodes throughout is not clear, but

Hadas has interesting things to say both about him and the Cynics.

The orators of the 'Second Sophistic' are naturally less interesting than the 'teachers of religion', yet Hadas' treatment of them commands attention by his striking presentation of bald fact. He reminds us of Aelian's perfect command of Attic, of Julian's precocity, and of Photius' astounding erudition, and we ponder these things. Finally Lucian. As, according to Hadas, 'even the shortest list of Greek Classics with a direct claim on a modern reader's attention must find room for Lucian' the latter gets the better part of a chapter to himself. Like Aristophanes before him he is 'all head and no bowels'. Yet he exposed the shams of contemporary philosophy as no man dared to do again until Rabelais. (Or rather, one feels tempted to add—Bernard Shaw.) A discussion of Lucian's works leads naturally to the novel with which the author closes his history. And so we come with regret to the end of a remarkable *tour de force* which must give pleasure to many readers, irritate not a few, but stimulate all.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

Greek Literature for the Modern Reader. By H. C. BALDRY. Pp. ix + 321. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 18s.

The spectre of the Greekless reader haunts the modern professor of Greek, except in a few favoured seats of learning. He sees his own class dwindling and those of his colleagues overflowing with students of literature and history who know little or nothing of the ancient world. He feels—and perhaps his feeling is shared by his colleagues, and even by their students—that Greek literature should have some place in the education of this new intelligentsia. But how is he to reach them? The answer can only be through translations and through expositions which assume no knowledge of the original language. Such an exposition Professor Baldry has written. The modern reader of his title means not only the reader of the twentieth century but also the reader ignorant of Greek; his book is designed not only to convey information but also to help towards understanding and appreciation.

Whether he has produced quite what is wanted by the readers he has in mind is doubtful. His book, as he himself explains, is not a text-book, and this perhaps, combined with its high price, will prevent its being widely used. It is not complete. It ends with the Alexandrian age, and omits all Greek literature produced in the period of Roman domination. Even within the limits the author sets himself there are omissions. Xenophanes is there, but Empedocles, surely a more considerable figure, is not. The exclusion of the orators, even though they may be little to the taste of the average modern reader, leaves a conspicuous gap as regards prose writing. Apart from the question of omissions, it seems to the reviewer that B. sometimes forgets that his readers are unlikely to know as much as he does; his section on Sophocles, for instance, seems to assume a greater familiarity with the plays than the sort of reader he has in mind is likely to have. However, he has chosen to write the book he wanted to write, and perhaps it would have been a less good book if he had aimed at producing something more 'useful'.

His point of view may be briefly described as historical; as he himself puts it, his thesis is that 'the various forms of Greek literature can best be understood by studying them against the historical background in which they arose'. The point of view is, of course, that of our age; most scholars of B.'s generation have probably found themselves moving consciously or unconsciously towards the study of the 'background' of ancient literature. And if not abused, the method can certainly contribute much to understanding, as one can see by comparing a work like B.'s with Victorian books about the Greeks. The barrier between the modern and the ancient world has been broken down, in part at any rate, by the development of the historical sense and the widening of historical knowledge. Embarrassed apologies for the morals of Aristophanes or of the Socratic circle are no longer necessary. To understand all is to forgive all.

Yet the historical approach has its limitations. 'The best way of approaching ancient authors', writes B., 'is to see how they wrote before examining what they wrote, and the first question of all is to consider why they wrote as they did.' Yet what they wrote remains the most important thing, and however much we may know about the methods of literary production and the social milieu of the authors, it is the works themselves that matter. We still read them because they are worth reading, and we ask of the literary historian that he should tell us something of why they are worth reading. Here B. is apt to fail us. Sociological explanation tends to exclude appreciation of those qualities which do not require such explanation and which are precisely the qualities that make Greek literature of permanent value.

In his second chapter, by way of removing the difficulties which face the modern reader, B. puts and answers a number of questions. I would suggest one more question which might well occur to some of his readers. He quotes as one of the best of Callimachus's epitaphs the following:

Philip's Nicoteles, a twelve-year lad,
Lies buried here: the hope his father had.

The modern reader might well ask, 'Why do you call this good?', and if honest, would probably add, 'I don't see anything in it'. What we miss in B.'s survey is an answer to the question: Why do you think Greek literature good?

B. writes with fluency and confidence. Certain tricks of style recur too often, for example, the question put in order to be answered by the writer and the 'imperative expressing a supposition'. ('Turn from technique to content, and we are far from the Ionian banquet hall.') A severe critic might condemn some of his phrases as clichés, and find here and there a hint of writing down to the 'modern reader'. None the less, he has written an able survey, seldom, if ever, flat or perfunctory, which, though it may not be quite what the Greekless reader wants, readers of this *Journal* are advised not to miss.

M. L. CLARKE.

The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World. By E. A. PARSONS. Pp. xii + 468, 4 pls. London: Cleaver-Hume Press, 1952. 50s.

It is difficult to do proper justice to this extraordinary book—which is, incidentally, handsomely produced and a pleasure to handle. Evidently a labour of love, it must be the outcome of almost incredible industry and enthusiasm, and it is in fact the infectious enthusiasm of the author which sustains the reader's lively interest through this very long, rambling, and detailed enquiry, and impels him to ignore the countless minor blemishes which disfigure nearly every page. The author has been extraordinarily ill-served by his Dutch printers and proof-readers, and, one suspects, typist—e.g. Maidment (*Attic Orators*) appears as Mardonent. There are three misprints each on pp. 41, 143, and 147, and the printing of the poetry on p. 51 must be seen to be believed. But for much the author must be responsible; e.g. on p. 39 we find 'In Thessaly the Peneus ran; at Delphi Daphne delivered oracles, of which even Homer used in his epics'; p. 6—'Pollux in one of the fragments' (i.e. 7.210); p. 12—Demosthenes made eight copies of Thucydides—'gifts to friends, or for purposes of sale'; p. 85—Phoenicea (*ter*), Antigonius (*bis*), and Diodochi. We find *data* as singular, *omnia opus*, *trivores* of Hesychius, Crates, and Ar. Byz.

One notes with some surprise that among the main authorities are Müller-Donaldson's and Mahaffy's histories of Greek literature, the old dictionaries of Smith, and above all Holm's *History of Greece* quoted like Holy Writ. Not till Ch. XI is free use made of Christ-Schmid, Susemihl, White's *Ages-scholia*, Sandys' *History of Scholarship*, Pauly-Wissowa, etc.

All these things set the classical scholar against the book, and it is a pity the author did not enlist the aid of some other good scholar when Dr. C. B. Gulick failed him. But the book has considerable merits, and usually the scholar will be easily able to make the necessary corrections, while the layman will not be disturbed by such things as Stelpo and Glycira (p. 23).

The positive merits of the book, apart from the lively style, are its fullness of documentation (quoted *in extenso*) and fairness of discussion. The author seems to have missed nothing—indeed much of the detail might well have been spared: after a good chapter on the Libraries of Old Greece we get chapters on Pergamum and Antioch, with a full history of the Attalids and Seleucids. Before we get to the Library of Alexandria (regularly called the Alexandriana) we have thirty pages about the City. We have a detailed discussion of the succession of librarians, with a very lengthy treatment of the 'Scholium Plautinum' and of Pap. Oxy. 1241. A strong case is made out for inserting Apollonius Rhodius after Callimachus (c. 240–230). Next comes an account of the activities of the Alexandrian scholars, with forty-three desultory pages on Homer and the Homeric Question (on which the author is ill-qualified to write—he makes the Chhorizontes 'Expansionists'). We could have spared many pages of gossip for some account of Alexandrian criticism and exegesis, for which the scholia (e.g. to Homer and Aristophanes) provide rich material. Unfortunately the only book on this subject of which much use is made is White's edition of the scholia on the *Ages* (the names, for instance, of Römer and Rutherford do not appear in the thirty-page bibliography).

The last 150 pages deal with the alleged burnings of the library—fifty pages on Caesar (including ten pages of dazzling fiction about his visit to the library with Cleopatra), followed by thirty on the extent of the damage done by the fire, which P. (rightly, I think) concludes was very little.

After an account of later depredations, in which he thinks, with A. J. Butler, that the damage by Aurelian was exaggerated, but that under Diocletian the library suffered 'a considerable, if not major loss', he comes to the destruction of the Serapeum by the Christian mob in 391. He makes the point against Butler that Aphthonius may just as well have seen the Serapeum after as before its destruction, and if he did, the library had then escaped destruction. If so, all depends on the evidence of Rufinus—at this crucial point P. for once fails to quote—who saw the destruction of the Serapeum, without mentioning that of its library: so the question is left in the air (there is no discussion anywhere of what happened to the main library), but the author thinks the Serapeum library survived till the Arab conquest, and accepts the story that it was destroyed by order of the caliph Omar, though rejecting the traditional oriental embellishments (Johannes Philoponus was certainly dead long before then). He quite rightly refuses to follow Butler in arguing from the silence of John of Nikiou, as is clear when we read the passage *in extenso*; that the burning of the books was 'a matter of course at that time' can be seen from the passages quoted on p. 420.

It is a pity that such a useful and stimulating book should lack the indispensable background to rank as a work of scholarship. One thing the author *could* have provided was a good index: the capricious selection of items we are offered is almost useless.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

Ἦς Ὀοτρία. **The Kenning in Pre-Christian Greek Poetry.** By INGRID WAERN. Pp. 153. Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells, 1951.

'Kenning' is a term borrowed from Icelandic to denote a figure of speech especially common in skaldic poetry, e.g. 'earth's bones' for 'stones', and 'foot-twig' for 'toe'. In Greek the word has most often been applied to words used by Hesiod and Aeschylus, e.g. *σπείροισι* for 'snail', *πέντε* for 'the five fingers of the hand', *ἀνθοῦρος* for 'bee', and *νυκταῖος* for 'moth'. From both Greek and Icelandic it is obvious that we have to deal here with a form of expression common in popular, rustic speech, which was then taken over by poets to decorate their 'Kunstsprache'. So that this thesis rightly rejects theories which derive the kenning from the high-flown, riddling language of oracle or liturgy. If it was originally anything more than a playful colouring of popular speech, and can be given any religious significance, we must go to popular religion; it has been suggested that these expressions are periphrases arising from a primitive fear which placed a tabu on the straightforward word. Dr. Waern is no doubt right in saying that any such significance was dead to the Greek poets who used the kenning, but perhaps she underestimates the probability of such a tabu origin alongside the natural urge to make ordinary language more colourful. Evidence from other languages makes a tabu origin for some Greek animal kennings plausible; moreover, kennings which do not refer to animals might yet have an origin in tabu, e.g. *πέντε* and its Icelandic equivalent 'ilkvistr' might be tabu words arising from world-wide superstitions attaching to cutting one's nails.

But the term kenning can be applied to more than the rustic periphrases of Hesiod, and this produces two new questions: where are we to draw the line between the kenning and what we are content to call simply metaphorical expression? And secondly, why did later poets like Aeschylus affect these periphrases? Dr. Waern is quite conscious of the vague lines between what have been called kennings and metaphors; but we may object to a definition of kennings which includes such metaphorical expressions as Aeschylus' *νίκας πέντε βρέττα κορυφῶσαι τάδε*.

The second question, that of the use of kenning in poetic 'Kunstsprache', can be answered in Aeschylus' case by considerations of *δύσως*: some of his kennings may have been taken over from folk speech (e.g. *λάμπουρι* for 'fox'), but, as Dr. Waern shows, some are plainly his own invention (e.g. *ἀνθοῦρος* for 'bee' from the poetic *ἀνθών*). Later, to this search for *δύσως* was added the attraction of *γρίφοι*. Here again Dr. Waern is tempted to include as kennings what might be treated as forced, baroque metaphors. This trouble with definition pervades a thesis which otherwise contains many worthwhile individual observations.

M. H. CHARLTON.

Le cheval dans l'Iliade. By ÉDOUARD DELEBECQUE. Pp. 251. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951. Price not stated.

The plan of M. Delebecque's book—120 pages about horses in the *Iliad* and seventy-four pages of a *Lexique raisonné*, both based 'sur le seul texte homérique', with twenty-four pages, not originally planned, in which the Indo-European and the

Homeric horse 'viennent sagement se ranger sous un même joug'—shows where the author's interest lies. He is impatient of excavation reports and tomb groups. The acceptance of a ninth century Homer excludes the Geometric evidence, though D. sometimes refers generally to sixth century vases, but even for the earlier period there is no discussion of the differences between Hittite, Egyptian and Assyrian chariot tactics, only a few dogmatic generalisations on Mycenaean chariots, and about twenty lines on 'l'erreur du poète—si erreur il y a' in making his tactics wholly unlike any known. A sketch of divergent theories about the history of the horse from oligocene to Troy VIIa is no substitute. The recent discovery at Mycenae of a Myc. IIIb horseman (*ILN* Nov. 1 1952, p. 721) calls for a reconsideration of the antiquity of riding, but it will have to begin from the archaeological evidence, now briefly collected by H. L. Lorimer in *Homer and the Monuments*, and it is by its analysis of the *Iliad* that this book must be judged. Here D. writes as a *connaissanceur* of horsemanship, and finds a brother—one brother—in the poet. His discussion of the care and management of horses and their emotional effect in the poem is good, and as usual interesting facts emerge from a specialist examination of the text. The reader is tempted to play the game according to the author's rules, to object, e.g., that E 266-7 does not contradict B 763-7; but it is the rules that are wrong. Granted that all mortal Achaean horses which had won races before the war would be too old in the ninth year, it does not follow that the earlier histories of these horses are pre-Homeric. On such discrepancies, deliberately left by Homer to show 'le sérieux de la recherche' and 'l'exactitude historique du récit'. D. bases 'une démarcation très nette' between 1. 'legends', i.e., everything that happens before the Wrath, which 'ont pu voir le jour, sous une forme peu éloignée de celle où nous les connaissons, à une époque antérieure à la Guerre de Troie', 2. the personal observation of the poet, and 3. the narrative, which is a ninth century reconstruction of twelfth century history and therefore unconvincing and conventional. This is too simple, and neither language nor content nor the prominence of Elis and Sicyon in the 'legends' supports it. In battle scenes D. surprisingly finds poverty of vocabulary and tactics. He is astonished that when *πύρ* meets *βρέσσι*, the former always wins. 'Si l'homme de char est destiné à la fuite ou voué à la mort, ne ferait-il pas mieux de mettre pied à terre pour se battre?' His conviction that 'le vrai combat de char est le combat de char à char' prevents him from seeing that by the nature of Homeric tactics the man is in the chariot because he is incompetent or has been caught at a disadvantage. When an army is routed, men begin to fall from chariots; and we find a nice gradation, from Agastrophos, rashly separated from his chariot (A 339-42, cf. P 605 ff. with its conclusion illustrating Y 641), through Asios with his horses breathing down his neck (N 385-6), and Idaios, bold enough to dismount but then not daring to protect his fallen brother (E 20-1), to Pandaros, who, after protesting too much to be taken seriously as a spearman, confounds Aeneas' plan by not dismounting at all (E 166 ff.). Only once a man illogically leaves his chariot to run away, in Y 401-2, suspiciously made up of A 423 + E 56. The most useful part of the book, and in the absence of an index the easiest to use, is the *Lexique du cheval chez Homère*. The compilation was clearly a labour of love, but none the less a labour, and the comments are direct and sensible. If D. is not convincing in his use of the *Iliad* as evidence for his theories, his comments on the behaviour of horses should be considered with respect.

DOROTHEA GRAY.

Hesiodi Scutum. Introduzione, testo critico e commento con traduzione e indici a cura di C. F. Russo. Pp. 224. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1950. L. 1300.

Our understanding of the 'Hesiodic' *Shield* from the literary viewpoint has hardly kept pace with archaeological commentary on its content. As literature the poem has manifest defects. Structurally, it has little real unity, for the description of the shield of Herakles which is its *raison d'être*, as the Alexandrine title acknowledges, is sandwiched into an ill-proportioned account of the duel between Herakles and Kyknos, and the whole tacked on to the 'Ehoie' of Alkmene. Stylistically, the rhapsode, whoever he was, stands convicted of inconsistency, awkwardness, and poverty of vocabulary. None the less, the poem needs to be interpreted positively and placed in its literary perspective, if archaeological speculation is to rest on a solid basis.

This new editor Russo has set out to do, and he brings to his task sound scholarship and a penetrating criticism. Issuing a strong caution against dismissing the poet as an unimaginative plunderer of Homer and Hesiod, he insists that, while the choice of subjects for the shield was influenced by Homer and archaic

art, the poet deliberately gave a new cast to his Homeric material and shows, in his literary treatment of figurative subjects, a trend to 'psychological symbolism' and a liking for detail, particularly macabre detail (cf. the *Doloneia*). The shield had no single original, and was not even eclectic (Sir John Myres' reconstruction in *JHS* LXI is, for Russo, a lost labour), but was merely a subject for literary imagination. Only in the Perseus scene does Russo detect clear traces of figurative originals, which probably derived their inspiration, like the Medusa scene on the Chest of Kypselos, from the workshop of the Nessos painter. He is consistent in dismissing Studniczka's attractive suggestion that the fisherman in the harbour scene is the rhapsode's misunderstanding of an original Diktys with δίκτυον, but he should not represent the theory as only introducing an unnecessary *elemento del paesaggio* into the Perseus scene. The adoption of the theory would have saved him from the conclusion that the harbour scene marks an *cedimento di senso estetico* in the poet. It is also a pity that R. M. Cook's arguments for artistic originals of the lions c. boars and Centaurs c. Lapithi do not receive more detailed attention.

Russo's handling of the MSS. acknowledges a debt to Rzach's recension as modified by Schwarz, who demonstrated that of the ten, excluding papyrus remnants, adduced by Rzach, G, H, and I are contaminated. He has, however, checked E^c and E^z, and re-collated 'saltuariamente' the other six MSS., correcting Rzach's collation of B at 189 and 255. In addition, he has collated for the first time *Mutimensis* (Z), a fifteenth-century MS., which, though also contaminated, reproduces a sound early tradition in some of its interlinear variants and contributes some ancient scholia. At 172 Z alone has the right reading κέρρω, and at 302 λαγός, with Z^c and Triclinius.

In a poem prone to be inconsequential and repetitious, it is no easy matter, when the MSS. are in unison, to pronounce with certainty on interpolations or to assess the rival merits of obvious doublets. Here Russo has effected some improvements upon Rzach², expelling 405-11 (*ersatzinterpolation*), 398b-401a (*binneninterpolation*), and 425, a spurious self-citation of 333, the genuine echo appearing in its proper context at 458 (ἐπιστάς). He prints an unmetrical χρυσήν in the text at 199 (Bentley's conjecture was χρυσήν, and correct the *app. crit.* ad loc. to read ἐν χειρὶ χρυσήν Paley). The full-stop at ἐκλονίοντο in 317 (after Rzach) makes θαῦμα ἴδεν too abrupt; θαῦμα ἴδεν certainly picks up θαῦμα ἴδισθαι in 140, but must be construed with ἐκλονίοντο. Like the recurring theme ἔργα... 'Ἡραίοιο in 244, 297, and 313, it looks beyond its immediate context to the whole shield.

Complete freedom from error is not to be expected in such a copious commentary, which bids fair to oust the text from the page. The note to 17, 'il pensiero è di Alcmena' (why?), seems inconsistent with 20 n., and that to 174 is obscure. *ἡπάλιν διδορικός* in 145 is wrongly rendered *tunc tuens*, with a wrong reference to Verg. *Aen.* vi, 571, and *ἐκλονίοντο* in 317 rendered *lasciuebant*. *καίοντο* in 448 has surely not been attracted into the case of its object 'Ἡραίοια (not -ῖα), and the incongruity of 456 consists in Athena's having left the chariot (cf. 444).

This edition, well-documented and provided with indexes, translation, and bibliography, is an important contribution to the study of the *Shield*, upon which we are likely to be dependent for some time to come. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that greater care has not been expended on the proof-reading. Besides twenty-six other printer's errors noticed by the reviewer, the following corrections should be made: in 84 n. read *ῥαίονισι*, 185 l⁸, 205 n. *καθιστήτης* and -ε, 269 n. *κόμα*, 310 n. *ᾠδῶν*, 314 n. *ἐκλονίοντο* *ἴδω*, 315 n. *ἀριστοπότης* for -ητος, 389 n. Horat. *Carmin.* 3, 22, 7 and 400 n. *ὄλος*.

J. H. QUINCEY.

L'école Éléate. By JEAN ZAFIROPULO. Pp. 304. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950. Price not stated.

The fragments of Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus are here presented in the Budé series. The text is that of Diels-Kranz². The translation seems to follow the usual interpretations, but Ταῦτόν δ' ἐστὶ νοεῖν τι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόημα (Parmenides, fr. 8, 34) is translated 'Ce qui se peut penser et la cause de nos pensées sont une même chose'—a rendering which appears to require an interchange of accents, if it is possible at all. τῶν μὲν οὐ χρεὼν ἐστιν (fr. 8, 53) is rendered 'dont aucune n'est permise seule', but surely Cornford was right in his contention that the goddess was not here objecting to a dualist cosmogony while approving a monist one, but rather objecting to any cosmogony in the old sense as illegitimate: two ποῦποι, she says, are two too many, not one too many. Not *even* one is allowed. Z. seems to suggest by his rendering the strange view that the goddess approves a dualist account of nature but thinks a monist one improper. It is not clear, either here or elsewhere, that Z. has made a close study of Cornford (as he has of Burnet and

of J. E. Raven). There is only a passing reference to Plato and Parmenides at the end of Appendix X.

But fragments and translation take up only a tenth of the book. Its real fascination and merit lies in the rest of it. It is marred by misprints (not confined to English names), and there is an infuriating system of cross-references, some of which are double-cross-references. There is neither index nor bibliography. Yet the book is valuable and important in many ways. It gives prominence to the personal histories of these philosophers—a particularly valuable corrective in the case of Eleatics. There is perhaps an over-emphasis on the 'bad press' Melissus had in Athens because he defeated Pericles in a sea-fight, but the constant description of him as 'notre amiral' is not pointless, and Z's vindication of him (against Aristotle's rather impudent belittling) as a first-rate thinker deserves full consideration. Too much, no doubt, is claimed. There is little justification in the fragments for suggesting that he made time a 'fourth dimension' (this reminds one of Cornford's attempt to show Anaximander as a believer in the curvature of space), and the close relation of time and space is already implied in Zeno's paradox of the arrow. What is of real importance is that Melissus attempts a metaphysical restatement of Parmenides' doctrines while Zeno has already adopted purely logical arguments more closely related to the eristic fashion of his times (and of ours). It was this anti-metaphysical fashion in thinking which turned attention away from Melissus, as it did from the Atomists themselves in their own day.

Zafiropulo defends at length his exclusion of Xenophanes and Gorgias from the Eleatic school. Clearly he is right in the case of Gorgias, unless a specific rejection of Eleatic postulates might argue him an Eleatic *malgré soi*. But one cannot be so sure about Xenophanes. Zafiropulo follows the general opinion of scholars at present in regarding Parmenides as a dissident Pythagorean, relying on the tradition that Ameinias the Pythagorean was his teacher. But even if one accepts this view, can one dismiss Xenophanes as a mere bard or rhapsode? Least of all would one expect Zafiropulo to take this view, since his fundamental approach to the pre-Socratics is by way of a radical distinction between animistic explanations of the Universe and materialist explanation based on the senses. Melissus's denial of ἀλγεῖν and ἀνίστασθαι to the One Being is duly noted; but this is surely in direct succession to the εἰς θεός of Xenophanes, who

οὗλος ὄρη, οὗλος δὲ νοεὶ οὗλος δὲ γ' ὄκουσι.

In Parmenides himself what is remarkable is the *hiding* of any such animistic presupposition, which perhaps peeps out only in the word ἦτορ in his line ἦντι 'Ἀληθείης εὐκατέλεος ἀνταῖς ἦτορ. The attempt to expound Plato *Sophistes* 249c as meaning that the Eleatics attributed life and motion to the 'totally real' is a complete failure. The Eleatic One is ridiculed at 249a as σμῆνός καὶ ὄλιγον, ἐνδὲν οὐκ ἔχον, ἀκίνητον ἑαυτός. It may be said that Plato here overlooks the ἀλγεῖν and ἀνίστασθαι in Melissus. This may be so, but the later Eleatics ignored it too, and it was against the Parmenidean element in the tradition that Plato was protesting.

One cannot, in a review, discuss the general validity of the explanation of Greek thought in terms of residuary animism. One may, however, suggest that the antithesis animist-materialist is not the same as the antithesis subjective-objective. Zafiropulo sometimes seems to treat them as identical when expounding Parmenides's thought. However, one can say that the book reminds one of Cornford's *From Religion to Philosophy*. It has some of its strength as well as many of its excesses, and this is a sufficient recommendation.

J. B. SKEMP.

Sophocles. A study of heroic humanism. By C. H. WHITMAN. Pp. 292. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 31s. 6d.

In his first chapter Professor Whitman discusses the nineteenth-century view of Sophocles the serene, unquestioning, 'pious' or conventionally pietistic artist. His second chapter contains a short account of the Sophoclean studies of Tycho von Wilamowitz, Professors Schädewaldt, Pohlenz, Weinstock, Reinhardt, Perrotta, and Bowra, and a discussion of the idea of tragedy in which the hero comes to grief through some ἀμαρτία. Chapter III treats of the chronology of the extant plays; Mr. Whitman puts *Ajax* as early as about 447, *Antigone* 442-1, and next after *Antigone Trachiniae*, which he dates about 437-432.

The next seven chapters discuss the extant plays. The author is much indebted, and avowedly so, to the work of K. Reinhardt. Briefly, his interpretation may be summed up thus: the tragic hero in Sophocles is one who not only is isolated from other men, but possesses the quality of heroic *areté* in such measure that he is bound to destroy himself. He is 'dear to Zeus', 'godlike' and near to the divine: he and his

arete are found 'where the boundaries of man and God begin to merge'. This conception depends on the assumption of the existence of the divine in the human. (As an illustration of the closeness of man and god, Mr. Whitman refers us to the Atlas metope from Olympia. This is an excellent illustration: the hero performs the difficult job, the god is present and benevolent.) Such is the heroic *arete* of the tragic hero that he makes no concessions to the standards of ordinary men, and therefore courts his own destruction.

So Ajax towers above the ordinary, sensible people, and is destroyed—but preserves his honour and in the end is justified and even glorified. Mr. Whitman rightly rejects the interpretation according to which lines 127-33 contain the 'message' or 'moral' of the play: be humble, be careful, and you will be happy. Athena and the divine machinery serve to illustrate the characters of Ajax—the embodiment of extraordinary, individual greatness—and Odysseus—the embodiment of ordinary common sense. Conscious of his *arete*, Ajax (l. 761 foll.) does not need the help of the gods, for the divine is in himself. Odysseus recognises (1339) the special greatness of his enemy, whose *ἀρετή* prevails over Odysseus' enmity. In passing, Whitman writes of l. 1357 'it is generally supposed he (i.e. Odysseus) means his own *ἀρετή*'. It is doubtless Ajax' he means, but it does not really matter. He certainly means the *ἀρετή* of Ajax; and the accurate interpretation of the line must matter.

W. gives a long and elaborate analysis of the beautiful, lying speech of Ajax, 646 ff. He concludes that 'Ajax lie is neither deliberate nor indeliberate'. In the discussion of this speech, there is some irrelevance and some excessive warmth in the writing, which serves rather to obscure than to clarify the author's points: e.g. p. 76, 'Being no longer a part of time, or nearly so, he can view it as if from without, and whole, and dismiss its phenomena forever, albeit with a certain tenderness.' The lying speech of Ajax does, in fact, recognise the conditions of life. Combined with much that is illuminating, we find such remarks as this: 'The hero is a law unto himself, but in what a different sense from the robber-barons of the Middle Ages! There may be a touch of the robber-baron in the Homeric Achilles, but in Ajax the intuition for inward law and self-mastery is already a full-fledged moral consciousness.' W. discusses satisfactorily the formal structure of the play and the second half, the vindication of Ajax.

In *Antigone*, Sophocles is led by a hope, amounting to faith, in the ultimate value of man. W. agrees with K. Reinhardt—and probably nowadays no one will disagree—in rejecting Hegel's interpretation of the play as a conflict between right and right. But he finds Antigone too ungente and sharp-tongued, 'excessive in her manner to Ismene', so that she throws some sympathy on to Creon's side. But is not Antigone, like Ajax, filled to her own self-destruction with heroic *arete* and courting martyrdom? and no one who is repelled by her rashness and 'unwomanly' sharpness will feel that her sister and not she is the heroine, or that Ismene shows womanhood to better advantage. Professor Whitman comes to this view in the end (p. 89), and it is satisfactory to find him contesting strongly the opinion expressed in a recent study of the play that Creon, not Antigone, is the tragic hero. In this chapter, again, one meets some difficult and startling sentences; for example, 'The poet turns his heroine upon the stage like a cut jewel and builds his scenes around the igniting of her facets.' And a few lines of this chapter are disquieting; on p. 92, discussing ll. 904-20 W. writes, 'A more disillusioning passage could scarcely be imagined, but fortunately it can be safely expunged as spurious.' Plenty of close students of Sophocles will disagree. W. discusses the matter in a note, p. 263, by reference to the work of earlier scholars. But this book will be read by inexperienced students, by undergraduates, and numbers of the 'unprofessional' and 'common' readers of poetry; perhaps this summary sweeping-away of difficulties may be misleading and dangerous. Similarly, on p. 159, W. does not discuss the relative dates of the two *Electras* (a pretty dreadful subject by now, it must be admitted) but states, 'Euripides objected violently to this play (i.e. S.E.) and wrote his own *Electra* in answer to it. Presumably Sophocles, in this work at least, was not fully comprehended even by his contemporaries.'

W. groups together *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus Rex*, plays concerning 'late learning' and 'irrational evil'; studies of individuals suffering evil unmitigated by any sort of victory and resulting directly from the most moral action possible to them. W., rightly, will have no truck with attempts to lighten the pessimism of the last lines of *Trachiniae*. In seeking for a moral order in the universe—a seeking that is evidently natural and normal in man—Sophocles finds an order, gods, Zeus, which only intensifies human doubt and suffering. The chapter on *Oedipus* admits a great debt to K. Reinhardt, but W. makes a contribution of his own to the discussion, and he em-

phasises that it is the myth, not the play, that raises the question of the innocence of Oedipus.

Part IV treats of *Electra*, *Philoctetes*, and *Oedipus at Colonus*, which W. groups together as plays of tragic endurance. He writes, 'Looking back to Homer, Sophocles could see how much the *Iliad* differed in its basic assumptions from the *Odyssey*, supposedly the work of the poet's old age.' (Does this mean that the author believes this view of the relative chronology of the epics to have been generally held in Sophocles' time?) He sums up his interpretation of these three plays with the remark that the *arete* of Achilles underlay Sophocles' early tragic conceptions, Ajax and Antigone, whereas in the last period it was the *arete* of Odysseus, namely *kleosyne*, that makes the hero great.

It is notoriously difficult to make out *Electra*, to say what all this brilliant writing is about. W. finds the stubborn and rebellious *Electra* heroic in endurance, able to be tortured but not frightened; he finds that like other Sophoclean heroes, she 'destroys herself', choosing adversity and suffering for a moral reason. This chapter moves from this comment: 'No one could have known better than Sophocles did that Aeschylus, though a little stiff at times, a little archaic and ritualistic in his approach to the drama, was possessed of an incomparable dramatic genius,' to difficult remarks concerning time and eternity; the chapter on this baffling play fails to convince. In his chapter on that beautiful play, *Philoctetes*, W. rightly says, 'Heracles is no ordinary *deus ex machina*; he does not solve a difficulty otherwise insoluble, nor does he enter simply to bring the story to its "proper conclusion".' The discussion of *Oedipus at Colonus* is long and complicated. In a careful analysis of the play, W. writes, 'The *Oedipus Rex* can hardly have failed to stir ambiguous reactions in Athens. The passages just quoted illustrate the interpretations which his story prompts; indeed, it is even possible that between 429 and Sophocles' resumption of the myth, the much debated question of the guilt or innocence of Oedipus had already begun to divide readers into bristling camps.' Side by side with this surprising conception of Athenian society, W. has some valuable things to say concerning the several parts of *Oedipus at Colonus* and the poet's faith in the indestructible value of human nobility.

Of the last two chapters 'Sophocles and the Fifth Century' and 'The Metaphysic of Humanism', the earlier acknowledges its great debt to Professor Jaeger's *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*. W. finds the humanism of Sophocles to consist in a faith in god-like man, man becoming god in his actions. (We may remember, perhaps, certain fifth-century sculptures which portray at the same time perfect man and perfect divinity.) The last chapter attempts to formulate the metaphysical implications of the humanism of Sophocles and his age.

Passages from the plays are given in the text in translation, generally accurate, though sometimes a little over-free. On p. 145 there is an incorrect rendering of *Oed. Rex* 1078.

It is a brave thing at this date to add one more to the general studies and interpretations of Sophocles. No help towards the understanding of this most difficult and subtle poet will come amiss; and it must be emphasised that W. has much to say that is helpful and useful. It is only a pity that, except where he is giving an outline account of the plays, his English is difficult, complicated, over-warm (one might almost say feverish), and inclined to be apocalyptic. There are some strange words and phrases; the N.E.D. confirms one's first impression that there is something odd about them—e.g., 'genuinity', p. 263; 'involvement', p. 110; 'petulancy', p. 116; 'fixities', p. 151, in the sentence, 'In Sophocles, the two great virtues of Odysseus are no longer characteristic fixities, but develop into a moral process'; 'emotional involvement with the situation', p. 155; 'ideational', p. 197, in the sentence, 'Such scenes . . . embodied serious ideational contrasts for the Athenians of the fifth century.' Many students of the poet in England and America will read this book (though its price in England is 31s. 6d.). It is a pity that what is useful and helpful in it has not been rendered in simple and easily intelligible English in a smaller compass.

M. HARTLEY.

Sophocles, Antigone. A new dramatic translation by F. KINCHIN SMITH. Pp. xvi + 68. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1950. 3s. 6d.

This translation of a play which, perhaps more than any other Greek play, has a living message for the modern world, is, it would seem, designed primarily for acting. As such, it is extremely successful. The spoken parts are rendered into prose, and the choruses into free verse, which conveys an adequate idea of rhythm to a Greekless reader or playgoer. The translator is at his best in the stichomythia, where he has well caught

the swift interplay of speech between characters whose personalities are in irreconcilable conflict. His language is simple and vigorous, and he has made some attempt to vary the tone to suit the character. This is seen to advantage in the first episode, where there is a well-marked variation in style between Creon's dignified speech setting forth his political principles and the flustered verbiage of the comic sentry. The splendid scene in which Antigone justifies herself to Creon by appealing to 'the unwritten and eternal laws of heaven' is very well done, full of tension and a sense of gathering climax, maintained up to Ismene's entry—

Ant. Who knows what the gods regard as good, and what as evil?

Creon. A traitor is a traitor, even in death.

Ant. To those who love me I give love, to those who hate me I return not hate.

Creon. If love you must, then go and love them in the world below. No woman shall rule me while I'm alive.

An equal vigour of language is apparent in the quarrel scene between Creon and his son—

Haemon. A city is no city that is ruled by one man.

Creon. Does not the city belong to the ruler? I am the city.

Haemon. A one-man city! It's a desert you should be ruling.

Creon. Champion a woman, would you, boy?

In the passages of sustained speech, one misses more, perhaps, the feel of rhythm and the sense of poetry which are essential to Greek Drama; and it may be suggested, now that T. S. Eliot and Christopher Fry have shown what can be done with rhythmic speech in drama, that the best medium for translating iambic portions of Greek Tragedy is a speech in which a rhythmic beat may be discerned, not as obtrusively as in conventional blank verse, but as an undertone, felt rather than heard. If such a medium were chosen, there could be no reason for flinching from the sudden poetical phrase or metaphor which illuminates the language here and there and raises it above the tone of everyday speech; nor, again, would plain, vigorous, colloquial English be out of place in a not too apparent rhythmical setting. That Mr. Kinchin Smith is aiming at something of this sort is clear from his preface to the translation, but the rhythm of his prose is not nearly apparent enough or consistently enough maintained. It can be felt in Antigone's speech on the unwritten laws, but hardly at all in the messenger's speech.

In translating the lyrics, the author has achieved a poetic style, and shows what he can do with a speech that is rhythmic without ever being monotonous. His rendering of the Hymn to Love is a good example—

Love invincible, love irresistible,
Matchless in fight,
Love that sleeps in a girl's soft cheek,
Keeping vigil,
Love that riots among the flocks,
Over the sea Love seeks his prey,
In lonely cabins among the hills,
None can escape you—god or man—
Not deathless gods nor mortal man,
And he you enslave is mad.

The translation is preceded by an introduction giving an outline of the Oedipus saga, a brief note on the historical setting and significance of the play, and some useful hints to a modern producer. A few pages of notes at the end explain the mythological allusions.

R. W. B. BURTON.

Euripide et la guerre du Péloponnèse. By É. DELEBECQUE. Pp. 489. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951. 1600 frs.

That contemporary allusions underlie certain of Euripides' plays, notably his *Suppliants* (see Giles in *CR* IV (1890), pp. 95-8), is a venerable belief going back at least to Musgrave and helpful to the understanding of others of the more 'patriotic' pieces; it is possible that topical matters also prompted passing references of an aetiological or kindred nature elsewhere. Thus, for example, Grégoire's dating of the *Ion* on the strength of the mention of Rhium in v. 1592 combined with the military 'promenade' in that area in Thuc. V, 52.2 commended itself to so sober a judge as the late A. S. Owen (edition of *Ion*, p. xl). Excellent: but having begun in this way, where does one stop? M. Delebecque, with the luminaries of what he calls the 'école belge', would answer 'nowhere'; Euripides is no longer the recluse in his cave on Salamis, but a man in the forefront of affairs, whose writings are to be ransacked for echoes of events of his time. Whereas Professors Grégoire, Goossens, and their immediate followers concentrated their

researches on individual pieces, D. goes one better and treats all the surviving plays comparatively (except, of course, the *Alkestis*) by this 'méthode historique'. Little is said of the fragments (which are often difficult to date), nor did I notice any discussion of the comparable matter in Aeschylus at all, for D., though discursive, confines himself to his author. D.'s bibliography, it may be noted, was completed in 1944; it would be interesting to know what he makes of J. A. Davison's treatment of Aesch. *P.V.* (*Tr. Am. Phil. Ass.*, 80 (1949), pp. 54 ff.). To him 'each of Eur.'s tragedies seems to have, in a degree to be determined precisely, the character of an "œuvre de circonstance"' (p. 10), while later we hear of allusions 'pour guider l'opinion publique' (p. 18) or those by which the poet 'peut faire œuvre de propaganda' (p. 28). All is grist to D.'s mill, be it unexpected place-names, anachronisms, myth-variants, digressions, and much else besides.

Exciting as this kind of argumentation is, it is full of pitfalls. Thus the statements 'in the form of the Medea-legend prior to Eur.'s play of that name the scene was Athens (*Soph. Aegaeus*, Eur. *Aegaeus*) or Iolcus (Eur. *Peliades*); in choosing Corinth . . . Eur. draws attention to that city at the precise time when its politics bring it into collision with those of Athens' (p. 39) or again (this choice of scene for the *Medea*) 'stirs a feeling of surprise in a number of his listeners' both look plausible enough, until we take account of the epic tradition, not discussed by D., preserved in a fragment of Eumelus' Κορινθιάς, and giving Corinth as Medea's legendary home; whereupon all appears quite normal. Here the required evidence has survived to discount a hypothesis; how often in other cases are we tempted to conjecture because ignorance of something a well-read Athenian would take in his stride causes us perplexity?

Within his premisses, however, D. has done his work competently; had his judgement been equal to the range of his reading, we should have had a shorter and, I suspect, a rather more valuable book. As it is, we should be grateful to him for reproducing the substance of several articles in periodicals difficult of access in this country, and even at his most speculative, he is eminently readable. He recognises the need for a precise chronology of the plays if he is to give the account of the development of Eur.'s views at which he aims, and the bulk of his book (pp. 59-400) is very properly taken up with this. The danger of circularity of argument is avoided, but some of D.'s play-datings are, to say the least, startling. A remarkable Euripidean trilogy is expiscated from the surviving pieces for the year 413, viz. *Electra*, *Orestes* (though qualified by a question mark) and *I. T.* To include the *Orestes* here, the archon-date given by the scholiast on v. 371 has to be jettisoned after two pages (pp. 302-4) of unconvincing argument and in spite of the reference to Philochorus. D. rejects the date largely because the rest of the scholium refers to events of 410, which he does not think in question here. As well suspect the date for the first performance of the *Clouds*, because our source goes on to give a demonstrably false one for a revival of the play. Were D.'s date for this play better grounded, the ill-assorted *Oresteia* that results would have little to commend it, if only because the titles of Eur.'s known trilogies do not suggest myth-linking by a common character, such as *Orestes* here; the nearest we come to something of the kind is the trilogy of 415 (*Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, *Troades*), where the Highest Common Factor is not a person but the Tale of Troy. Nor can one feel much more confidence in the view that *H.F.*, *Hecuba*, and *Cyclops* were produced together at the Lenaea in 423.

Space does not allow further discussion of doubtful matter; frankly the evidence precludes by its nature the degree of precision that D. must attain if his case is to stand. Other scholars, employing methods similar to his, arrive at widely different dates; e.g. (to name one cited in D.'s bibliography) J. A. Spranger puts the *Heracleidae* in 419 (*CQ* XIX (1925), pp. 117 ff.) and the *H.F.* in 422 (*GR* XXXIII (1919), pp. 54-5) on the strength of lines 217 ff. and the references to the Thespians in Thuc. IV, 96 and 133: D. has it that the former was in 429 and the latter in 423. He is aware of views which conflict with his own, and generally tries to do justice to them; it is a pity that the fact of the divergences did not cause him to re-think his approach.

Chronology disposed of, the resulting conclusions (pp. 401-63) about Eur.'s views on the war, the leading figures of the day, and Athenian policy generally are not as revolutionary as might be expected. Alcibiades and other familiar names loom, of course, fairly large, while mistier persons, e.g. Seuthes, Sitalces and the like, are conjured up. Eur., we are told, eulogises Thessaly, has little love, apparently, for Delphi in its pro-Peloponnesian moods (though the *Ion* shows a difference), is diplomatic towards Argos, and so on. Yet not all D.'s ingenuity makes one believe that Eur. can be regarded as a firm adherent of a political viewpoint (he had his moment of deviation in 415, apparently), while on D.'s own showing his integ-

rity (e.g. 'L'auteur fait bon marché de ses sentiments intimes pour obéir aux exigences d'un patriotisme éclairé', p. 414) is seen sometimes in a not very favourable light.

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

The Electra of Euripides. Translated into English Prose with Introduction and Notes by D. W. LUCAS. Pp. xix + 68. London: Cohen and West, 1950. 5s.

The Alcestis of Euripides. Translated into English Prose with Introduction and Notes by D. W. LUCAS. Pp. xix + 52. London: Cohen and West, 1951. 5s.

Mr. Lucas' two translations are uniform with those of the *Ian* and *Medea* already published in the same series. The translation of each play is preceded by three short essays, common to the whole series, on Tragedy at Athens, Euripides, and the translation; and by an introduction to the play concerned. It is followed by brief explanatory notes on the text itself. The humble but very worth while purpose of the series is to help the Greekless student of tragedy to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the nature and background of Euripidean drama; and, as might be expected, Mr. Lucas' general introductions are clear, straightforward, and to the point. He rightly emphasises the dramatic intensity achieved in the Greek theatre by methods very dissimilar to our own, and gives a brief but vigorous account of dramatic performance at Athens. Perhaps some further references for reading would be of real assistance to the readers he has in mind.

The two introductions provide necessary information about plot and characters in the plays and sensibly moderate suggestions on their interpretation. Both are stimulating and adequate, but it might help to point out even more clearly that the *Alcestis* is one of Euripides' *pieces roses*, and that if we do not allow ourselves to be put off by their paste-board mounting, the fairy-tale characters can within the framework of their picture touch our emotions as delightfully and variedly as the denizens of Arden or Orsino's palace.

The prose translation he intends for readers anxious for a more precise knowledge of the contents of the Greek than they can obtain from a verse rendering of the original in a different artistic tradition; and he tries to avoid the unevenness of the literal crib, while preserving the original as far as possible from new word and thought associations foreign to Greek. The reader may be confident that he has before him a careful and accurate rendering of the Oxford text (though in *El.* 745 the antecedent of *ὅν* must surely be *πῶτον*) and that the notes will call his attention to the few places in which Mr. Lucas adopts a different reading. In the lyric portions Mr. Lucas writes a clear, delicate, and balanced prose, which conveys as much of the spirit of the original as prose can. In iambs, the distinction of which from lyrics is always difficult in prose, he is rather less successful in finding an even style which retains both the dramatic values of the Greek and the poetical cast which even the realistic Euripides never entirely abandoned. The result is sometimes—and more especially in dialogue—a mixture of conversational and literary idiom and vocabulary which lacks the rhythmic poise of the lyric sections without always achieving the compensation of dramatic force. Still, many passages, such as the recognition scene in the *Electra* and Admetus' speech (*Alc.* 327 ff.), are effective and convey genuine emotion. Some expressions such as 'customary valediction' (*Alc.* 610) seem ponderous; and *δυσχερὲς* in *Alc.* 109 is surely more than 'perish', for if modern associations are to be avoided, it seems important to exploit fully the innate imagery of the Greek words themselves. These are minor criticisms to set against a real debt of gratitude to Mr. Lucas for providing in English prose a translation comparable to those already available for the French and Italian reader in his native language. It is not an easy task: French is in some ways better suited than English prose to the conventions of Greek tragic style, and in so far as a foreigner can judge, Italian prose conveys more easily than either the lyric intensity of the choruses and the more realistic poetry of iambic dialogue. It is certainly better suited to ejaculations of sorrow or passion, and Mr. Lucas is wise to relegate these to the notes (e.g. the note on *Alc.* 872 ff.). When all is said, however, prose translations of tragedy in any language are for the study, not for the play-reading society or the stage; and short of studying the Greek text and the detailed commentaries, the English reader who wishes to know more of Euripides' method and outlook cannot ask for a safer guide.

P. G. MASON.

Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie. By E. ROOS. Pp. 303, 34 text figures. Lund: Gleerup, 1951. Kr. 20.

This work takes as its central theme the dances of *Wasps* 1474–1537. It begins by discussing in detail the movements of Philocleon's solo dance and of his contest with the sons of Car-

cinus. The elucidation of these movements leads to the conclusion that the dances which Philocleon performs are hetaira- and revel-dances, and the explanation of the whole passage in this light is developed in the second part of the book through a searching criticism and rejection of four other views, which would identify the dances: (i) with old tragic dances; (ii) with contemporary tragic dances; (iii) with the Kordax; (iv) with the Sikinnis. Full indices and bibliography are a valuable supplement to the text.

R. brings to his task wide reading and untiring industry. He examines thoroughly and carefully a mass of difficult evidence whose treatment is complicated by the conflicting views of his many predecessors in the field. Their work is referred to at every stage. The result is not easy reading, and one feels at times that the reader might have been spared so full a treatment of investigations which a conscientious critic was bound to make, but whose contribution to the point at issue might have been elicited with less effort. This feeling is perhaps most clear in the discussion of *πλευρὸν λυγίσματος* (v. 1487), which ranges over some fifty pages. But evidently R.'s object was to explore a series of problems as well as to establish a thesis, and however his views are received as a whole, the painstaking scholarship of his discussions will render an important service to future investigators.

Philocleon, then, first bends sideways with hands joined above his head: the *λύγισμα* is a figure of the dance *ῥυθός* (vv. 1485, 1487 ff.; pp. 21–76, with (especially) figs. 6, 9–13). Crouching like a fighting cock (v. 1490; pp. 76–82, with fig. 17), he kicks half forwards or sideways (v. 1492 f.; pp. 82–93, with figs. 21–3), and concludes with leg-twirling in a 'grand rond de jambe' or the like (vv. 1494 ff.; pp. 93–4, with fig. 25). In the second dance there are more *ἐκστροφισμοὶ* (vv. 1525, 1530; pp. 94–5), combined with belly-slapping (v. 1529; pp. 101–5, with fig. 21); these are varied with turning movements on one foot (*πέδιλος* *ὡς* 'pirouettes', v. 1531; pp. 96–7) and on two (*στροφὴ* *ὡς* 'pas tourbillonnants', v. 1528; pp. 97–100). The whole dance takes a circular form (*περὶ ἑνὸς κύκλου* *ὡς* 'déplacement circulaire', v. 1528; pp. 100–1, with fig. 26). R. has made good use of his evidence, and it is fair to say that he leaves more room for doubt than for disagreement. The assignment of an 'ethical character' to the steps is perhaps less convincing. It can be said that most of them appear to have occurred in a context of revelling or lasciviousness, and there is nothing in the whole dance, so far as we can know it, which would be inconsistent with such a character. But when Euphronius (Σ1300; pp. 89–91) remarks that one of the figures is known in a tragic dance, he at least prompts the reader to enquire whether a given movement had an invariable ethical character in all contexts. R. summarises his position by stating that Philocleon's steps are 'reine Hetären und Komastentänze'; the inference may be plausible at this stage of the enquiry, but it is not overriding.

But how do the 'dances of hetairai and revellers' fit into their context? They derive, says R., from the hetairai at Philocleon's party; there they were copied by the tragic dancer Phrynichus, who is the person mentioned in 1302 and 1490 (cf. 1524), and hence by Philocleon himself. (See, especially, pp. 127, 144 ff.). Xanthias' assertion (v. 1479) that his master is performing the dances of Thespis is a mere figure of speech; and when Philocleon threatens to show that the new tragedians are *ῥῶτοι* he means what he says, and will do so by bringing on, in paratragic language, the *dernier cri* in dance steps. (See, especially, pp. 114–15, 121–2.) Aristophanes ridicules the Carcinidae by opposing them to a form of dance which is the logical conclusion of the tendencies they themselves display (pp. 143, 201–2). Here there is more for comment. If R. is right, it is surprising that Aristophanes left so much to the imagination of his audience, when the situation could easily have been explained, for instance by Xanthias, who supplies so much other information (vv. 1292 ff., 1474 ff.; on p. 127 n.5, observe that Xanthias' other omissions are not important for the understanding of what follows, and are made good by Philocleon's own remarks). From 1304 ff. it seemed that wine, food, and music were enough to set the old man dancing, hetairai or no hetairai (R. might have dealt with these steps apropos of Philocleon's later activities; for a possible analogy, see *Peace* 322–5 and 331–6). Now, in the final scene, the audience have to realise in quick succession: (a) that Xanthias' remark in 1479 has nothing to do with the case; (b) that 1480 is not a comic inversion on the lines of 1351 ff.; (c) that the new steps are not intended as a *δυστροπὴς* either of Phrynichus the dancer, in his tragic style, or of Phrynichus the tragedian, but derive from a party whose proceedings they must reconstruct. *τὸ θέατρον βέβαιον*; but perhaps one may be forgiven for wondering whether so much was asked of it here. In short, if R. is fully justified in drawing attention to difficulties in the other explanations of the passage, it would be idle to pretend that his own is free from objections. The argument in general must be

commended to the careful scrutiny which it deserves; perhaps we may turn to some points of detail.

Pp. 78-81 vv. 1490-2 are now independently discussed by M. Platnauer, *CQ* n.s. I (1951), 167.

Pp. 89-91 (Σ¹⁴⁸⁰) τραγικός V, not τραγωδικός: see the facsimile. Can it be that Euphronius' alleged tragic figure was σκίλος ούρέων? The words are explained by ὀνηλὴν φορὸν in Σ¹⁴⁸², where E.'s note may originally have belonged.

P. 101-2. Add Σ¹⁴⁸⁹ in support of the theory that γαστρίζεν ταυτὸν involved a kick or nudge with the leg.

P. 140'. . . Dass aber Philokleon wirklich von den Karkiniten in Wettanz besiegt wird, zeigt ἐξάγει' . . . ἀρχοῦμενοι . . . ἡμῶς v. 1535 f.' The defeat of the rejuvenated old man seems a strange motif for the end of an Aristophanic comedy. Perhaps the contest is broken off by the chorus while still undecided, and resolves into a procession. The plurals, at all events, are surely to be referred to all four dancers, who then lead out the four files of the chorus. See A. M. Dale, *Greek Lyric Metres*, p. 199, referred to by R. in n. 4.

Excursus I, pp. 205-9 (Peace, 789, 864, and Scholia) γυλιόχηναι, R. suggests, cannot mean 'long-necked'; it must mean either 'neckless', or, if we accept γυλιός = 'hedgehog' as an Attic word, 'hedgehog-necked', which is the same thing if the hedgehog is rolled up. So, in 864, στροβιλιῶν has 'hedgehog' as one of its connotations: Trygaeus with Opora will be safer from war than a rolled-up hedgehog from danger. This seems very likely.

Excursus II, pp. 209-35 (Pratinas, frag. 1, and two vase paintings of possible relevance) φρυγὸς ποικίλος = *Bufo viridis* Lawr., which makes a piping noise; the alleged reference to Phrynichus is illusory. (This carries conviction.) Satyrs, R. continues, are not serious exponents of the lyre; the fragment is from a satyr-play in which the chorus carried lyres to demonstrate the limitations of the instrument. This 'satirical defence of aulos-music' (p. 235) is intended to define the spheres of the two rival instruments; at the same time verbal parody is directed against the school of Lasus of Hermione. Bibliography is, as ever, good; acceptance of the ideas involves, *inter alia*, a total rejection of the words in which Athenaeus (XIV. 617) introduces the fragment.

E. W. HANDLEY.

Euripides, The Trojan Women. A new dramatic translation by F. KINCHIN SMITH. Pp. xv + 50, 2 pll. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1951. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Kinchin Smith's book is designed as an acting edition of the *Troades* for the Greekless actor and reader, and his translation was originally written for performance by students at London University. He has chosen to render the iambic portions in prose, for he feels the loss of verse rhythm is more than compensated by the dramatic effectiveness of the natural cadence of emotional speech; but the choruses are turned in free verse. The result is a version which has much in common with modern semi-poetic drama and which will thereby seem more familiar to the regular playgoer; and there is much to be said for translating into the current idiom of the theatre, even if this idiom is not altogether satisfactory. The prose portions are straightforward and sensitive and, occasional omissions and re-arrangements apart, accurately represent the sense of the original. For the choruses something more clear in pattern and more repetitive in form than free verse seems essential, especially for performance on the stage, if the lyric parts of the play are to retain their original effect; and practical experience suggests that some system of division between speakers which recalls strophe and antistrophe is to be preferred. If the *Troades* is not to be merely painful, it needs every help of poetry and form to relieve it; for it has no continuous plot; and the reader should perhaps be told that its pitch and movement are almost certainly those of a third play in a trilogy of human folly and treachery. Mr. Kinchin Smith's stage directions, introduction, and notes should help the Greekless reader to interpret the play. His suggestions on production are practical and sound, though he does not make it clear whether he requires a back-stage entrance, and the mention of huts in the directions at the beginning of the play needs clarifying. There is a minor misprint on p. 40, where reference is wrongly given to note 12, which is correctly referred to on p. 45.

P. G. MASON.

The People of Aristophanes. By VICTOR EHRENBURG. Second edition. Pp. xx + 418, 19 pll. Oxford: Blackwell, 1951. 30s.

The first edition of Ehrenberg's book was reviewed in this journal in Volume LXII. In this, the second edition, the text is much extended (418 pp. as compared with 320 pp. in the first), and there is a fuller general index and index of passages. The literary material has been largely increased, and now in-

cludes Euripides. The twenty-three pages of notes in the first edition have been transferred to the foot of the relevant pages, and greatly augmented. The references to ancient authorities have been taken out of the text and placed in footnotes: a move resulting in greater ease of reading but decreased moral pressure to check them. The chapter headings are the same in number and nature as in the first edition; the most considerable increases in length are in the chapters on The Old Comedy, Citizens and Foreigners, Family and Neighbours, Money and Property, Religion and Education, but the balance of the book has been retained as it was before. The illustrations are the same; paper and printing are greatly improved. The present reviewer noticed few misprints.

This is an eminently readable book which should appeal to a wide and varied circle of readers. It is natural that all the chapters cannot be treated with equal success, but the general standard is high; Money and Property is perhaps the least successful. Particular satisfaction must be felt that here in a very readable form are set out especially the economic problems relating to Athens in her great days. Since Ehrenberg has chosen a form of literature as the framework of his subject, and that the most human of all, the Old Comedy, economic conditions are here treated side by side with social and religious matters, and that is a great gain. To be sure the chapter divisions are sometimes artificial: it is not really possible to separate Traders and Craftsmen from Citizens and Foreigners, still less Craftsmen from Slaves or Slaves from Money and Property. But this cannot be helped, if the chapters are to be kept within reasonable dimensions, and one is not too conscious of these divisions.

There are, however, certain criticisms of general principle which are worth making. Ehrenberg is dealing with a period as represented in certain ways by Aristophanes and the other writers of the Old Comedy; but Aristophanes' career as a writer of comedy extended well into the fourth century, into a period of different economic and social circumstances. In discussing certain aspects of Athenian life it is impossible to stop where Aristophanes' career, as known to us, ends. Most of our inadequate information on Athenian economic conditions belongs to the period after the *Ploutos* (389/8 B.C.), but the consideration of the first quarter of the fourth century cannot be separated satisfactorily from this later period. Indeed, on occasion Ehrenberg goes beyond the Aristophanic period proper, but not often enough perhaps. In the same way certain aspects of Athenian economic life are to some degree (though not entirely) missed by the chapter division, so e.g. the vexed problem of 'industrial' establishments, the corn trade and its problems, mercantile policy. Certain questions of great interest are mentioned which could do with longer discussion: e.g. the silvered bronze tetradrachms of Athens really a 'debasement' rather than a token coinage redeemable at a future date, and what evidence is there for 'inflation' as a result of their issue (222)?

All the above are really trifling matters compared to one serious problem attached to the use of Aristophanes and the Old Comedy as a source of light on economic and social conditions. In the words of Ehrenberg himself there exists the great difficulty of distinguishing the real and unreal: 'The conditions of Athenian life are described in comedy in two ways, now with intentional distortion in *deteriorem*, then again, and this to a large extent unconsciously, simply as the reflection of reality' (39); we have to search for information in incidental evidence (171). This, in the comedy of any alien civilisation, is a matter of infinite delicacy; it involves the subjective interpretation of hundreds of references adding up to a general impression. Until the development of archaeological investigation provides if not independent evidence then at least pointers to a new interpretation of the literary evidence including comedy, the ultimate test of success is the consistency of the picture which emerges from a study of Old Comedy. By this criterion Ehrenberg seems to have been very successful for the most part, but many individual interpretations may be queried.

R. J. HOPPER.

Thucydides Historiarum Liber Primus, Introduzione, Testo Critico e Commento con Traduzione e Indici a cura di ANTONIO MAEDALENA. 3 vols. (xv, xviii, and xx of Biblioteca di Studi Superiori). I, Introduction, Text and Commentary cc. 1-23, pp. lxxxv + 94. II, Text and Commentary cc. 24-117, pp. 258. III, Text and Commentary cc. 118-146, Italian Translation, Indexes, pp. 179. Firenze: 'La Nuova Italia', 1951-52.

These three small volumes, though containing much acute analysis of Thucydides' thought, would have been improved as a tool of study if the introduction and translation had been put into one volume and the text and commentary into the other two. Was it in fact necessary to print the text at all? Fairly

numerous though the places are where W. has something to say on it, he could have satisfied the demands of most scholars who are likely to use his edition by exposing the textual evidence in each case in the body of the commentary. The space thus saved could have been used to fill out the commentary on the historical side.

The great merit of the commentary is that it aims at exposing the run of Thucydides' thought and eschews all comment that does not directly conduce to that end. This aim in general it achieves, but the principle is sometimes carried too far. We are, for instance, entitled to expect, and we do not get, some discussion of the bearing of the parenthesis at the beginning of c. 18 on the date of the Spartan *Eunomia*. Again the historian will be disappointed not to find more on the 460 talents in the note on c. 96.

The introduction is more correctly described by its sub-heading, 'La Question'. It is an essay on the composition of the history. It falls into two parts, the first of which gives the history of the 'Frage' from Ullrich down to de Romilly. This account, written from the unitarian point of view, does justice on the whole to the studies summarised, though it oddly omits to mention Finley's detailed presentation of the unitarian case in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Supplementary Volume I (1940). The second part is an acute, if rather repetitive, analysis of Thucydides' basic political concepts, given not so much for its own sake as to prove the unitarian view by showing that these concepts are present wherever we take a cross-section of Thucydides' thought. In this analysis M. shows that there is for T. a law of human affairs by which the strong constrain the weak. This law justifies any state that attempts to secure power, the only source of liberty and security. The resulting empire, in itself unjust, may if directed with moderation mitigate the inevitable injustice by replacing disorder with a relative order and securing a relative coincidence of interests as between ruler and ruled. Such an empire, in a world where force reigns, is the creator of the maximum possible utility for man, man's supreme achievement.

This is sound enough; but there is not a word in this second part with which an opponent of the unitarian view need quarrel. M. could profitably have devoted more space to justifying on the unitarian hypothesis the application to Book I of the description 'tight, organic development'—a phrase he quotes with approval from Finley—instead of elaborating Finley's obvious, but in this context irrelevant, point that there are certain leading ideas which run through the whole of T.'s work. Granted the acumen and honesty of T., it would be most surprising if such threads could not be traced. Their presence gets us not an inch nearer to removing the *a priori* improbability of the unitarian view.

Of the few slips or misprints the following may be worth noting: in the notes on 3, 1, line 5, for *Taubler* read *Taubler*; on 30, 3, line 15 from the end, for the second *Corinzi* read *Corinzi*; on 93, 3-4, line 23, for *Tes* read *Zes*; on 114, 2, line 11, for 466 read 446; on 139, 1-2, line 20, for 40 read 30; and in the text of 82, 3, for *ἐξήλαστον* read *ἐξήλαστον*.

A. R. W. HARRISON.

Man in his Pride: a study in the political philosophy of Thucydides and Plato. By DAVID GREENE. Pp. xiv + 231. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1950. 30s.

This is an interesting and rather unusual book. It is based on courses given at Chicago 'under the auspices of the Committee on Social Thought' and apparently intended for students who do not know Greek. It contains, however, much which should stimulate classical scholars.

The title is perhaps unfortunate. An explanation is indeed given in the Preface: 'It is . . . the total humanity of political life that brings fifth-century Athens so close to us . . . humanity in the sense that it is man and man alone without cosmic or supernatural sanction who is both the source and the resolution of conflict.' But, to say nothing of the question whether this is fair to an age when religion and politics were as closely knit together as in fifth-century Athens, this statement of the theme is in fact not followed up later. The book consists of two independent essays, on Thucydides and on Plato. The connexion which could have been made by a fuller treatment of the topic of 'might and right' in the sophists and other contemporary literature is not attempted; and this omission, together with the very sketchy nature of the treatment of Athenian history relevant to the main theme, does I think impair to some extent the merit and interest of the more detailed interpretations of Thucydides and Plato which are the core of the book. On Thucydides, G. steers a middle course, avoiding both the view that he was a consistent 'moral nihilist' and the view that it is vain to seek any coherent theory of the relation of moral values to political conduct in him at all. His contention is

that all the incidents on which Thucydides passes moral judgements belong to a special field: they are somehow outside the line of march of historical necessity, with understanding which the historian is primarily concerned, but are to be found where chance and free choice have play. He instances the massacre at Mycalessus (vii. 29), an unplanned incident with no bearing on the conduct of the war, the favourable judgement passed on Antiphon (viii. 68), and certain political pronouncements like the praise of Theramenes' constitution (viii. 97). But these judgements are 'moral' only in a rather strange sense. Mycalessus was a horrible tragedy (πάθος . . . ἀλοφύραστον ὄψις), but neither Dicitrephes nor Athens is blamed. (Perhaps the comment on the fate of Amphilochean Argos, iii. 113. 6, should be compared). Again, G. is right to point out that Thucydides' praise of Antiphon and of Theramenes' constitution is independent of the fact that they failed. It follows that it was not success that he singled out for praise, but it does not follow that he judged these things from the standpoint of right and wrong. Ἀρετή, μοχθηρία, σωφροσύνη, and so on naturally at this period include qualities of intellect and general efficiency and social standing: we have no reason to expect Thucydides to agree that all ἀρετή is summed up in δικαιοσύνη.

G.'s treatment of Plato owes much to Cherniss, though it does not depend for its validity on Cherniss' denial of any dogmatic teaching by Plato apart from the dialogues. It differs from received opinion in several ways. The contrast between the bold planning of the *Republic* and the detail of the *Laws* is explained by saying not that the *Laws* is the outcome of concern with practical problems of legislation, but on the contrary that it is the further removed from reality and experiment of the two. Only after the fiasco in Sicily did Plato turn to the now wholly imaginative work of devising regulations for a 'never-never land'. Again, G. draws attention to the distinction between the *Republic* and the *Laws* on the one hand and the *Gorgias* and the *Protagoras* on the other: the *Republic* and the *Laws* are not concerned with the analysis of 'persuasion'. The reasonable conviction of the inhabitants does not matter in the working of the model states, which is good no matter what anybody living in them thinks. This difference could be explained by supposing that the *Gorgias* and the *Protagoras* are earlier: but G. will not use this argument, holding that *Epistle VII* (which, like most scholars but unlike Cherniss, he considers genuine) shows that the vision of perfection haunted Plato from the start.

In G.'s discussion of these topics, Chapters V-VI (Thucydides) and X-XI (Plato) may be singled out as particularly worth reading. They are not easy: the style of the book is often diffuse, not always lucid, and sometimes monstrous. (In describing how Plato and Thucydides tried to detach themselves from their own age and its standpoint, G. writes that they 'stand consciously in an in-between relationship which acts as a human illumination of the processes of thought without the too-human limitations involved in the more complete historical identification with a particular period' (Preface, p. X)). But despite this lack of charm, all who set out to explain what Thucydides and Plato thought about politics should certainly read G.: he will lead many to reconsider received views. The problems he deals with are important.

D. A. RUSSELL.

Herodotus, Histoires. Livre VII. Polymnie. Ed. with French translation by Ph.-É. Legrand (Assn. G. Budé). Pp. 240. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951. Price not stated.

The seventh volume of the Budé Herodotus is designed, like its predecessors, to make the rapid reading of the historian in bulk a pleasure as well as a task, particularly for the student who does this for the first time. The short notes usually give a sufficient explanation of any immediate difficulties and also useful cross-references, so that the reader is not held up, but continues his way as Herodotus intended him to do. He is also helped by the *Notices*, which, as before, are inserted not at the beginning of the conventional books but before really new parts of the subject matter. These and the notes contain short remarks of a literary and critical kind on the tone of various parts and passages and on the type of informant probably consulted. They raise quietly and briefly, even if they do not settle, the important questions on which one seems as an undergraduate to have been bombarded with answers and complications before they had been properly asked in one's own mind.

Of these questions one of the less satisfactorily answered is that of the combatant strength of Xerxes' expeditionary force as numbered at Doriscus. Legrand does not mention the discussions in, say, How and Wells or the *CAH*, but makes the following contribution. 80,000 for the cavalry apart from the charioteers and the camel corps seems to him acceptable, but 1,700,000 for the infantry is an exaggeration, possibly due to Herodotus' informant, who took 170, the number of the local

contingents raised, and multiplied this by 10,000, their supposed uniform strength. The figure of 170 contingents may be accepted, but the contingents were mistakenly identified with the divisions of 10,000 commanded by myriarchs. The latter were probably separate bodies, permanent and professional formations, as exemplified by the Immortals. But unfortunately Legrand does not then give his own estimate of the total force. He merely suggests *exempli gratia* that if eleven peoples had mustered no more than 9000 men each, their total of 99,000 would not be included among the myriads but would be commanded by ninety-nine chiliarchs, each directly responsible to one of the highest generals (*ἀρχοὶ*) and not through myriarchs. The remainder would be made up of seventy-one myriads under myriarchs, and the total of 809,000 men would be nearly the same as that estimated by Ctesias, who was better placed to know, namely 800,000. He does not mention in connexion with the force, which is still very large, either the pertinent consideration that the whole field army is unlikely to have been employed on a distant western campaign when there were restless provinces and dangerous frontiers claiming attention further east, or the consequent suggestion that the framework given is that of the army list and not that of the expeditionary force.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

Xenophon, De l'Art Équestre. Ed. and translated by É. DELBECQUE. (Annales de l'Université de Lyon (Lettres), III, 18). Pp. 196. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950. Price not given.

Provide oneself with a good text, as faithful as possible to the manuscript tradition. Take a horse: bridle and mount; after watering and grooming return to the stable. The reading of *l'Art équestre* will be child's play. Such (p. 49) is the attractive recipe for this new edition of Xenophon's *De Re Equestri*, and as the recipe is good, so is the finished product, though perhaps still a little indigestible for children.

The text is based on that of Rühl, and the apparatus preceding the text is confined to variant readings in difficult passages and to eleven cases where Rühl's readings are rejected. In seven of these places a careful attention to the tending of horses at the present day enables the author to preserve the manuscript reading, and at point after point in the translation and commentary new light is shed by the same method on passages previously obscure or misunderstood. A comparison with Marchant's Loeb translation reveals at once how much has been achieved. Only at III. 4 is the present reviewer prepared to quarrel. To give to *δυνάη* the meaning 'lead by hand', which it clearly has in VI. 4, introduces insoluble difficulties. With the traditional rendering 'training' there is no difficulty at all. Four new conjectures are offered. At V. 5 we have *ἀναστ(ή)σονται* for *ἀναστάντα*. Here while the interpretation is new and clearly right, the older reading does not seem absolutely inconsistent with the new interpretation. At VI. 14 *προσάγειν* for *προσάγεται* and X. 13 *ἀναγκάζονται* for *ἀναγκάζοντα* are easier grammatically but hardly affect the sense. At X. 10 *ὕψος* for *ὕψους* is attractive.

Xenophon's treatise is followed by an edition of the fragments of Simon, *On the Appearance and Selection of Horses*, from which Xenophon took some of his material, and in two places the manuscript readings are defended against previous editors. The introduction to the whole edition deals with the history of the horse before Xenophon, the purpose of the *De Re Equestri* and its value, and the personality of its author. Two appendices discuss the problems of the saddle and the bit. The conclusion reached in the discussion of the saddle is that in the time of Xenophon a genuine saddle, and not merely a saddle-cloth, was known in Greece but was not always used. XII. 9 is interpreted to mean that the *ἐπίρριον* was padded, and so can be classed as a saddle. But the *καλὸν* before *τὸ ἔσθρον* seems to show that the *ἔσθρον*, whatever it was, was something distinct from the *ἐπίρριον*. Here we would like a fuller discussion of the evidence from art. To the bibliography might be added Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, and Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*.

G. B. KERFERD.

Plato's Theory of Ideas. By D. ROSS. Pp. 251. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 18s.

This book will be of the highest importance to students of Plato. After discussing the order of the dialogues and adopting the plan mainly accepted, Sir David Ross traces through them the beginning and development of Plato's central theory of being and knowledge, and then passes to a detailed study of the problem of his unwritten and later thought on the subject, using especially the evidence of Aristotle. At the outset regret may be expressed that the author has held to the traditional translation 'Ideas', with its inevitably subjective connotation,

for those entities which he finds to be 'completely objective... whose existence is presupposed by all our knowledge' (pp. 227 f.). He writes indeed for the specialist student; but his strong support for the acceptance of Aristotle's statement that Plato 'separated' the Forms, as against all conceptualist interpretations which have reduced them to 'thoughts' (cf. p. 88), would have been reinforced and made plainer to the world at large had he chosen to call them once for all 'Forms' in the title of his work. In the text he uses both words; normally 'Idea' renders *ἰδέα* and 'Form' *ἰδέος*, but in other passages the reason for preference is not always clear.

In tracing the early development of the theory, emphasis is laid mainly upon the influence of Socrates. We are bidden (p. 20) to note Plato's insistence in *Cratylus* 439-40 on the postulate of an unchanging object of knowledge, but otherwise no explanation is offered of his transition to belief in a transcendent Form. The reference in *Symposium* 210-1 to the *αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν* is minimised (unjustifiably, one may feel) as (p. 21) 'not the words of Plato nor of Socrates', and as strictly affirming 'not the separate existence of the Idea of beauty, but its difference from all its embodiments, and its eternity and purity in contrast to their transitoriness and imperfection'. This is one of a number of passages which seem to evade the implications of Plato's more elevated language about the transcendent Forms. Thus (p. 81) *Phaedrus* 247c-e is admitted to convey 'an extreme separation of the Ideas from sensible things', but there is little or no recognition of the atmosphere of awe and poetic exaltation within which the statement of transcendence is made. The same must be said of the treatment of the central section of the *Republic*. The ethical application of the Cave parable is recognised (p. 76), but the emotional and religious implications of this and of the Sun passage are largely ignored. Throughout the book it is, in fact, difficult to infer how much significance and value the author is giving to Plato's metaphorical language—as a rule less, one may suggest, than is implied by its frequency and by the warmth and colour which it imparts to his expositions of doctrine.

The treatment of the *Phaedo* is interesting and valuable. The theory in its most inclusive form—an Idea corresponding to every common term—is recognised as appearing here and again in the *Republic*, and is apparently accepted as continuing the basis of Plato's system, with the proviso that (p. 24) 'values and mathematical entities, these remain his dominant interest'. The same point is made (p. 64) in discussing the *Republic*. The conception of *τὸ μέγεθος*, there treated in valuable detail, is here found foreshadowed in Plato's reference (*Phaedo* 74b-c) to *αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσα*, which Ross explains (p. 22) as 'perfect particular instances of an Idea', distinguished from the Idea itself. But this 'Idea of equality' remains the anomaly it has always been; how can the relationship be conveyed except by a term of plurality?

The relation between Idea and particular is made the subject of special study in the chapter entitled 'Retrospect', where (pp. 228 ff.) valuable lists are given of the incidence of words denoting: (1) immanence, (2) transcendence. The conclusion reached is (p. 231) that 'the relation is completely unique and undefinable', so that 'the use of two complementary metaphors is better than the sole use of either'. Here again it may be questioned whether the full implication of these admittedly metaphorical terms is recognised. In the *Phaedo* (e.g.) it is difficult entirely to abstract the terms of approach and withdrawal, used of the Idea in relation to particulars, from the final analogue of the soul which, carrying the Idea of life, in literal fact withdraws from the body at the onset of death. One misses also, in this treatise, full acknowledgement of that suggestion of aspiration to imitate a divinely perfect reality which is felt in many instances of the use of the *παράδειγμα* figure.

In discussing the *Parmenides*, the author remarks (p. 88) that 'share' and 'imitate' are both unsatisfactory metaphors, 'because they both treat the Idea as if it were a thing, instead of being a characteristic of things'. It is not easy to reconcile this latter definition with the strong support given elsewhere to the 'separate' nature of the Ideas. In fact, the degree of 'objectivity' or 'existence' attributed to them is not always clear.

The author's treatment (pp. 45 ff.) of the perennial problem of the Line, and of the whole of the central section of the *Republic*, is exhaustive and valuable. He finds the essential purport of the Line to be the difference between mental activities. Further detailed study is given to the later dialogues. It is well insisted (pp. 118 f.) that Plato's later conception of philosophy reduces it from the discovery of ultimate truth to the exploring of relations between Ideas, in which study he leads on to Aristotle's doctrine of predicables.

Discussing the *Timaeus*, Ross insists (p. 130) that there is no foundation for Jackson's postulate of a later theory which

narrowed the field of Ideas. In *Ep. VII.* 342a-d he finds (p. 141) 'the most catholic list of types of Idea to be found anywhere in Plato'. The chapter on 'The World of Ideas' (pp. 165 ff) works to a similar conclusion.

In the latter part of the book the author studies the problems of Plato's unwritten doctrines, of Aristotle's account of the earlier theory, and of the 'Ideal numbers'. After a masterly discussion of this intricate question he judges it probable that (p. 218) 'Plato did not identify the Ideas with numbers, but assigned numbers to Ideas'. He recognises (p. 243) a 'growing mathematization' of Plato's system.

There will remain doubts felt and problems unsolved; but all Platonists will leave this book with a sense of gratitude to the author, and will return to it many times again.

D. TARRANT.

Imagination et dialectique, Essai sur l'expression du spirituel par l'image dans les dialogues de Platon.

By ALOYS DE MARIGNAC. Pp. 168. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951. Price not stated.

This is a very readable study of Plato's comparisons. Marignac is concerned with the 'image' primarily as a means of literary expression, though he includes also a good deal of interesting speculation on the reasons which led Plato to resort so frequently to its use. The Platonic Forms, in spite of their majestic isolation, are in some inexplicable way present in the world which we see and feel; they give themselves to, express themselves in, the things of sense, which, on their part, 'aspire' towards the Forms with a longing which is not wholly in vain. So too, though human thought is bound up with the device of language, and human language is wholly derived from sense-experience, the Forms do not remain completely beyond the grasp of human knowledge, nor is it altogether impossible to 'mirror' them, however dimly, both in abstract and in imaginative terms. The problem of the linguistic expression of those lofty truths which can be grasped by reason alone is simply one aspect of the problem of the 'participation' of sensible particulars in the Forms. Plato's use of 'images', i.e. of similes, metaphors, allegories, and (according to Marignac) myths, is a conscious attempt to grapple with this problem by seeking to endow language with the power to perform the task of making known the exalted reality of the intelligible world, 'so far as that is possible for man'. The image is thus not mere literary ornament. Plato regards it as a necessary device of the genuine orator and the genuine teacher. He goes farther, and by asserting an analogy between the lower and the higher levels, between becoming and being, he can make his comparisons into materials for dialectic (as in the arguments from body to soul in *Gorgias*). Thus the image can help to lift a corner of the veil which hides the 'spiritual' world from human gaze. Two other recent books, unknown to Marignac, have dealt with these and similar matters: V. Goldschmidt, *Le paradigme dans la dialectique platonicienne*, and P. Grenet, *Les origines de l'analogie philosophique dans les dialogues de Platon*. As Marignac's work is more a literary than a philosophic study it forms a valuable complement to these two works.

Unlike P. Louis (*Les métaphores de Platon*) Marignac has not attempted an exhaustive catalogue of comparisons, nor does he group his examples according to the domains of experience from which they are drawn. His selection is made for the purpose of illustrating the point of view outlined above, and his arrangement is mainly according to the kind of intelligible reality which Plato wishes to present in each case. The world of Forms has its analogues in the products of the craftsmen, in the letters of the alphabet, in musical sounds. The Form of Good has the Sun for its image. God's sovereignty is reflected, however dimly, in the exercise of human power, whether by kings or shepherds, pilots or draughts-players. The soul, even in its disembodied state, has an 'eye' and is nurtured by 'food'. These and many other images are treated by Marignac with close appreciation; he praises with good reason their vigour, their naturalness, their variety, and their adequacy. He brings out clearly their 'evocative' or 'emotive' power; and at the same time shows how, by multiplying similitudes and by constantly returning to abstract language, Plato avoids the danger that any one image may succeed in substituting itself for the intellectual notion under discussion. Whether they have probative force or not, these comparisons are part of the drama of the dialogues and serve to fortify conviction.

Marignac says little of counterfeit images, those phantasms produced by the art mentioned in *Soph.* 236c, and does not suspect that, e.g. the outspread sail in *Parm.* (as an image of 'participation') is meant to be regarded as one of these. His view of myth as 'the maximum development of an image' is unsatisfactory; for this description applies only (and only in part) to the *Phaedrus*-myth, which alone begins with an explicit

comparison (246a). It is perhaps partly for this reason that he excludes the eschatological myths from his treatment. No doubt he is right against F. Solmsen (*Plato's Theology*) in refusing to believe that the myths of Plato express a reality which was to be described later in more prosaic terms. But the word 'symbolic' is a hard one to apply to the myths, and is not justified by Marignac's emphasis on the relation of myth to Orphic and Eleusinian procedures of initiation. Here and in his treatment of the image as 'incantation' Marignac goes too far in putting 'madness' (whether of poets or of diviners) on the same level as dialectic as an instrument for attaining truth. There should be no minimising of the numerous texts (e.g. *Rep.* 364c, *Phaedr.* 248de) which assign a low value to all mysteries and inspirations other than those of the philosopher.

J. TATE.

L'Homère de Platon (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. CXVII.).

By J. LABARBE. Pp. 461. Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949. 200 fr.

This considerable work appears in a series of dissertations sponsored by the University of Liège. The author's interest lies with the textual problems involved in Plato's quotations from Homer, and his aim is to obtain evidence of variant readings current in the fourth century and also of the continuing strength of an oral tradition, by which he explains Plato's adaptations, lapses of memory, and occasional deliberate misquotations. The survey begins with detailed study of three passages especially rich in citations of Homer—*Hippias Minor* (which is treated as genuine), *Ion*, and *Republic* 363b-441b. There follows a chapter studying twenty-four 'citations accidentales', chosen as of special interest; then, using the same method of selection, we pass to adaptations, borrowings of short phrases and single words, and paraphrasings of longer passages. The author's exhaustive method of enquiry into textual problems, and the variety of his solutions, may be illustrated by his treatment of two *Republic* instances. On 379d-e, he argues (pp. 274 ff.) that Plato has chosen to rewrite the passage about the *δωδεκάθεον* in order to correct the ambiguity of the standing text. On 388a, he rejects (pp. 283 ff.) the traditional *πλάτων*, and proposes to read *ὁπλὸν ἀναστάντα* (τα *πλάτων* κτλ., justifying the synaphaea as appearing in 'an *improvisatio* socratica').

The greater number of the Platonic variants Dr. Labarbe explains by reference to an oral tradition, still strong in Plato's time, which allowed for free adaptation and re-arrangement of the *formulae*, stock phrases of equivalent length, on which the epic style is based. Plato's use of Homer thus perpetuates the traditional method of the rhapsode. The theory is interesting and suggestive, and Plato's casual manner of quoting the epics obviously implies that considerable freedom was tolerated in their use. There is not, perhaps, sufficient recognition of those elements of irony, burlesque, and commonplace usage which give to many of his quotations their particular flavour, and which also witness to the place held by Homer in the light conversational interchange of his day.

D. TARRANT.

ὁ Πλάτων καὶ ἡ τέχνη. By M. ANDRONIKOS. Pp. 192. Thessalonike: 1952. Price not stated.

This study is divided into three parts. In the first part basic concepts are discussed and the evidence of the dialogues analysed under the headings of 'the Beautiful', 'Mimesis', and 'Poetry and Play'. Andronikos finds the key to the varying and often inconsistent statements which Plato makes in the process of dialectic, which in this case expresses two aspects of Plato's own personality, the artist and the philosopher. The account of Mimesis is weakened by the difficulty which the author had in obtaining access to recent discussions. Thus Prof. Tate's investigations in *CQ* 1928 and 1932 are known only through a single sentence in Seltman's *Approach to Greek Art*.

The second part is concerned with what Plato has to say about Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. The exceptional indulgence of Plato towards sculpture is explained, perhaps rightly, as springing from his respect for the profession of Socrates as a sculptor. Less probable, despite, e.g. *Laes* 930e-931a, is the further suggestion that Plato attached great importance to sculptural representations of the gods. The discussion of painting leads up to the third part of the study. There under the heading, The Autonomy of the Aesthetic Function, the thesis is developed that Plato recognised a 'true' art in contrast to the rejected art about which he has so much to say. As against Schuhl, Plato is not concerned so much with contemporary artistic developments as with a definite theory of his own. The ultimate basis of art for Plato is pure rhythm and harmony, from the contemplation of which springs

pure aesthetic experience. The study closes with a brief comparison of the position here attributed to Plato and the views of some modern schools of painters.

This analysis of Plato's views largely stands or falls with the interpretation of *Philebus* 30c seqq. and *Phaedrus* 250 b-d, and it may be doubted whether in either case Plato is really concerned with a general theory of art. But whether this is so or not, there is much of great interest in the present study. It is a pity that there is no index to the book.

G. B. KERFERD.

Platone, Lettere a cura di ANTONIO MADDALENA. Bari: Laterza, 1948. Pp. vii + 420. 1500 L.

This work consists of two parts—a translation into Italian of the letters and a very long *Esame analitico delle lettere* occupying 330 pages in rather small type. The whole forms an addition to the seven-volume translation of Plato in the series *Filosofi Antichi e Medievali* which will be known to many from the distinctive russet coloured paper covers. The special feature of the present edition is that Maddalena seeks to revive the nineteenth-century view that all the letters are spurious. Naturally most of the discussion is devoted to the seventh letter, since if this is not by Plato it is hardly possible that any of the others are genuine. The argument against authenticity here presented has two main aspects—it is claimed that the historical situation envisaged is full of inconsistencies and cannot represent the truth, and that the general conceptions and philosophic doctrines, while pillaged from Plato's dialogues, are inconsistent both among themselves and with the major philosophic doctrines in the dialogues.

Only the most general appraisal can be attempted here; but on neither account does the attack carry conviction. Maddalena finds inconsistencies at every step with unflinching regularity, but most if not all of them are of little substance. The seventh letter was virtually a public letter with a political purpose. If Plato was to influence the supporters of Dion at the late stage at which he wrote it was essential that he should present himself and the events which had occurred in a suitable light. Not only would much be left unsaid but even what was said would not be expressed as it might have been expressed by Thucydides or Socrates, or by Plato on a different occasion. One example of the method of argument used must suffice. On his third visit Plato tested Dionysius in conversation to see whether his professed desire to study philosophy was genuine. He pointed out the nature of the study and the preliminary disciplines involved. Dionysius claimed to know all about it already, and was said later to have written a treatise on the subjects about which Plato spoke on this occasion. Dionysius thus rejected the pursuit of philosophy under Plato, though that had been the object of his invitation to Plato to return to Syracuse. Maddalena finds this a mass of inconsistencies—Dionysius must have known very well beforehand that the study of philosophy under Plato would involve an arduous intellectual discipline, and the conversation is accordingly incredible. But what if Dionysius' invitation to Plato was not prompted solely by an interest in philosophy? Again we are told in the letter that Dionysius' treatise was concerned with fundamental philosophic doctrines, and yet Plato in his conversation had not dealt with such doctrines and the treatise purported to deal with the topics of the conversation. But we do not know what Plato may have touched on in his conversation, and we need not believe that Dionysius was honest in his treatise.

G. B. KERFERD.

Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics. A Commentary by the late H. H. JOACHIM. Edited by D. A. REES. Pp. vi + 304. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 25s.

Most students of the *Nicomachean Ethics* will probably agree that the commentaries available leave much to be desired. Burnet is too epigrammatic and is perverse about many details, Stewart is a harmoniser of philosophical doctrines who often diffuses a strange light over Aristotle's teaching; neither of them succeeds in presenting a picture of Aristotle's moral philosophy as a whole, or in making clear the structure of his argument. The commentary of Sir Alexander Grant deserves no such censure, but is evidently not adequate to modern needs. Therefore the edition of these lectures by the late Professor Joachim is a most welcome event; and in Mr. Rees the publishers have secured a most conscientious and skilful editor.

The lectures were delivered during the years 1902-17, and revised many times, but laid aside when Joachim took up the professorship of Logic in 1919. Why did he not consider their publication? Not because the work is, in a literary sense, unfinished, for it is finely written, and shows no vestige of colloquial expression. If one may guess at his reasons, they perhaps were: first, that he thought some of the material, for

instance, the discursive accounts of the doctrine of categories and of *theoria* and its objects, would be out of place in a published commentary; secondly, that he had no time for the research, and examination of the views of other scholars, which according to his high standards he thought such a publication would involve; and thirdly, that he did not see clearly what effect the new study of Aristotle's development would have on the interpretation of his ethical doctrine. He follows Burnet in regarding the Eudemian version as the work of Eudemus, and he never even alludes to the problem of the three 'disputed books'. Expounding the treatise as he does, it is obvious that he must claim Book VI for the Nicomachean version, but he has furnished no defence of his view. Did he never discuss the subject with Dr. T. Case, who must have composed his article on Aristotle for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* during the years when these lectures were delivered? There there is an instructive comparison of the three versions of the *Ethics*, and the vagueness of the doctrine of the intellectual virtues in the Eudemian version is noted.

The book is beyond comparison superior to any previous exposition of the *Ethics*; but this does not mean that it fulfils every requirement. The lectures were addressed, of course, to people who needed assistance in the understanding of Aristotle's general conceptions (hence the digressions already noted), and who were known to be writing essays on the principal questions of the *Ethics* for themselves. The lecturer, therefore, does not wish to make too clear the outline of the treatise. He may have shared to some extent the sentiments of Stewart, who, in explaining the absence of introductory essays from his commentary, says that junior students ought to have the experience of battling with the difficulties for themselves. Such expositions belong to a distinct literary genre, and are not commentaries of the kind in which the writer puts his resources unreservedly at the disposal of the reader.

It may be of interest to mention points in regard to which Professor Joachim's interpretation seems open to criticism. (1) He holds that when the definition of moral virtue as a mean is viewed in relation to the plan of the whole work, it is found to be of secondary importance—which is plainly true—and he couples this with the claim that the belief that moral virtue is essentially a mean is a commonplace of Greek philosophy, and is clearly expressed by Plato when, in the *Philebus*, he treats the best life as a mixture. Aristotle merely went a stage farther by applying the same principle to separate actions. Many readers of Plato will question this; Plato seems to use the mean as a principle of choice of external and bodily goods (*Rep.* X 619a, *Laos* book V), but not to extend it to dispositions of the soul.

(2) Prof. Joachim thinks that in the contrast between a mean *πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* and a mean *κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα*, the former denotes a personal mean, one which varies with the individual. But this seems to involve Aristotle in a preposterous doctrine, and it seems better to suppose that *ἑαυτὸν* is to be understood here (as it is in the familiar antithesis between *πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* and *πρὸς ἄλλον*) of men in general. Aristotle's example of the trainer who prescribes different diet and exercise for different people is a mere illustration, and not a very fortunate one.

(3) It is hardly right to say that the phrase 'emotion gives us the end: *ἐφ' ὧν* calculates the means', must be treated as a 'lapse on Aristotle's part from the truer conception of the function of thought in conduct. The good life does not fall apart into end and means related to one another in this mechanical way.' (P. 218.) The last remark is admirable, but need we suppose that Aristotle, when he makes *ἐφ' ὧν* calculate the means, intends that to be its sole operation? And if not, where is the 'lapse'? I think Prof. Joachim was adversely influenced here by Zeller and Burnet.

(4) Surely *εὐδαιμονία*, *σύνεσις*, and *γνώσις* are aspects or components of *ἐφ' ὧν* rather than 'natural gifts or qualities contributing to *ἐφ' ὧν*, and more or less akin to it' (P. 215.)

(5) It is maintained that justice is treated, in the fifth book, as a moral state obtained by habituation, not as a virtue of the mind, requiring independent and originaive thought. (P. 126.) This is what the plan of the treatise would lead one to expect, but surely what is in fact offered is an account of operations whereby, in the various types of justice, the mean is found by the judge or private person; so that in Book V Aristotle crosses the border into the region of intellectual virtue.

D. J. ALLAN.

Aristotle's Syllogistic from the Standpoint of Modern Formal Logic. By J. ŁUKASIEWICZ. Pp. xi + 141. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 15s.

One does not need to be deeply versed in the subject to see that this work is of the first importance both as a historical study and as an original contribution to logic. Among its principal contentions are these. The true Aristotelian syllogism, as distinct from that which generally appears in text-books,

is an *implication* of the form 'if all B is A, and all C is B, then all C is A'. It is not an *inference* in which two premisses are followed by a conclusion introduced by the word *ἀρα*. The difference is fundamental, because the Aristotelian syllogism is a proposition, and as such must be either true or false, whereas the traditional syllogism is not a proposition, but consists of three loose parts. It cannot therefore be true or false, but when expressed in a generalized form with symbols, it becomes a rule of inference, and in that capacity may be valid or invalid.

Further, in Aristotle's own logic, as distinct from the textbook examples, *singular* terms such as 'Socrates' are nowhere found. It is also important that when he wishes to illustrate the valid moods he uses variables, such as A, B, and Γ, or M, N, and O. It is only when giving examples of an invalid combination of premisses that he introduces concrete terms such as 'man' and 'horse'. The reason for his excluding singular terms is probably that he thought, rightly or wrongly, that they cannot properly appear as predicates in propositions. As to the scope of logic, Aristotle saw with perfect clarity that it is not psychology, and does not pretend to consider either how we do think or how we ought to think. It is, for him and his school, a formal inquiry serving as the 'instrument' of philosophy. Aristotle allows himself some laxity of expression and says, for example, either that 'B belongs to all A' or that 'B is predicated of all A', and perhaps regards such variation as healthy, since it shows that thought is not dependent on words. Not so the Stoics and the modern formal logicians: for them, a change of symbols ruins the inference, for it is with symbols that logic is concerned. Aristotle's logic was formal but not formalistic, whereas modern logic is both.

From the point of view of the modern logician, the whole interest of Aristotle's system is concentrated in the process by which he effects the reduction of the so-called imperfect syllogisms to the perfect ones, i.e. to the two moods Barbara and Celarent. He did not realise that there exists another system of logic more fundamental than the theory of the syllogism, namely, the logic of propositions. The first such system was invented, about half a century after his time, by the Stoics. Aristotle, however, intuitively uses the laws of propositional logic in his proofs of imperfect syllogisms, and even sets forth explicitly three statements belonging to this logic in *Post. Anal.* book II.

In the light of these principles, Prof. Łukasiewicz examines in detail Aristotle's procedure in proving the validity of the imperfect syllogisms, and then, in the last section of the book, explains the whole syllogistic system in terms of his own symbolism, and fills up some lacunae which Aristotle and his successors left.

One could not conceive a more lucid and stimulating introduction to logic than this, and the freshness with which so many apparently threadbare topics have been treated is amazing. It is interesting to see what thorough logicians the Greek commentators on Aristotle were, and how important their evidence becomes. Much as Łukasiewicz has done to rescue the Aristotelian system from misunderstanding, I am not sure that he has said the last word on the history of this phase of logic. He says that 'the division of the syllogisms into figures has, in my opinion, only a practical aim: we want to be sure that no true syllogistic mood is omitted.' (Pp. 23 and 73.) Aristotle might think that this was rather like treating a loaf of bread as an ornamental object. 'The inside should also be soft in texture, but that is only in case you intend to eat it.' Modern logic is the child of science, ancient logic sprang from the practice of discussion, and Aristotle, to the end, meant primarily to train good debaters. Prof. Łukasiewicz is, I think, nervous lest Barbara should blurt out some unmentionable word which will betray her utilitarian origin. Mathematical logicians, whose views alone are considered here, deny, of course, that there is such a practical logic. But the purpose of historical writing is to reconstruct the past, and as applied to the history of ideas, this means discovering what problems a thinker had in view, omitting in this process nothing that seems strange or crude to the modern eye.

D. J. ALLAN.

The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics: A Study in the Greek Background of Mediaeval Thought. By J. OWENS. Pp. xii + 461. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Thought, 1951. \$5.

Mr. Owens seems to think that Aristotle had a doctrine of Being, that this doctrine was his Primary Philosophy, i.e. his metaphysics, and that the historian's task of finding out what that doctrine was consists in answering this question: does 'being' or better 'being *qua* being'—as the subject-matter of metaphysics—denote something common to everything that is, or some special thing or things, or is there a way, Aristotle's way, of combining the two possibilities? The third alternative seems

to be answered in the affirmative by O.: Aristotle's metaphysics should accordingly be an account of the nature of separate beings—the highest kinds of beings—by reference to which all that is is 'being'; knowledge of them would include the knowledge of everything else *qua* being. The texts, O. agrees, are by no means *prima facie* clear, unambiguous, free from contradictions; but there is a key which allows us to interpret them as expressing from different points of view that doctrine. The key is the theory of equivocals: in one sense, or at one degree, equivocals are things which have not enough in common to come under one genus, but have enough in common to come under one science. These are the 'equivocals by reference', the *πρὸς τὸ*: knowledge of a thing by reference to which other things are named carries with itself the knowledge of these other things *qua* thus named; 'being' is of this kind. 'The science of the highest causes of things, the science of Being *qua* Being, the science of Entity, the science of primary Entity, the science of form, the science of truth—all denote the same discipline. The philosophy is a science of *πρὸς τὸ* equivocals, and so studies the nature of the primary instance, which is expressed in all the others. The primary instance of Entity, of Being *qua* Being, of Form, of the causes, of truth in its objective sense, is equally separate Entity' (p. 298).

O. insists on the need of approaching Aristotle in all humility, without preconceived philosophical doctrines to be imposed on him or on which his own should be tested. Is this at all possible? O., consciously or unconsciously, is thinking as a neoscholastic, for whom the 'problem of Being' is the problem: he is slowly and systematically reducing Aristotle's very puzzling and confusing—why not also, often, confused?—utterances on 'being', 'substance', etc., into a comfortable order, an order which is in many ways approaching the tidy thomistic, or better neo-thomistic, doctrine of Being. But the order is forced on Aristotle: 'How can the Stagirate say that the *πρὸς τὸ* are not expressed equivocally? The reason must lie in the equivocal nature of equivocality itself' (p. 57); 'Form in the sense of act is the Entity expressed in all sensible things. That is their Beingness. That the Entity so expressed is primarily the Being of the separate Entities is not stated explicitly in the surviving treatises. . . . But from the structure of the science initiated in A-E.1 and from indications in other parts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, the deduction seems legitimate that the Being expressed in every instance whatsoever is the nature of the separate Entities' (p. 298). The analysis of the *Metaphysics*, which occupies Parts Two to Four—careful and instructive in many details, but often concerned with too many things not directly bearing on the main issue—is accompanied step by step by riders of this kind which build up in a careless reader the necessary faith in the final conclusion.

Part One contains: (a) a useful historical survey—from Theophrastus to A. H. Armstrong—of the interpretations given to Aristotle's 'being *qua* being' or to the subject-matter of Aristotle's metaphysics, (b) a development of the quite gratuitous thesis that the order of the books of the *Metaphysics* resulting from cross references and similar arguments is 'the order in which Aristotle himself, for pedagogical reasons, wished his thought to be studied' (p. 38), (c) a good but not wholly successful attempt at expounding in a neat order Aristotle's views on equivocality, and (d) ten pages of justification for the author's adoption of 'Entity' for *οὐσία*. The 500 titles of the 'Bibliography' include indiscriminately all that must have come under the author's eyes while writing the book, even the *O.E.D.*, but may usefully supplement current Aristotelian bibliographies.

L. MINIO-PALUELLO.

La crisi del 411 A.C. nell'Athenaion Politeia di Aristotele. By F. SARTORI. Pp. vi + 133. Padova: Cedam, 1951. L. 1000.

This is a very full and careful examination of the evidence for the constitutional crisis in Athens in 411 B.C. The author has digested not only the comparatively limited ancient evidence, but also the mass of modern scholarship on the topic, a mass already increased since he wrote from at least five quarters, the translation of the *Ath. Pol.* by von Fritz and Kapp, Jacoby's *Atthis*, Cary's latest article in *JHS* LXXII (C. promises a review of Sartori in a forthcoming issue of *Gnomon*), Vlastos in *AJP* LXXIII, and Hignett's *History of the Athenian Constitution*.

Basing himself on the *Ath. Pol.* S. divides his study into two main parts. In the first he deals with c. 29 under various headings such as the *syngraphēis*, the amendment of Kleitophon, the *katalogeis*, the Four Hundred, etc. The second part he devotes to the two constitutions in cc. 30 and 31.

It is undeniably useful to have all the relevant references on these topics collected together and attached to what is always a fair and sober assessment of each problem. Whether S. has shed any new light on the problem is another question. Two

things may legitimately be required of anyone who treads this well-worn path, first, that he should make abundantly clear what is his own solution of each problem or where he has been forced back on a *non liquet*, and second, that he should indicate where his own solutions are new. S. hardly satisfies these requirements, or at best he satisfies them only on the very broad general conclusions which he summarises at the end of each of the two parts of his study.

In matters of detail—and here detail is everything—it is often difficult at the critical point to see what S. himself thinks. I take two examples. On pp. 28 ff. in a section entitled *Legalità o Rivoluzione?* he discusses the constitutional proprieties of the assembly at Kolonos and of the following events. He concludes on p. 33 that the proprieties were observed up to the moment when, after the assembly, the Five Hundred were removed before the appointed time. Yet on p. 35 he writes that though at first sight the proposal of the *syngraphis* to abolish the *graphé paranomon* might appear legal it was not really so. Then in the next sentence he retracts and argues that strictly the decree abolishing the *graphé paranomon* could have been barred by the *graphé* itself before it was abolished, but that once approved by the assembly the decree became law and the abolition of the *graphé* was perfectly legal. This attempt, borrowed from de Sanctis, to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds is very unsatisfactory. So is the treatment of the two constitutions in *ec.* 30 and 31. S. argues convincingly that they are both genuine documents submitted to and accepted by the assembly at Kolonos. But when he deals in his first part with the proposals presented at Kolonos (pp. 33 ff.) it is impossible to make out what he takes to be the relationship between these two documents on the one hand and the proposals outlined in Thuc. VIII 67, 3 on the other.

On two other points in this context S. seems to me definitely misleading. He alleges on p. 36 n. 9 that the word *τοῦτο* in Thuc. VIII 68, 1 proves that Peisander's proposal was limited to the formation of the Four Hundred and did not embrace all the proposals of 67, 3. This is not so, and the resulting interpretation of Thucydides is arbitrary. Again on p. 34 S. states what I take to be one of the immutable facts about the assembly at Kolonos, namely that Thucydides records only a single proposal of the *syngraphis*, the abolition of the *graphé paranomon*. But at the end of n. 12 on p. 37 he adopts the weak suggestion of Ferrabino that the words *ἐλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο* are not to be understood in the absolute sense but only as accentuating a 'succession of moments'. This enables him to attribute with Aristotle a number of proposals to the *syngraphis* without positing contradiction with T.

The mass of references to modern works would have been made more handy for the reader by the inclusion of a list of works cited. The citations are for the most part exact, but I noted the following slips: on p. 35 n. 7 for p. 376 read p. 367; on p. 39 n. 25 for *Rhein. Mus.* read *Hermes*; on p. 119 n. 84 for XXXI read XXXII; on p. 126 n. 19 for p. 325 read p. 352.

A. R. W. HARRISON.

Mathematics in Aristotle. By T. HEATH. Pp. xiv + 291, with 79 figures. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. 25s.

Heath's greatest work was *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*. Apart from his two books on the history of Greek mathematics, he had edited Archimedes and Aristarchus of Samos. His last work, *Mathematics in Aristotle*, shows the same qualities as are seen in his others, plus the fruits of a lifetime of experience in his chosen field.

From the study of Aristotle's mathematical passages we can learn two kinds of things. In the first place, from his account of the evolution of science and the classification of sciences, from his consideration of the principles of demonstration in mathematics, and from his statements on the relation of optics, harmonics, astronomy, and physics, we can discover Aristotle's attitude towards mathematics as a science. In the second place, from his reference to mathematical ideas and problems by the way, we can learn a little of the state of mathematical knowledge in Aristotle's day as seen through the eyes of a very intelligent layman; for, as Heath observes, 'he was evidently not a mathematician by profession, but he was abreast of the knowledge of his day as far as elementary mathematics is concerned'. We can then gain some idea of the text-books in use before the days of Euclid and Apollonius, though from other sources we know that there were some branches of higher mathematics with which he was unfamiliar.

All these general considerations are discussed lucidly and at length in the opening chapter, which Heath might have expanded a little had he lived; the book then proceeds chapter by chapter through the various works of Aristotle, beginning with the *Categorien* and ending with the *De Incensu Animalium*. Heath's method is to take the relevant passage, give his own translation of it in quotation marks, and then comment on it at length. To

avoid needless repetition, parallel passages from works other than the one under discussion at the moment are sometimes dealt with out of order; but the summary of contents at the beginning and the index of passages at the end, together with the back references *in situ*, avoid any of these being missed by the reader.

The translations are accurate and elegant, while remaining brief; he differs in interpretation from the Oxford translation or corrects it, e.g. on p. 36, p. 41, p. 108, p. 194, in the first three of which he is undoubtedly right.

The commentaries are what we expect Heath's commentaries to be: wide in their acquaintance with previous workers, be they later Greek, Arab, medieval, renaissance, or modern; scrupulous in the reporting of such works, whether by way of acknowledgement or disagreement; judicious, reserved, and cautious in reading between the lines of the text. Some of the best examples are on the first principles of mathematics (pp. 50-7), infinity (pp. 102-13), and motion (pp. 124-46); though mathematicians may prefer the rainbow (pp. 181-90) or Aristotle's wheel (pp. 246-52). Sometimes experience has brought a change of interpretation, as on the isosceles triangle (pp. 23-4); but the last word on *ὁμόθετος* has not been said by him.

We owe a great deal to Lady Heath and those who helped her in the preparation of this work for the press; the summary of contents at the beginning and the two indexes at the end are most useful for location of passages, topics, and authors. Misprints and the like are very few: apart from one pointed out by a previous reviewer (p. 214 and reference on p. xii, for 'Δ' read 'Ζ'); on p. 32 l. 37 for 'a, d', read 'a, d₁'; on p. 242 and index p. 291 for 'Ubaldo' read 'Ubaldi'; on p. 53 and index p. 289 for 'H. P. D. Lee' read 'H. D. P. Lee' as on p. 134.

This book will be useful to philosophers as a companion to Aristotle and to mathematicians for its material on the first principles of mathematics. What we now need is a *Mathematics in Plato* along the same lines.

A. P. TREWEEK.

Die Schule des Aristoteles. By F. WEHRLI. Vol. II, *Aristoxenos*. Basle: Benno Schwabe, 1945. Pp. 88. Vol. IV, *Demetrios von Phaleron*. Pp. 89, 1949. Vol. V, *Straton von Lampsakos*. Pp. 83, 1950.

These are the only volumes in the series which I have received for review. Others which have appeared are Vol. I, *Dikaiarchos*, 1944; Vol. III, *Klearchos*, 1948; Vol. VI, *Lykon und Ariston von Keos*, 1952. A volume devoted to Heraclides Ponticus is promised, and others are to follow; the editor anticipates a total of about ten, the last of them to include an index.

Professor Wehrli has set himself to produce an edition, with commentary, of the leading members of the post-Aristotelian Peripatos, Theophrastus excepted, down to the first century B.C. It is noteworthy that in recent years the work of Usener, Diels, and von Arnim in assembling the fragments of lost Greek philosophical treatises has been taken up again. Among these enterprises Wehrli's will occupy a valuable place, and future students of later Greek philosophy—and of much that is earlier—will be deeply indebted to him; hitherto it has been necessary to rely largely on the collections in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. The commentary is most helpful, and shows full knowledge of the relevant literature, though there is already more to be noted, in particular K. O. Brink's article *Peripatos* in *RE*, Supp. Vol. VII (1950).

Vol. II confines itself to the fragments of Aristoxenos, omitting the *Harmonics*, and one result is that the reader tends to form an unduly low opinion of him, with his splenetic character, his share of responsibility for the wretched gossip that overspread the history of philosophy in Hellenistic times (cf. Gigon, *Sokrater* (1947), ch. ii), and his militant Pythagoreanism. But in this volume, as in the others, the commentary provides a valuable repository for the study of Greek philosophy. Among detailed points one may note the following.

The notes on the chronology of Aristoxenos' life (pp. 47-8) are good, as are those on the cosmological theories behind fr. 13, and on the function of music (pp. 69-70: fr. 69-102 are from lost musical writings). There is a textual discrepancy between fr. 11b (p. 11, l. 3), where *Ἀπλοταρχος* is changed, with Preller, to *Ἀπλοτονίδης*, and fr. 11c, where it is not, though the ultimate source is clearly the same. At fr. 12, l. 17, it would perhaps be best to retain the MS. *ἡμῶν*. It is puzzling to know how much of fr. 18 (*Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 248 ff.) actually rests on Aristoxenos. To the note on fr. 39 add a reference to M. Ant. I. 17, 2, and to the discussion of chance (note on fr. 41) references to Arist. *Protr.* fr. 11 Walzer and E.E. VIII. 1246b37-1248b7. There is a misprint in the *app. crit.* to fr. 46: read *Epinemetheorum*. At p. 65 (on fr. 47-50) there might be a reference to Xenophon's

Hiero. At fr. 50, p. 23, l. 36 (Athenaeus, XII, 546C) read *ἐπιστολῶν* (with Dalechamp) for *ἐπιστολῶν*. On fr. 51-60 (the *Life of Socrates*) see now Gigon, *Socrates*. On pp. 67-8 (discussing fr. 61-8, from the *Life of Plato*) there are good remarks on the charges of plagiarism levelled against Plato. At fr. 69c read *fuert* (so Granger, following some MSS.), not *fuit* (Vitruv. *De Arch.* I. 1. 13). At fr. 73 (p. 29, l. 17), from Philodemus, one might suggest *δωρὶς* *τραπεζας* as a supplement. At p. 72, l. 12, read *πρωταγωνιστοῦ* (misprinted).

The fragments of Demetrius of Phalerum contain a much larger number which are biographical (fr. 1-71). Fr. 74 is the incomplete list of his works given in D.L. V. 80, and is discussed on pp. 56-7, where Wehrli rejects the ascription to Hermippus: for this and the list of Strato's works (Strato, fr. 18) see now P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote* (1951), 245-7, who thinks the list of Strato's works derives from Aristotle of Ceos and that of Demetrius' from some non-Peripatetic literary source. There are good remarks on p. 55 on Demetrius as embodying, in Cicero's eyes, an ideal combination of philosophy with statesmanship, and on p. 83 on Cicero's view of him as an orator intermediate between the Attic style and the Asiatic. On fr. 99-100 (Περὶ δυνάμεως) the brief but admirable discussion of belief in divination through dreams might have mentioned Arist. *De Philosophia*, fr. 12a Walzer (fr. 10 Rose).

Volume V (Strato) collects the fragments of an interesting and important thinker recently studied with enthusiasm by Professor Farrington in Vol. II of his *Greek Science* (1949) (among the earlier literature, cf. especially the very full article by Capelle in *RE* (1932)). Wehrli concludes reasonably (p. 45) that Strato cannot have been taught by Aristotle, as has sometimes been thought. He holds (p. 54) that *Met.* IV is by neither Aristotle nor Strato, but does not mention Düring's arguments for its Aristotelian authorship (*Aristotle's Chemical Treatise* (Göteborg, 1941)). The notes on Strato's philosophy are excellent, as for instance on his rejection of theology and of teleological principles (pp. 51-2); but when Wehrli argues (p. 78) that Strato's *De Philosophia* cannot, in view of his stress on physics, have been an important *Programmschrift* after the fashion of Aristotle's, is he not distinguishing philosophy from natural science with a sharpness foreign to the ancient world? P. 52 has a good note on τὸ αὐτόματον and τὴν, and pp. 54-5 on the origin of the theory of the four basic qualities. For Strato's theory of the void (fr. 54-67), which is, as Wehrli remarks, a compromise between Democritus and Aristotle, the chief sources are Hero's *Pneumatica* and Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle, *Physics* IV; but he contends against Diels that Hero used only such parts of Strato's work as were immediately useful to him. Altogether Strato's physics seems to have been a not very consistent attempt to introduce atomistic views into a qualitatively based physics; but it is interesting to note his contention that atomism could not account for the phenomena of magnetism (fr. 61-2). The fragments on movement and time (70-83) derive almost entirely from Simplicius' commentary on the *Physics*, and show how important was Strato's abandonment of the ideas of form and of actuality and potentiality. His cosmological theories (fr. 84-91) can be learned in part from Hero's *Pneumatica*, Stobaeus, Strabo, and other writers.

On the physiological and medical fragments (fr. 94-106) Wehrli refers frequently to the account of the background in Jaeger's *Diaktes von Karystos* (1938)—as on the affinity of Strato's views to those of the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Spiritu* (p. 70). On Strato's Περὶ Ζωογονίας (fr. 94-9) see now G. Rudberg, *Stratonica* (Eranos, 48 (1950), 31-4). Fr. 107-31 present Strato's psychology and theory of perception, and include the interesting and forceful criticisms of the *Phaedo* extant in a Neoplatonic commentary on that dialogue and published by Norvin with that of Olympiodorus. The similarity to Aristoxenus, and the abandonment of Aristotle's theory of the intellect, are most interesting (see Wehrli's comments on p. 71), as are the detailed investigations of the physiology of sensation. On the treatment of language and meaning in fr. 115 the editor refers to Pohlenz's discussions of Stoic theories; in this section, as elsewhere, his commentary is most valuable.

The volumes are admirably produced.

D. A. REES.

Studi sul Romanzo Greco. By B. LAVAGNINI. Pp. xiii + 227, 2 pl. Messina and Florence: D'Anna, 1950. L. 1200.

Apart from a brief introduction and some supplementary notes, this book consists of reprints of Signor Lavagnini's earlier publications. In *Le origini del romanzo greco*, first published in 1921, he has little difficulty in disproving Rohde's theory that the romantic novel was derived from the fusion of the love legend and the travel story, and acquired its form in the second century A.D. under the influence of the Second Sophistic move-

ment. He was helped by the discovery, since Rohde's book was published, of papyrus fragments, particularly of the Ninus romance, which showed that the Greek romantic novel had found its fundamental form before the second century A.D. His own view, which he sets forth clearly and methodically, is that the romance developed from local legends in various parts of the Greek world. He gives several examples of these, and describes the fragmentary remains of the earliest romances which were the predecessors of the extant novels. His views were found convincing when they were published, and have not since been disproved. It will, however, be disappointing to many that he has not now developed his theme by an examination of the extant novels in relation to their origins.

A second essay aims at disproving a theory put forward by E. Cocchia in 1915 that the lost *Metamorphoses* of 'Lucius of Patras' and *Lucius, or the Ass*, wrongly ascribed to Lucian, were composed by Apuleius himself before he wrote his Latin *Metamorphoses*. This theory can have found few supporters, and hardly needs to be refuted. Lavagnini's essay is, however, interesting for the light it throws on Apuleius' novel by demonstrating the fundamental difference between his *Metamorphoses* and earlier versions of the same story. This is illustrated by reference to the allegorical significance of the Cupid and Psyche episode and the mystical narrative of initiation into the cult of Isis.

A short article attempts to show that the novelist Xenophon did not come from Ephesus. The main argument is that Xenophon's description of the temple of Artemis as being seven *stadia* from the city of Ephesus does not fit in with the site of the city in Xenophon's day, but was taken from Herodotus, who referred to its ancient location. In another article a good case is made for believing that a papyrus found in Egypt contains the fragment of a Greek romance about Troy. A short note contends that *virtutes narro* in Terence, *Adelphi* 536, has the same significance as the late Greek word ἀρεταλόγος and means 'I relate miracles'. There are also reprints of articles relating to the Greek novel contributed to the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. The supplementary notes survey and discuss work done on the Greek novel during the last thirty years.

This is a miscellaneous assortment, and one would naturally have preferred a comprehensive work on the Greek novel which Signor Lavagnini has shown himself so eminently well qualified to write. One is, however, grateful that some of his earlier publications are now made more easily accessible.

H. LL. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

Contributions toward a Bibliography of Epictetus.

By W. A. OLDFATHER. A supplement edited by M. HARMAN, with a preliminary list of Epictetus manuscripts by W. H. FRIEDRICH and C. U. FAYE. Pp. xviii + 177. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952. \$4.

Oldfather's original Contributions appeared in 1927. It received scant treatment in the reviews, which repeat with wearisome reiteration amazement at its 1175 items, but say little else; an unsigned notice in *JHS* describes it as 'pains-taking'. But its importance as a piece of bibliographical research, and its working value were soon recognized. Before his death in 1945 O. had drafted a supplementary volume. Much of this is an enlargement or correction of items previously listed: e.g. a study by Kunhardt (1926) which was known only by hearsay has been tracked down; the name of the author of a French translation (410) is corrected from Bouffleurs to Bouglers. There are comparatively few additional editions or translations published previously to 1927: two very rare items apparently quite unknown to the bibliographers are to be found in Leningrad (143a) and Munich (144a), the one a 1622 edition of the *Encheiridion* from Paris, the other 1623, also from Paris, but with a different publisher, both being based on Wolfius. Vienna provides another rarity in a translation into Latin by Verlenius, published in Antwerp in 1550 (166a). Finally, there are items published since 1927. Dr. Harman, who has done much more than see the work through the press, was able to consult trade periodicals after the war, but claims no finality since 1939, and has listed nothing since 1946.

Inevitably there are occasional slips. Sharp's book (1114) has 158 pp. not 159; Vol. I of Souilhé's *Epictète* (780a) was published in 1943 not 1944. So far as I can judge these are remarkably few. The work on editions is likely to stand definitively. Nor can there be much in the way of translations to add; there are even items in Annamese and Armenian. Probably a few selections may be added. Ritter and Preller, and Adam's *Texts*, should appear, and the use of Matheson's translation in Livingstone's *Mission of Greece* is an obvious omission.

It is the section headed 'Criticism' which it is most difficult to judge. Here it is impossible to be definitive, but there are some surprising gaps. I note one or two, not systematically

compiled. Among histories of philosophy there are useful passages in Benn, Bréhier, Copleston, de Ruggiero, Ferrier, Janet and Séailier, Laforet and Russell; also in Moore's *Religious Thought of the Greeks* and Tsanoff's *Moral Ideals of our Civilization*. From histories of literature, Murray and Rose are slight, but Croiset is not, and Schoell's article is important. From encyclopaedias two substantial articles, one by J. R. Mozley in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, one unsigned in *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada Europeo-Americano*. More surprising omissions are St. George Stock's little book on *Stoicism* (London, 1908) and Jagu's *Epictète et Platon* (Paris, 1946). The list could be much extended; enough to mention a perhaps rare pamphlet in the library of King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Dr. Küster's *Die Grundsätze der stoischen Tugendlehre*, published in the *Programm des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasiums* (Berlin, 1864). Pp. 23-7 deal explicitly with Epictetus.

But this is the wrong note on which to end. Johnson defined a lexicographer as a 'harmless drudge'. There is a lot of drudgery attached to the work of a bibliographer. We shall not wonder that there are comparatively trivial omissions. We shall marvel at how much is here, at the industrious and accurate scholarship that has corrected library catalogues, laid the ghost of non-existent books, and provided this admirable tool for the use of scholars. It remains only to comment on the excellence of the index, and to express the hope that it will be possible to follow up the work upon the preliminary list of Epictetus MSS., which is appended to the volume. The whole is a worthy memorial to O.'s scholarship.

JOHN FERGUSON.

Plotini Opera. Tomus I. Porphyrii Vita Plotini. Enneades I-III. Ed. P. HENRY and H.-R. SCHWYZER. (Museum Lessianum, Series Philosophica, XXXIII.) Pp. lviii + 420, with 1 facsimile. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et C^o, 1951. £3.

The new edition of the *Enneads*, of which the first volume has now appeared, will be heartily welcomed by all students of Plotinus, and will provide an extremely broad and solid foundation for all future Plotinian scholarship. Plotinus is in some ways an exceptionally difficult author to edit. Porphyry's account of his master's method of work is admirably calculated to discourage editors: γράφας γὰρ βίαιος δις τὸ γράφει μεταβαίνει οὐδέποτε ἂν ἡσέχοτο, ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἀπαξ γούν ἀναγνώσας καὶ διελθὼν διὰ τὸ τῆς δρασιν μὴ ὑπερτελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκησιν. Ἐγγραφε δὲ οὕτε ἐς κἄλλος ἀποτυπούμενος τὰ γράμματα οὐτε ἐσθμῆς τὰς συλλαβὰς διαπαρὼν οὐτε τῆς ὀρθογραφίας φροντίζων. . . . (Life, ch. 8). And anyone who reads much in the *Enneads* will soon become aware that Plotinus writes a kind of Greek excellent for his purposes and capable both of clarity and magnificence, but very much his own, and which it is not advisable to try to bring into conformity with any external, real or imagined, standard of correctness. (The present editors remark of Müller, 'Auctoritatem enim librorum apud se plus valere negat quam rectam orationem, qua scilicet rectiore usus esse sibi videbatur quam Plotinus ipse'—one of a number of caustic and entertaining comments to be found in the section of the Preface entitled *De Editionibus Prioribus*.) The publication of the *Enneads* by Porphyry also raises a number of difficult questions. The contention of the present editors that a considerable fragment of the earlier edition of Eusebius has survived in Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* XV, 10 and 22, will no doubt continue to provoke discussion; but I at least find their arguments fully convincing, and if it be admitted that this quotation comes from a pre-Porphyrian edition it is impossible not to agree with their further conclusion that a comparison of it with the text of the *Enneads* gives good reason to suppose both that Porphyry discharged his editorial duties with scrupulous faithfulness and did nothing more radical than to correct Plotinus's spelling and that the MSS. tradition represents the text as Porphyry published it with very great accuracy. The editors have carried out their examination of the MSS. with the greatest thoroughness and published the results with the utmost fullness in their Preface (pp. xii-xxv) and in an extremely extensive and complex, but perfectly usable *apparatus*: it seems hardly likely that anyone will be able to quarrel with their text on the basis of any other evidence than that which they themselves supply. (Further information, and some idea of the solidity of the foundations of this edition, may be found in P. Henry's two volumes of *Études Plotiniennes*, *Les états du texte de Plotin*, 1938, and *Les manuscrits des Ennéades*, 2nd edn. 1948.) The result of their labours is a text which is both conservative and eclectic; conservative in the sense that the editors stick closely to the MSS. tradition and seldom admit or attempt conjectural emendations; eclectic in the sense that they have not found it possible to neglect any part of the MSS. tradition or to divide the primary MSS. sharply into *boni* and

deteriores. As they themselves put it, 'Cum nobis non contigerit, ut enucleemus, qua ratione familiae wxyz ex archetypo dependeant, nobis confutandum est fieri posse, ut uel unica familia uel unicus codex contra ceterorum consensum archetypi lectionem conseruet' (Preface, p. xxxiii). Unlike some conservative texts, this one is remarkably readable, and as a rule considerably easier to understand than the texts of earlier editors with their embarrassment of superfluous conjecture. Naturally it is possible to find places where conservatism has been carried too far. I have noted one rather extreme example at II. 4. 16. 21, where the editors print the MSS. text which runs οὐ γὰρ πλούσιον πένια τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἰσχύος, ἀλλὰ πένια μὲν φρονήσεως, πένια δὲ ἀρετῆς, κἀλλους, ἰσχύος, πορρῆς, εἰδούς, ποιοῦ (the reference is to ὅλη). Their critical note is 'οὐδὲ ἰσχύος del. Harder fortasse recte'; but surely there is no question about it. If the passage is to make any sense in itself one or the other ἰσχύος must go, and if it is to make any sense appropriate to its context it must, as Harder saw, be the first. Surely this is a case where departure from the MSS. is not only justified but necessary.

A task of the utmost importance in editing a late Greek or mediaeval philosophical or theological text is to identify all the quotations from and allusions to earlier writers which crowd ever more thickly into the works of the learned and tradition-respecting authors as the centuries proceed. The correct identification of these can be of considerable importance in constituting the text, and an adequate *apparatus fontium* is of the greatest assistance to the reader. The present editors have provided one which is clear, and, in so far as I have tested it, almost always entirely adequate and accurate: they identify not only quotations but also allusions, and in cases where Plotinus is citing or alluding to authors whose works have perished (notably the Stoics, with whom he keeps up a continual skirmishing) they refer to surviving passages of closely similar tenor. The result is extremely helpful for the interpretation of Plotinus: in fact, it may be said that this edition, with its frequent brief and very helpful Latin interpretations of difficult passages in the *apparatus criticus*, as well as its *apparatus fontium*, provides a good deal more help towards the interpretation of the text than one finds in very many critical editions, and already carries in it the seeds of a commentary. One passage may be mentioned where for once the editors appear to have missed an allusion, as it illustrates in a small way the importance which such an allusion may have for the determination of the text, and also involves a very curious piece of Platonic exegesis. In III. 8.9. II. 15-16 the text as printed is Νοῦν μὲν οὖν νοῦς, ἀνόητον δὲ ἀγνοῆσιν καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὥστε τι σημῶν; (Plotinus is speaking about the One). Now comparison of this passage with VI. 7.39. 20 (Bréhier) ff. makes it at least extremely probable that we have here a passing allusion to Plato, *Sophist* 248E-249A, since in the passage from VI. 7 Plotinus clearly refers to Plato's words, ἀλλὰ σημῶν καὶ ἀγίου, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον, ἀόλητον ἰσότης εἶναι; and quite seriously regards them as a description of the One which is above being and intelligence. If this is so, the passage in III.8.9. should surely be punctuated Νοῦν μὲν οὖν νοῦς, ἀνόητον δὲ ἀγνοῆσιν καὶ ἐαυτὸν, ὥστε τι σημῶν (τι being indefinite, not interrogative). A nice piece of precision is the provision of an *apparatus marginalium*, which lists all those *marginalia* which the editors believe to derive from the archetype (the *marginalia* are fully discussed in Part III of Henry's *États du texte de Plotin*). It is pleasant to find in the long and generous list of acknowledgements (pp. xlii-xliii of Preface) the names of two English Plotinian scholars, Professor E. R. Dodds, and, with especial expressions of gratitude, Mr. B. S. Page.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Plotinus, Enneadi. Prima versione integra e commentario critico. By V. CILIENTO. 3 vols. (vol. 3 in 2 parts). Pp. xv + 461, 588, 439 and 662. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1947-49. Vol. 1, L.1000; vol. 2, L.1800; vol. 3, L.5200.

Ciliento's Italian translation of Plotinus has already been recognised by Plotinian scholars as one of the most important contemporary contributions, not only to the understanding of the author but also to the constitution of a satisfactory text. Translations have played what is perhaps a rather unusually important part in the scholarly study of Plotinus: at the beginning there is Ficino, and in modern times, Bouillet and Harder (and English students of Plotinus have every reason to remember Mackenna with gratitude, whatever his defects). This may be partly because he is, it must be admitted, an author who is rather exceptionally difficult to understand; but perhaps also more particularly because of a certain richness and elusiveness in his thought and the extraordinary passion and power behind it, which combine to make the stripping and formalising to some extent necessary in exegesis seem to the

interpreter exceptionally inadequate, if not shallow and impertinent; so that a rendering of his Greek (or what one believes to be his Greek) into one's own speech, inevitably accompanied by a certain amount of critical and exegetical commentary, seems to be the best explanation one can give of him.

Cilento's translation will certainly take its place beside Harder's as one of the pillars of Plotinian scholarship. It is in fact in some ways an improvement on Harder, as Cilento has been able to build on Harder's work (as we may hope that in the second edition of his translation, now awaited, Harder in his turn will build on Cilento's). He has not been content to translate any existing text, but has made his own as he went along, on substantially the same basis and principles and in constant contact with Henry and Schwyzler, but with a very great deal of original and most valuable critical work excellently presented in the very full critical commentary, often passing over, as a really adequate critical commentary must, into explanation and illustration of the text.

The second division of the third volume contains, in addition to the critical commentary on the 5th and 6th Enneads, a number of useful indices: and an interesting and important feature of the work is the addition of a *Bibliografia critica degli studi Plotiniani*, by Bert Mariën, revised by Cilento, containing 1463 items. The only possible criticism of this is that it is if anything too complete. Everything, good, bad and indifferent, books, articles, and passages in general works, that has any bearing on Plotinus is listed, with brief notes, and, in the case of books, references to the most important reviews.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Aesopica. A series of texts relating to Aesop or ascribed to him or closely connected with the literary tradition that bears his name, collected and critically edited with a commentary and historical essay by BEN EDWIN PERRY. Volume I: Greek and Latin Texts. Pp. xxiii + 765. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952. Cloth, \$15.

Professor Perry, whose previous work on the Aesopic tradition is well known, has planned an impressive series of three or four volumes on this subject. The present one contains Greek and Latin texts. Subsequent volumes will include translations of derivative or allied fables in Near Eastern countries, a commentary on all the texts and translations, and an essay based on this material. No single work on the Aesopic tradition has ever been attempted on anything like this scale, and if, as is hoped, this formidable task is completed, the result will probably rank as one of the major achievements of modern scholarship. The present volume is in itself a work of meticulous accuracy and great learning, which reflects many years of patient preparation. In this brief notice it is possible to do little more than indicate its scope.

A particularly interesting section, covering over 200 pages, deals with the *Life of Aesop*. Its textual tradition was discussed by Perry in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXIV. Two Greek versions of the *Life* are given in the present volume. Perry has edited and revised the version of Westermann's text, and attempted to restore as far as possible its eleventh-century Byzantine archetype. A manuscript containing a much earlier and fuller version was discovered in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York in 1929, having been last heard of in a monastery near Frascati towards the end of the eighteenth century. This manuscript, which is in many places corrupt, has now been cautiously corrected by Perry, helped by some emendations from Post and the evidence of Westermann's version. Perry assigns it to the tenth century, and derives it directly from the archetype of all the versions which he believes was written in Egypt between 30 B.C. and A.D. 100. In an extremely interesting and well-reasoned Latin introduction he discusses the characteristics of the two versions. A striking difference is the apparently deliberate suppression in Westermann's version of references to Isis and the Muses and to the hostility of Apollo to Aesop.

Perry's method of selecting his texts of the fables has been governed by well-defined principles which may be summarised as follows. His collection is designed to include all different versions of fables which are: (a) specifically ascribed to Aesop, and (b) of the 'Aesopic' genre and occur in Greek literature down to the fall of Constantinople and in Latin literature as a whole. An exception is made in the case of Mediaeval Latin fables, to which more rigid principles of selection are applied. In choosing between different versions of the same fable he has been guided by content rather than artistic form. The texts have been edited with critical notes, and are preceded by an account of the manuscripts and a full discussion of relevant points. There are also edited texts of the ancient *Testimonia* and of the *Sententiae* and *Proverbia* ascribed to Aesop. Eight indices add considerably to the value of the book as a work of reference.

H. LI. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, edidit Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae, moderantibus M. David, B. A. van Groningen, J. C. van Ouden. I. *The Warren Papyri*. Ed. by M. David, B. A. van Groningen, and J. C. van Ouden. Pp. xii + 76, 7 pl. 1941. Gld. 15. II. *Einige Wiener Papyri*. Ed. by E. Boswinkel. Pp. viii + 76, 6 pl. 1942. Gld. 15. III. *Some Oxford Papyri*. Ed. by E. P. Wegener. A. Text, pp. xxi + 96. 1942. B. Plates (18). 1948. Gld. 25. IV. *De Herodoti reliquiis in papyris et membranis Aegyptiis servatis*. Ed. by A. H. R. E. Paap. Pp. viii + 104. 1948. Gld. 17.50. V. *Recherches sur le Recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (P. Brux. Inv. E7616). Ed. by M. Hombert and Cl. Préaux. Pp. x + 186, 1 pl. 1952. Gld. 50. VI. *A Family-Archive from Tebtunis*. Ed. by B. A. van Groningen. 1950. Pp. xvi + 190. Gld. 40. All E. J. Brill, Leyden.

It is a pleasure to give a welcome, however belated, in the pages of the *Journal* to the new series of publications of Greek Papyri issued by the papyrological institute of Leyden. The institute's own small collection (Leyden, of course, possesses a treasury of already published papyri) occupies the first volume, while the next two contain selections from other collections. Naturally, then, there can be no question of a continuous numeration of texts from part to part. This apparent defect is turned into a virtue by the policy (starting with Volume IV) of devoting attention to special topics. Mr. Paap's book brings together all the known papyri of Herodotus, the volume of Hombert and Préaux all the information relating to the census in Roman Egypt, Van Groningen's *Family-Archive* a large number of dispersed documents (two-thirds of them unpublished) accumulated by a single family through five generations. These three parts admirably illustrate the utility and interest of this method of procedure (so warmly advocated by Walter Otto), and it is to be hoped that it will continue. Would that the Institute of Leyden would undertake to re-edit the Petrie Papyri! Its work shows a high standard of competence. The form of publication (diplomatic introduction, transcription, critical notes, translation, and commentary—with close attention to juristic questions) is modelled on the Oxyrhynchus paradigm. Three of the six volumes are written in English, and one is grateful to their authors for undertaking this extra burden.

The small collection published in the first volume was formed privately by Mr. E. P. Warren (nine of them were published by A. S. Hunt) and presented to Leyden after his death. It contains twelve documents (one perhaps Antinoite second century, nine Arsinoite first-fourth centuries, two Oxyrhynchite sixth century), eight private letters, some with interesting Latin loan-words (provenance unknown, in one case possibly Oxyrhynchus), and a long list of magical receipts. It is perhaps worth noting that in No. 12 the *φύλαξ* is not the rent for the palm-grove but a speculator's price for its fruit-crop (cf. also P. Fam. Teb. 5). The second volume comprises seventeen first-fourth century documents (contracts, registrations, sales) belonging to the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and copied by Dr. Boswinkel before the war. Most of these damaged texts are from Hermopolis or Heracleopolis, but there is one Antinoite registration, one Arsinoite petition (and a trifling receipt). The most interesting are No. 5 (marriage contract in Greek of early fourth century, where the intention of marriage is defined by reference to the *lex Papia Poppaea*), No. 6 a fine bank sale of catocetic land (the unread word in l. 5 seems to end in *-συντρος*), No. 7 a slave-sale, and No. 14 an order to refit galleys (on which see C. H. Roberts in *JEd* 31 (1945), 113). The nineteen texts in Dr. Wegener's volume are housed in Oxford, five in the Ashmolean, thirteen (one is written twice) in the Bodleian, the gift of Mrs. Hunt. In view of the number of papyri in Oxford, the abbreviation *P. Oxford Wegener* would be more suitable for this miscellaneous collection than *P. Oxford* simply. Two are Ptolemaic, one Byzantine, the rest Roman, mainly but not entirely Arsinoite. The papyri themselves are so mutilated that their value is questionable; but there can be no question of the value of Dr. Wegener's edition. In her determination to extract the last ounce of value from these difficult texts she builds up an exegetical apparatus containing many interesting observations; and she has a keen eye, as the separate volume of plates demonstrates.

Dr. Paap reprints the twenty-one known papyri of Herodotus, adding accents, punctuation, and supplements from Hude's 1926 Oxford text. It does not appear that he has inspected the originals, but there is probably little gleaned after Hunt (to whom it fell to edit fourteen of them). Each is followed by a full discussion of its individual textual peculiarities, and the results are summed up in two concluding sections. A certain licence in orthography is claimed for Herodotus. *φούρεθ*,

ἀδικούντων. *Set* are as genuinely Herodotean as *κίερα*, *ἡρόδοτος*, and movable *v* is found in papyri as early as the second century A.D. On the other hand, no instances of first declension masculine accusative in *-α* are actually found in papyri, and aspiration is due to the malice of scribes. P.'s conclusions on the textual tradition are: (1) The well-known family divisions α and β were certainly formed later than the known papyrus representatives of Herodotus' text, and the archetype of these two families is of later date (*i.e.* later than third century A.D.). (2) Nevertheless, seven manifest errors shared by all codices and the papyri prove that both derive from a common ancestor 'aevo multo antiquiori attribuentus'. It is of interest to note that only eight conjectures of modern scholars are confirmed by papyri, and a list is given of thirty-one which receive no support.

Professors M. Hombert and Cl. Préaux take the opportunity offered by the publication of Papyrus Inv. E. 7616 of the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* to re-examine the census in Roman Egypt. Their new text (a sample of which was published in *Mélanges Thomas* 1930, p. 440) is a piece of a roll 1.15 metres long composed of eighteen original declarations made in two villages of the Prosopite nome in A.D. 174. The edition is careful, accurate, and helpful. In col. V, 18 for $\alpha\lambda()$ I read $\alpha\alpha()$, *i.e.* $\alpha\alpha\alpha(\gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$ ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$) χ as in B.G.U. 132, 9, etc. In Col. XI, 12 the numeral τ is missing from the transcription. The documentary analysis is conducted from two different standpoints: (1) administrative and diplomatic (*e.g.* place at which declarations were made, dates, addresses, pro forma, administrative handling of declarations); (2) sociological and demographic (*e.g.* brother and sister marriage, composition of households, average age of population, etc.), where the statistics assembled, though offered with reserve, will be of great interest. In both lines of approach the authors' thoroughness, alertness, and accuracy (there are many corrections of published texts), their soberness of judgement, the bulk of their comparative material, and their many tables render their work indispensable to students of the Roman Empire. Two small grumbles: first, we are starved of information about the purpose for which P. Brux. was re-used, and therefore can form no effective judgement on its administrative handling. It is proposed to publish the verso separately at a later date, and here the bare description 'recapitulatory account' is inadequate; secondly, there is no index of Greek words occurring in the text.

Professor Van Groningen's *Family-Archives* is the most ambitious volume in the series as regards new material, and assembles fifty-five business documents. Forty-five of these are in the B.M., five in Berlin (one of which is a duplicate of a B.M. text), two in Hamburg, one in private hands in New York (published from photostat copy), three at Giessen (one of which, now lost, is published from a photograph). Fifteen of these had already been published in full, two were known in generous extracts. Their dates range from A.D. 89 to 224, and cover the interesting registration of the family among the new settlers of Antinoë. Van G.'s introduction brings together the main social and sociological conclusions to be drawn from such a series—*e.g.* in regard to expectation of life, age of marriage (which is surprisingly late), average number of children (three and a half in six families)—and the cultural and economic circumstances of the family, whose intricate relationships are worked out in a pedigree.

A very interesting feature is a complicated law-suit which spreads through 14, 17, 15, and 24 (the former pair new, the latter given in full for the first time and their interpretation considerably advanced). Their complexity is disentangled with admirable patience by the editor. They are long texts, and No. 24 (which exists in two duplicate copies) is described as a minute $\delta\epsilon\ \sigma\iota\delta\iota\alpha\ \gamma\rho\alpha\iota\ \chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (the Greek transcript fills six quarto pages). Two men were detained in the liturgical office of keepers of the public archives of the Arsinoite nome from A.D. 72 to 90. Their duties were, perhaps not unnaturally, taken easily. Unfortunately in A.D. 90 the prefect Mettius Rufus, an enthusiastic connoisseur of archive administration, was handed a document minus its beginning. He changed the officials, and called the ex-keepers (only one of whom was alive) to account. The new officials refused to take responsibility for damaged rolls (an important 'not' has been omitted p. 98, end of line 7 from the foot), the retiring ones (or their heirs) were unwilling to pay the enormous cost of renewal. After eighteen years legal manoeuvring, the ground shifted to a quarrel regarding responsibility between a new set of keepers and their clerk. Eight more years saw the heirs of these keepers condemned to pay large sums, and one of them renounces his father's inheritance rather than accept an intolerable obligation with it (Nos. 14, 17). After eight more years and the death of the clerk, the question is argued afresh, and the property of all the parties is impounded till a sum of over 1 talent has been raised. Two points stand out in this sorry transaction. First,

negligence and inefficiency are inherent in a system which (even under the sanction of heavy fines) imposes compulsory administrative duties on unwilling and inexperienced laymen. Secondly, the protraction of proceedings is surprising, as is also the possibility of evading a perfectly clear ruling by waiting for a prefect's supersession. The Roman administration appears, in practice, to have been content with relatively low standards.

The edition is very uneven. Some texts (*e.g.* No. 42) give an impression of inchoate work, that more could be gained both in decipherment and interpretation, and this impression is sustained by a cursory inspection of the originals. Some detailed observations: 1, 19—I think the reading is $\epsilon\upsilon\omega\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'Ελληνικοῦ. $\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is quite clear, though I do not know what it is. 1, 26—the reading is $\beta\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\ \eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \theta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ (ov. 3, 20— $\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is mistranslated. It should be 'or any claims' (cf. *e.g.* 23, 11). 11—'with my assistance' is misleading for 'μετὰ κυρίου σου'. 12, 11—read 'Επειδὴ ἡ 'Ελλάς, which means '8th Epeiph according to the Julian calendar' (for the form of the expression cf. P. Mich. 482, 20). 13—the word $\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\sigma\upsilon\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is found in P. Fouad 34, 13. 18—it is of interest that the sphere of competence of an $\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ is a different nome from that in which he holds property. 25, 3—I think χ^a stands for $\chi\alpha(\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon)$, and the preceding letter might equally well be part of a ι or ρ . 28, 18— $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\alpha$ is a new word. But I don't think the reading is sound: of $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\pi$ the ρ is invisible, π dubious, and the preceding letter might also be τ or ϵ . 29, 23—4—the parallel text P. Aberdeen 20, 19 suggests that the supplement should be $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ |\tau\epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. 42, 4—I think the first word is $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\iota$.

There are a number of misprints, of which 13390 for 13990 (p. 4, l. 2) might mislead. Words that are only in restoration are included in the index.

E. G. TURNER.

Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. IV, *Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods* (Nos. 552-717). Ed. by C. H. ROBERTS and E. G. TURNER. Pp. xvii + 211, 6 pll. Manchester: University Press, 1952. Price not stated.

Though not as numerous as those of (*e.g.*) Berlin, Vienna, and London, the papyri of the John Rylands Library rank among the more important of existing collections. The first three volumes of this catalogue were so rich that little of note might have been expected in the present one, but in fact it falls hardly at all behind its predecessors. Nos. 554-71 are Zenon papyri previously edited by Edgar in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xviii, and six other texts have also appeared elsewhere, but the rest are new, many of them of unusual interest. At the beginning are two small literary fragments, one apparently in the hand of Ptolemy, the recluse of the Serapeum, the other in Latin; neither has been identified. All the other papyri are documentary, arranged as follows: II, Zenon papyri (18); III, other Ptolemaic texts (23); (IV), Roman period (15); V, Latin documents (8); VI, the archive of Theophanes (37); VII, other Byzantine documents (11). At the end are fifty-five minor documents, drawn from all three periods.

The archive of Theophanes is certainly the outstanding feature of the volume. It is a collection of papers accumulated by a wealthy Hermopolite called Theophanes, a *scholasticus* on the staff of a high Egyptian official, probably the *rationalis* Vitalis. They include official documents, like petitions (617-22), and a valuable taxation list for the province of Aegyptus Iovia (616), and private papers, like domestic accounts (640 ff.) and letters (*e.g.* 624, an interestingly formal letter of thanks to Theophanes from his two sons; in ll. 4-5 could not the division $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\ \omega\varsigma$ be justified on the ground that $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$ is a compound?); but the really fascinating part of the archive consists of accounts and other papers relating to a journey made by Theophanes about A.D. 317-23 to Antioch to visit the *officium* of Dyscolus, who, the editors suggest, may have been the *praefectus Praetorio per Orientem* (on p. 104, they speak of him as 'the addressee of 623,' but that letter is addressed *Delfinio*). Travelling on official business, Theophanes was doubtless entitled to claim his expenses; hence the detailed accounts and the itineraries, which enable us to follow his journey in stages and provide valuable information on prices, speed of travel, length of stages, meals taken *en route*, and miscellaneous matters, *e.g.* 627, 219-20, from which we learn that Theophanes visited the theatre and concert hall at Ascalon, and 641, 17, and 22, where wine is issued to $\mu\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ and acrobats. This section is indeed a mine of information, and contains many *addenda lexicis*.

Though this archive claims first attention, it is far from exhausting the interest of the volume. Some miscellaneous notes on single documents follow. No. 572 relates to the selection and fees of demotic scribes. In 576 a cargo is discharged at the great Serapeum at Rhacotis. In 577, 2, accent 'Απύδιος.

578 is a petition from a Jew of Philadelphia (about 58 A.C.). In 579 (and SB. 4206, 149) 'Hēlaioū for Eōlaioū seems improbable; qu. 'Hēpa)laioū? 580 is an interesting document, apparently an assignment of παρὶς or funeral benefit. In 582, 25, though (as often in an earlier period) there is no sign of abbreviation, *or* is best taken as *iv*(*εω*αλλου). 583 (previously published by Turner) is an important lease of a vineyard. In l. 5 may not αὐτοῦς rather than αὐτοῖς be read? 585 is an interesting contract of loan to a soldier, with assignment of salary. In l. 29, which puzzles the editors, could not συντοκιστοῖς καὶ ὑπερβότοις mean 'equal and superior officers'? 586 is of palaeographical importance because, datable in the first century A.C. (probably about 99 A.C.), it is in a bookhand. Perhaps the loan here is from a mutual benefit *κωμόν*. In 593 the translation seems questionable. The order of words which it presupposes is unlike the usual style of papyrus letters; 585 should come at the beginning, not in the middle. Can one render, 'Regarding the large fleece which I ordered from you for Paulus(?), the supervisor of the slave, give it to the man who hands you the actual memorandum'? 595 affords valuable evidence on the economic crisis under Nero. 604 (third century), as the editors say, looks very like a Christian letter; the term *ἐπιστολόπος* (which may quite well be military, not 'a pagan cult title') is really no obstacle. 609 is an interesting Latin letter calling up a man for military service (there seems to be some error in the numeration or arrangement of the lines). In l. 9 qu. [commi]l(i)bus (a word for which there is inscriptional evidence)? 654 indicates a shortage of hands in the building trade; the builders are trying to force a weaver to become a builder. 656 has some importance for the new system established by Diocletian. In 657 there seems to be an error in the translation: whatever the symbol in l. 7 may be (perhaps Z with the thousand sign?), the sum cannot be 17,816 as given in the translation. Is 8 a misprint for 3? The 13,170 *sestarii* were collected from the *πολιται*, not from the *κωμοκῆται* (does the latter mean metropolites living in the *κώμαι*?). In 658, 9, the words ἀπορηθεὺς καὶ ἀνδρισμοῦ bring at last unambiguous evidence for some kind of *capitatio* in Egypt, and the term ἀνδρισμός anticipates by four centuries the tax so called of Arab Egypt. In 659, 13 the meaning is surely 'give most emphatic instructions in your reply through whomsoever you think fit' (81' οὐδὲν δυνάμενος), not 'with the result that with your approval . . .'

It remains only to congratulate the editors on a most interesting volume and on their skill in decipherment.

H. I. BELL.

Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis. Second series (Michigan Papyri, VIII). By H. C. YOUTIE and J. G. WINTER. Pp. xxi + 266, 11 pll. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). \$12.50.

Throughout this book Professors Youtie and Winter maintain the high Michigan standards of presentation, translation, concise annotation, and indexing.

The papyri (P. Mich. VIII) comprise fifty-eight private letters. Among these the Tiberianus correspondence (467-81) bulks largest. This includes several letters received by Tiberianus from Terentianus, whose relationship poses a nice problem, as he refers to two 'fathers', his correspondent Tiberianus and a certain Ptolemaeus. One of these is doubtless the natural father; for the other we have to choose between a technical and a loose use of the word *pater*. The problem is discussed in the note on 468. 46 f. The loose usage is perhaps indicated by the fact that Terentianus is obviously unaware of any ambiguity; he uses *pater* with a different meaning in two successive sentences (468. 41 and 46). This correspondence contains six Latin letters, to which the generous allowance of three plates has been given. 467-9 all end with a copy of a Greek salutation; so, too, probably does 472, where the editors have ingeniously restored *crebrum salutem* to represent πολλὰ ἀσπάζεσθαι. The plebeian Latin preserved is valuable because of its rarity. The most remarkable piece of clumsy idiom is 471. 29 *non magis curavit me pro xyleiphonium sed suum negotium et circa res suas*.

Two pairs of soldiers' letters home deserve mention: (a) 465 f., letters from a Roman legionary officer stationed at Bostra to his mother (465) and father (466): 'while all are laboring the whole day through at cutting stones I as an officer [πρυτανεύων] move about [ἵκνομαι] doing nothing'. This theme recurs in the other letter (466. 21); an amusing illustration not only of complacency but also of the repetition common in such correspondence.

(b) 490 f., letters to his mother from a naval recruit assigned to Misenum. Both have been published and treated before; comparison with the *editio princeps* (Cl. Phil. 22 (1927), 239 ff.) reveals several improvements. The interpretation of πολὺν

(490. 11) has been corrected, a parallel can now be quoted for εἰ πῶς εἶναι εἶπω (491. 13), and two errors of reading have been put right—the mother's name in 490. 1 and the original reading οὐτω at 491. 7.

References to historical events are incidental; at 477. 28 ff. we have a passing mention of trouble in Alexandria from the soldier's point of view (καταμύων ἄνθρωποι). At 482. 12 the salutation sent to a horse 'Bassus' is remarkable, and confirms a similar salutation, to which the editors refer, in P. Oxy. 1772. 2 (where the horse is anonymous).

There are excellent short notes on technical points such as the meaning of *κατεργήτης* (485. 14) and the use of a day's march as a measure of distance (466. 48). As in previous volumes, all strange spellings are explained. Explanations of common spellings like the infinitive *ἀμύν* become tedious; the editors might well give them only where there is ambiguity or some special peculiarity. The translation is close and readable. At 499. 13 *ἐλθομεν ἡμᾶς* surely means 'set us at variance', not 'slandered us'. In printing Latin the editors insist on distinguishing between *u* and *v*, although this distinction obviously cannot be maintained when the letter occurs in an illegible context.

These notes relate only to the papyri. The ostraca (O. Mich. III) are 140 in number. They have been classified in detail and edited by Professor Youtie. The largest section is that dealing with liturgical work. The indexes, also the work of Professor Youtie, occupy one-fifth of the volume (fifty-four pages).

G. W. BOND.

Excavations at Nessana: Vol. 2, Literary Papyri. By LIONEL CASSON and ERNEST L. HETTICH. Pp. xiv + 175, 9 pll. Princeton: University Press, 1950. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 48s.

Griechische literarische Papyri. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse 97 Band 5 Helt. By WILHELM SCHUBART. Pp. 168. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950. 25s.

In a beautiful production from the Princeton University Press, L. Casson and E. L. Hettich publish thirteen 'literary' papyri (the non-literary are to follow) found in 1937 by the Colt Archaeological Expedition at 'Auja-el-Hafir (the ancient Nessana, some 100 miles south-west of Jerusalem) in the ruins of a collapsed house which had protected them from the weather. The texts (dated by their editors between the sixth and eighth centuries) include three N. T. codices, an early example in Greek of the popular story of St. George; a version of the Abgar correspondence, a mutilated codex of Aeneid II-VI, and the longest example yet found (six others are known) of a glossary to the Aeneid, in parallel Latin and Greek columns. C. and H. are reluctant to admit that a standard exemplar of this work circulated in the East. If the papyri do little for the text of Virgil, they offer material of value to the cultural historian and palaeographer, who will be much helped by the editors' informed thoroughness. It is interesting to observe that the handwriting shows no important difference from contemporary Egyptian hands. Nos. 3, 4, 5 are in the same problematically datable hand as the new Oxyrhynchus Callimachus (2258).

Schubart's edition is an attempt to salvage something from the wreckage of the war. It reproduces the remains of a long MS. which was destroyed, giving in concise form transcriptions of forty-four literary texts, with brief but helpful discussion, and some notes by Snell and Fleischer. Not a word about the originals. I should guess myself that no. 3, an essay on the Days of the Odyssey, might be a transcript of Berlin Mus. P. 9571R referred to in Schubart's *Einführung*, p. 397 (listed in Oldfather as no. 751), and that similar guesses might be made about the other texts. It is to be hoped (there is reason for thinking the hope is not groundless) that one day the originals may again be available for consultation. The texts are much mutilated. Three only have been identified as portions of known authors (1, *Odys.* 11, 110 ff.; 22, Menander, *Misumenos*; 30, Achilles Tatius). Possible supplements will occur to any reader, but they can only be tentative till the pieces are identified, or set more firmly in their contexts. No. 6, apparently from a hexametrical Thebaid, might contain a few words of Antimachus. No. 7 is by a good poet, of distinguished diction—beginnings and endings of hexameters, certainly Hellenistic. No. 8—metrical argument to Homeric themes? No. 23 (New Comedy) appears to be part of the same papyrus codex as P. Antinoe 15. No. 32 offers a short specimen of an apparently mid-fourth century A.C. panegyric on Thebes, and in no. 42 there are a few lines of a new series of *Acta Alexandrinorum*, and a study of P. Oxy. 2177.

E. G. TURNER.

Der Aufbau der Sprache. By B. SNELL. Pp. 221. Hamburg: Claassen Verlag, 1952. DM. 14.50.

Theorie und Praxis im Denken des Abendlandes. By B. SNELL. Pp. 34. Hamburg: C. Kloss, 1951. DM. 1.80.

The first of these two books is to some extent (p. 13) a sequel to the author's *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (JHS LXVI, 1946, E.D.P.), but it is in no way dependent on it, though some of its ideas are here repeated (168). To write a book on the structure of language is a bold undertaking, and Snell confesses that he is venturing into a new field for him. With philosophical works on language he appears to be well acquainted, but not with linguistics in the more technical sense. He is well aware of the limitations thus imposed upon him on the language side, and rightly and repeatedly warns his readers that he is not looking beyond the bounds of the I.-E. languages. Indeed, he does not look beyond German and Greek, save for a few glances at English and French. But then Snell's interests are not really linguistic, but philosophical; he means to study language as a manifestation of human intelligence and as a pre-requisite of all human thinking; it is a tool which is often more powerful than those who wield it.

Accordingly, Snell takes as his starting point the old problem of predication and constantly refers to the three forms of predication—verbal, substantival, and adjectival: the lion roars, the lion is a beast of prey, the lion is yellow. This can be reduced to a does b, a is b, a has b (the adjective denoting a quality). To these three types correspond Action, Statement, Expression. They also correspond to three forms of human movement—deliberate or *zweckvoll*, expressive, imitative (meaningless movements like falling down are irrelevant), and to the origins of speech itself (37). This threefold structure Snell finds everywhere; there are three parts of speech that really matter—verbs, nouns, and adjectives, as is shown by the predication scheme. (Here he rightly points out that 'parts of speech' only begin to be when they are in a sentence; they are functions.) There are three cases, nominative, genitive, accusative (belonging predominantly to noun, adjective, verb), three degrees of comparison, three moods of the verb, indicative, optative, subjunctive, and so on. It is permissible to be highly suspicious of all this pattern-making yet at the same time profit by some of the author's observations. There is a good deal to be learned about the Greek verb from pp. 126-42; the repeated triad arrangement is at least neat and convenient.

But before that point is reached Snell considers the copula again in relation to predication. Clearly the verb 'to be' is not a verb in quite the same sense as other verbs. Lion roars, lion beast of prey, lion yellow—expressed thus the three are quite intelligible. Here Snell ought to have made the point that, however odd in German or English the absence of 'is' may be, it was not so to a Greek. ἀνθρώπος δὲ ἄνθρωπος is normal Greek, and here, as in so many other cases, it is quite wrong to say that the verb 'to be' is omitted. But Snell is more impressed by the fact that the verb 'to be' was not *always* omitted, that a word meaning 'exists' was commonly used for this comparatively insignificant purpose. Why did this happen? Why, when a Greek could say ζῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπος did he find it better to say δὲ ἀνθρώπος ζῶν instead? Here Snell appears to take the matter out of the hands of the speakers of the language and ascribe the power to language itself. 'In the verb "to be"', he says (135), 'language found a means of bringing out in all its purity the "Darstellungskarakter" of a predicate.' Such statements make the author's self-imposed limitations conspicuous; there are modern languages without a copula; there are others which have two verbs 'to be', serving different purposes. But as far as Greek and Greek thought are concerned, the author's point is valid enough. The distinctions between universal and particular statements, between τὸ ἐν and οὐκ ἐν, have their origin here, and are a good example of the way in which linguistic habits affect philosophical thought.

This connexion between speech and thought is one of the main topics of the book; it is therefore legitimate to turn upon the author himself for a moment and consider the language which he uses. Let the reader try to translate the end of p. 16 into English. It is not difficult, but he will observe more clearly how the use of the word 'der Sinn' both of the meaning of the sentence and of the mind of the speaker links the author's thought with his native tongue. Again, Snell is very partial to the phrase 'es hat sich gezeigt', which in English would be in the passive. This use of the reflexive has increased greatly in recent years in both French and German, so much so that Snell, neglecting English and other tongues, ascribes it generally to modern European languages (107). He also seeks to separate it firmly from the Greek middle voice and from the Latin true deponents, on the ground that these are marked by verb-endings. But the syntactical resemblance is striking. It will suffice to cite Swedish *minnes* (μνήσκειται, *reminisce*, *se rappelle*,

sich erinnert). It makes no difference that the Swedish suffix -s conceals a reflexive pronoun; it is as firmly established as a passive suffix as the medio-passive endings in Greek and Latin.

The reviewer's admiration for Professor Snell has always been such that he put this book down with some feeling of disappointment. For this his own inability to understand certain parts of it is in some measure responsible, but the lively promise of the opening chapter is not altogether fulfilled, and the bold, wide sweep of the title has misled at least one reader into expecting something different.

The other is a thirty-page pamphlet, a lecture in the series *Hamburger Universitätsreden*. Its starting point is that familiar problem common to all University teachers—how to reconcile the rival claims of pure study or research and duty to others, whether students or society at large. The lecture traces the history of this opposition, which has persisted in one form or another since the sixth century B.C. He notes that it is peculiarly European, that is to say Greek, since among Chinese philosophers the emphasis was always on *doing*, while among the Indians it was on *thinking*. Greek philosophers aimed at both. The conflict, however, did not appear to them as it does to a modern University professor; indeed, external conditions alone would suffice to make it very different. All the same, there is a likeness, a kinship between them. So starting from the conflict between Zethos the warrior and Amphion the poet in the lost *Antiope* of Euripides, Snell proceeds to illustrate this theme from Plato and other philosophers, ancient and medieval, down to Goethe's *Faust*, then returns to the modern problem, on which he has acute observations to make. For the University teacher confronted by his students, the two claims are inextricably mingled. He must not turn his best young men into pure researchers, into 'that useful species the German book-worm' (29); for in so doing he may all too easily render him unfit for life to-day. That is an error which was made in the past. It was not confined to German Universities, but it was they who paid most dearly for it. Yet the aim of pure research was not in itself an error. This is something which must at all costs be preserved; it ought not to be incompatible with the task of producing educated citizens. This is the theme which Snell develops with clarity, eloquence, and feeling; it must, indeed, have been an inspiring occasion for those who listened to him in one of the war's most damaged cities on 14th November 1951.

T. A. SINCLAIR.

Das alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache.

Attische Wort- und Stilstudien. By G. BJÖRCK.

(Acta Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis, 39, 1.) Pp. 392. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1950. 30 Kr.

This book considers the old and much-discussed problem of the dialect mixture in Attic tragedy, with reference above all to the appearance in it of the so-called Doric impure long alpha.

At the outset the author reveals his own position by a critical survey of Mahlow's work, *Neue Wege*; he denies the main point in it, that the impure alpha in Attic was an example of absence of uniformity in the phonetic constitution of the dialect, and that as a survival of 'old Attic' it had an antique and elevated tone suitable to dignified poetry.

Next (ch. 3-6) he seeks to explain the existence of the impure alpha in Attic outside tragedy, i.e. in prose and comedy. Such cases are: (1) 'grammatical' (by which he means explicable on purely phonetic grounds), as πῶσα, where the lengthening was later than the change of α to η; (2) colloquial and familiar, such as ὠπᾶλος (obscure origin, not Attic?), εἰς-αἶμας and other comic words in -αῖ (again regarded as an importation into Attica); (3) nomina propria, and technical terms, as the names of animals and fishes (ἰσχυρῶς, ὀγκρῶς), plants, occupations (λοχῶν), tools and implements, and medical terms. In general, B. looks for foreign, and especially Doric, connexions. He concludes (pp. 82-3) that the Attic impure alpha, outside poetic diction, and where not phonetically a proper exception, is found only in loan-words of certain well-marked categories. This is convincing, apart from some minor difficulties; and if it is accepted, it destroys the main support of the 'old Attic' theory.

In the central part of the book (ch. 8-13), he examines the words with impure alpha in tragedy other than those already treated, with the object of showing that they are genuinely poetical and instruments of an elevated tone. Thus, ναός 'temple', with an impure alpha, is the regular form in tragedy (dialogue and chorus), including cases where ναός would equally well serve the metre, while ναῖς occurs only once (Aesch. *Pers.* 810, in the last foot of an iambic line, so metrically necessary).

Since the Attic second declension is not avoided in tragedy (see λέος), the objection to *ωός* must have been that it was too prosaic and usual: *ωός* belonged to the high poetic tradition (pp. 104, 330). Words like *ἄρν, ἔρνος, ὄρος, ὄρεός* fall easily under this heading. Greater difficulty is met in words which occur in Attic prose with *η*, in which we should expect to find *η* also in tragic dialogue. Here special interest attaches to the name of Athena. *Ἀθήνα* (with *Ἀθηναία*, less often) is the tragic form, explained by Wilamowitz as preserved in priestly use from ancient times: hence in his view an old Attic impure alpha. But B. rightly points out that *Ἀθηναία*, on early Attic inscriptions and in tragedy, controverts this view: why the *η* here? Rather, *Ἀθηναία* (later contracted *Ἀθηνᾶ*) was the native Attic form, but tragic poets preferred *Ἀθήνα* as belonging to the poetical tradition. The important point is made that they did not import an impure alpha into a genuinely Attic word, and so did not turn *Ἀθηνᾶ* into **Ἀθωνᾶ* (pp. 133-5). Notice here that *Ἀθωνᾶ* and *Ἀθηνᾶ* have the same metrical value, so that there is no influence from that source.

In a summarising chapter (ch. 14) B. surveys the history of discussion of the subject, and himself follows in the steps of Ahrens in combining the *Pathstheorie* (impure alpha to express greater emotion and feeling) with *Dialektlehre*. Tragedy, he says, followed in the great tradition of poetical language. In the language of the Chorus, impure alpha was used in endings, and in a limited number of stems, mostly usual words, which had unassimilated, foreign forms. This gave a Doric tinge to the whole, in part by a mechanical process of sound-substitution. On the other hand, in dialogue words with impure alpha are to be regarded as loan-words or forms, and *α* does not really replace *η*, since the words themselves are not Attic (pp. 221-2). Here, too, it is a Doric tendency.

His conclusions are thus conservative in nature, but they are well worth re-stating, especially in view of the influence of Mahlow (whom Schwyzler follows in his account of *α:η* in tragedy, *Griech. Gramm.*, p. 190). It would be wrong to regard the whole question of the language of tragedy as closed; the author himself would hardly claim that—thus he admits the difficulty of explaining *η* in forms like *ἥρως* which occur in the choral parts freely as well as in the dialogue. His main defect lies in his explanation of the significance of the Doric influence. Why Doric? He prefers often to speak of the 'poetic tradition' which favoured forms with *α*, without specifying which particular tradition was concerned and as if he would imply that there was one uniform tradition. But that is not right, at least as regards the sounds and forms of words. The epic tradition, for example, was something quite different from the lyric. Hence the problem why there was Doric (if it was Doric) influence in forms with impure alpha in tragic dialogue is not precisely answered. The view of an infiltration from the choral parts, as proposed by Pickard-Cambridge (but denied by Björck), may still be the best solution.

The same liability to confusion is seen in the discussion of *Ἀθήνα* (quoted above), which B. says belonged to the poetical tradition, quoting Pindar and Bacchylides (p. 134). But they, of course, being in one particular tradition, were under Doric influence: Homer's *Ἀθήνη* was equally part of a poetical tradition, but a different one.

Perhaps B. has attempted too much in trying to achieve precision and has not made enough allowance for the element of vagary and confusion. From his own examples may be cited the genitives (sg. and pl.) of *ναός*: *ναός ναῶν, ναός ναῶν* (p. 102). In the first, third, and fifth feet of an iambic line the metre permits either a short or a long initial. B. argues that the preferred forms were (1) *να-* in the first foot (seven times—but note that five are from one play, the *Persae*); (2) *να-* in the third (once) and fifth feet (seven times). But there are five exceptions with *ν-* in the first foot, and one with *να-* in the fifth. It is hardly safe to establish any rule on this basis. Again, there is one example of *μᾶσσος*, superl. of *μακρός*, in iambs (Aesch.), and B. suggests the influence of the Peloponnesian town-name *Μάσσος* (p. 135). But on the other side there are not only (as we expect) *ὑπερήνης* (Aesch.) and *παυρήνης* (Soph.) in iambs, but even *παυμήνης* in lyric (Aesch.): while Pindar has *ὑπερήνης*. The moral is that in an artificial, literary language we simply do not get the degree of exactness that is found in a natural language.

B. gives a list (pp. 229-50) of passages in tragedy bearing on the use of the impure alpha, where the reading is open to doubt, and suggests the course to be adopted in each case, generally in favour of the form of the word most consistently followed elsewhere (if there is one). This section will deserve the attention of editors.

Above all, the book's full collection of material, both in the continuous discussion and in the ample notes, will make it indispensable for further study.

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

Histoire de la racine Nem- en grec ancien. By E. LAROCHE. Pp. 272. Paris: Klincksieck, 1949. 880 fr.

This valuable study is concerned with a root which was very widely used in Greek at all periods. Primarily the author's concern is semantic: he re-examines the meaning of *νέμω, νομάς, νέματος, νομός, νόμος*, and *νομίζω*, together with that of the derivatives and compounds (including personal names) formed from them, from Homer down to the *koine*, and gives a continuous history of their use.

From much that is of general interest, I select a few points. The study begins with a full examination of *νέμω-νομος*, in which he sees two original senses, that of 'distribute, assign', and the pastoral. For *νέματος*, he prefers the original sense 'imputation, attribution' (of responsibility), rather than 'distribution' (of punishment). This seems to be supported by the obviously ancient construction of *οὐ νέματος* plus the infinitive (Ξ 80, *οὐ γὰρ τις νέματος φεύγειν κακόν*, 'you cannot blame anyone for fleeing from evil'); the syntax, in any case not easy, is harder if we adopt the other sense. *νομός* he thinks is not 'land divided up, apportioned for pasture'. He explains the pastoral sense from *νομός*, he who arranges, marshals his herd (*νέμει βοῦς*): so active *νέμω*, while *νομῶμαι*, used without object of the herd, is passive. This is perhaps the least convincing part: for we should then expect *νομός* (and *νομή*) to refer to the herd, and not the pasture. The antiquity (Homeric) of the metaphorical use of *νομῶμαι* with object also becomes hard to explain.

νόμος is not primarily 'usage, custom', but 'order, arrangement, rule'. Thus in Hes. *Op.* 276, Zeus made the rule (*νόμος*) that men should not eat one another. The sense 'custom' is later. This important point is argued convincingly, supported particularly by the use of the word as a term of music.

The discussion of the phrase *νομίζω θεός*, and of a side-issue, the equation Latin *nummus*: Greek *νόμος* must also be mentioned.

Semantics necessarily has the largest share. The picture is completed by treatment of the other linguistic aspects, morphology (especially of *νομέω*), syntax, and comparison with *nem-* in other IE languages.

It is unfortunate that the printing of the Greek is not always reliable: thus, on p. 11 I counted six wrong accents, and there are also mistaken forms, as *ἐμῆς* and *ἐπὶ* for *ἐμῇς* and *ἐπὶ* (in the same inscription on p. 122).

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

The Ancient World. Vol. I, Empires and City-States of the Ancient Orient and Greece before 334 B.C.; Vol. II, The World Empires: Alexander and the Romans after 334 B.C. By J. W. SWAIN. Pp. xx + 578; xiv + 638. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. \$8.

These two volumes of a single work by the Professor of History at the University of Illinois form part of a large-scale world history (Harper's Historical Series.) The general editor in a foreword writes complacently of the author's competence, the merits of his work, and the approval of the manuscript. A more searching appraisal will suggest a less favourable verdict.

As the preface points out, this is a text-book for students rather than a work of high scholarship; it must, accordingly, be judged as a text-book. What are we to require of such? Above all, accuracy; next, clarity, as far as it lies within the author's gift; and then perhaps, more exactly, a certain spirit in the writing likely to encourage further interest and study on the part of the reader. On the first and crucial count of accuracy the book fails badly. Not only are there an alarmingly high number of simple misprints (the publishers must look to their proof-reading) but also unpardonable blunders such as 'imperium maior' (sic) (II, 417), 'Theramic (sic) Gulf' (I, 533, 535), 'The Sicilian disaster of 414' (I, 449; correctly 413, p. 480). In the account of Pisistratus's colonising Lesbos seems to be confused with the smaller Lemnos (I, 314). Philip II did not occupy Thermopylae in 339 (I, 540), he *by-passed* it. The Greek troops of the Corinthian League accompanying Alexander were *not* used for garrisoning cities, their chief duty according to S. (II, 18). Many other errors, no less serious than these, could be adduced.

In the work as a whole there is a definite lack of balance. One will not begrudge the author the half-dozen chapters which he devotes to human origins and the early history of the Near East; but the amount of space given to the narrower field of Jewish history seems inordinate. This disproportion becomes far more noticeable, however, in the second volume, where it is at times difficult to be sure whether the Roman Empire or early Christianity is the central theme. Probably S. has tried to include too much, for, although the formal disposition of the rich subject matter is handled well, the narrative is too frequently interrupted by long examinations of the cultural tendencies of each period. Particular attention is focused on literary and religious movements, and the pages are quickly

filled, leaving small room for discussion of political and military topics. With this bias the history risks taking on the character of a hand-book, always a dangerous trap for the writers of general history.

As a means of illustrating the state of our knowledge on the various periods, and no doubt also with the hope of stimulating interest, S. has appended to many chapters biographical sketches of many of the scholars active in the realm of ancient history since Gibbon. The idea is praiseworthy and somewhat novel; but along with much solid information the reader gets a great deal of mere gossip, and, worse still, finds in these sections the same large crop of errors that disfigures the rest of the book. Consequently, students are likely to be misled by what they will have no means of correcting. How many of our friends across the Atlantic will be deceived by the knighthood which S. gratuitously confers on Professor Gilbert Murray? (I, 472, 550, 575 (index).) Again, the author is all too clearly affected by strong prejudice against certain occupants of his portrait gallery, and here the result is a caricature rather than a likeness (notably in the case of Eduard Meyer, I, 473 f.). This pre-occupation with modern scholarship helps to explain S.'s method in many other parts of the work. For example, he has followed very painstakingly the important researches of Münzer in the detailed account found here of political alliances at Rome in the second century B.C.; and other chapters show the influence of other recent studies. It is, then, an up-to-date book, at least in part.

S.'s treatment of the larger political and economic problems of antiquity, where it occurs, tends to be superficial. Apparently he is sceptical of all general conclusions, for he writes in an epilogue to the second volume (p. 625): 'Historical study is not a form of scientific research but a form of art, comparable to poetry or philosophy, to theology, or to the dreaming up (*sic*) of brave new worlds'. This remarkable confession may explain the lack of care so evident in the book's preparation. It does not, of course, follow that S. has failed to interpret history in his own way, nor that he has been content to let the reader judge for himself from the rich pile of material here assembled. In fact, he repeatedly passes judgement on individual careers and collective endeavours. Several of his comments are shrewd enough and serve to maintain interest in the familiar narrative; but the majority are less pleasing. If we look closely, we find that emphasis is concentrated upon general historical processes, interpreted as cultural and religious (less often as economic) trends, and that, correspondingly, the personal and even political factors are depreciated. Thus the great men of antiquity come off very badly. In particular, the treatment of Alexander is absurdly unfair. 'When Alexander set out upon his famous expedition, he had neither planned, nor desired, nor foreseen the far-reaching consequences of his campaigns. In fact, he had scarcely caught a glimpse of them before he died thirteen years later. He was merely a romantic young man, bent on adventure and on making a name for himself' (II, 5). 'Like Napoleon, he was primarily a romantic egomaniac' (II, 15). 'Alexander's empire was an empire of the sword, and even had he lived longer, this military rule could not have endured' (II, 4). 'There is little to suggest that Alexander would have been a conspicuously successful ruler in time of peace' (II, 38). The unfavourable judgement on Julius Caesar (II, 342) is at least argued for, unlike these daring and unsupported assertions about Alexander. Likewise in the matter of political forms S. has little good to say of the Greek city-states or the Hellenistic kingdoms. They are viewed merely as preparatory to the early Roman empire which he admires in a reserved way. 'The second half of ancient history', he writes (I, 548), 'has greater interest and meaning for us today than does the first' (before Alexander or Augustus?).

Many other criticisms might be directed against this book: that it does not sufficiently indicate Greek influence on Roman political and cultural development (e.g. no mention of even the possibility of such influence over the Gracchi); that many important facts are omitted in the account of Rome's relations with the Greek world, particularly in connexion with Pompey's eastern settlement, his new Greek foundations, etc.

At the end of each volume S. has given long bibliographies of the more important English, French, and German writings. Even if they were not out of place in a student's text-book, these lists could not be called welcome, for there is the usual crop of errors (e.g. the same book appears with a different date on two nearby pages). There are twenty-nine maps; also sixty-one plates of illustrations, well chosen for the most part and with long explanatory captions, but surprisingly faded and obscure in these reproductions.

Enough has now been said of the faults that make this book compare so unfavourably with other American works of a similar kind; I mean such as Botsford and Robinson in Greek, Boak in Roman history, or, to find a closer parallel, the excel-

lent *Ancient Times* of the late J. H. Breasted, which covers on a somewhat smaller scale the same ground as the present work. Even the most lenient critic will think that S. was singularly ill-advised in exposing himself to such a comparison. All sympathetic readers will catch the note of enthusiasm that he has transmitted to many pages; they will grieve the more profoundly that its shortcomings render his book so largely unserviceable.

R. H. SIMPSON.

Griechische Geschichte im Rahmen der Altertums-geschichte. By ULRICH WILCKEN. 7th ed., revised by GÜNTHER KLAFFENBACH. Pp. 384, 32 pl., 2 maps. Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1951. Price not stated.

Wilcken's one-volume Greek history, of which the first edition appeared in 1924, does not seem to have been noticed hitherto in this *Journal*; though the 3rd ed. (1931) did appear, only to disappear without trace, in the Society's library. This remarkable state of affairs is no doubt attributable to the former editorial policy, under which reviews were normally given only to works of original research, while reviewers of even the worthiest *œuvre de vulgarisation* found it necessary to register embarrassment at mentioning such a thing in these august pages.

Whatever the reason, it is entirely deplorable that W.'s contribution to the general history series *Geschichte der Völker und Staaten* has remained comparatively little known in Britain. The English translation of his *Alexander the Great* was a publisher's success; and a translation, in happier times, of his *Greek History* would have set, it is not too much to say, a new standard for such works in our language. Common sense as well as learning and a talent for swift and direct story-telling combine to produce a narrative which it would be hard to better in its kind. W. was untrammelled by theories of social development. Sometimes one may feel that the book would be better still for some guiding thread—for the evolutionism of Beloch, for example; but on the other hand, the non-specialist reader can feel all the more confidence that his author has no other end than to tell us, with none of Beloch's over-dogmatic originality, *wie es eigentlich geschehen ist*. W. was among those who have died at a ripe age, still working and still learning. Every edition of this book underwent substantial revision. The theory of an 'Achaean Empire', for example, elaborated in the 2nd ed. (1926) on the strength of the 'Ahhiyawa' letters in the Hittite archives, was ruthlessly dropped in the 3rd (1931). The chief revisions in the later editions are, perhaps, those concerning Alexander, in the light of W.'s own special studies. Shortly before his death, in the dark days for his country of December 1944, he had, as Klaffenbach informs us, gone over his material with K., planning, with characteristic courage, a new edition; while the project of an illustrated edition had also been in his thoughts.

The illustrations (views, buildings, portraits, works of art) are of good quality, and are pleasant, though not unnaturally it can hardly be said that they would be missed; and the notes at the end (there are no footnotes) bring the references to modern books and articles down to 1949.

A. R. BURN.

Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. By G. F. HILL. A new edition by R. MEGGS and A. ANDREWES. Pp. xx + 426. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 30s.

For many years, Hill's *Sources* has been out of print, and had also become out of date. The two Oxford scholars responsible for the new edition have done a labour of hard work and great merit; everybody concerned will be extremely grateful to them. They have made an excellent job of it, and so has the Clarendon Press. The book is a pleasant sight, and there are, as far as this reviewer could discover, practically no misprints. Naturally, the main difficulty which Sir George Hill as well as his successors had to face was how to present the huge mass of material. Hill's arrangement in historical chapters and an immense number of subject subdivisions had its advantages and disadvantages; but most people, I believe, will agree that, though the student would easily, perhaps too easily, collect the evidence for any historical question, he would know little of the character and historical value of his literary sources, and would usually put two and two together in a more or less mechanical way. In my view, it was right to alter the arrangement, and probably the only alternative was the one accepted now: alphabetical order for the literary sources (among which, e.g. Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* or Ps.-Xenophon's treatise appear as complete works of literature), chronological order for the inscriptions (124 of them!), geographical order for a fair selection of coins, and elaborate indices to guide the reader. In avoiding bibliographical notes, the editors have rightly followed Hill's example; it was only reasonable to add a few references to illustrations as evidence of architecture and sculpture. The

editors have also accepted the principle of not reprinting Herodotus (although it might have been a good idea to print his relevant passages, which are comparatively few), Thucydides, and Aristotle's *Ath. pol.*; they have added to this list Tod's *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* (except when the text has greatly changed since) and, of course, the Quota lists. The latter make their appearance in a useful simplified list of tributes, based on the 'Register' in the *ATL*.

It is, by necessity, to the indices that any criticism will have to be applied, and it can easily be seen that the new system, like the old, has its merits and demerits. Apart from full indices of persons and places, there are elaborate and ingenious historical indices which provide a closely knit survey of the events; the variety of references looks at first a little formidable, but every user of the book will soon overcome that; neither will it be very cumbersome to collect the evidence for any of the subjects mentioned in the index. The real drawback is again in the arrangement. The five sections of the historical index are: I. Athens, External History; II. Athens, Internal History; III. The Athenian Empire; IV. Peloponnese, Crete, Cyrene; V. Western Greece. It is obvious that these sections frequently overlap; in addition, the mixture of chronological, geographical, and subject order is sometimes irritating. Though now and then references are repeated (e.g. I 5, 18 = IV 4, 3) and many cross-references added, it is by no means always easy to find what one wants. The book does also not quite cover the same ground as Hill's did. Cultural achievements play a lesser part, and it is pretty difficult to win from the scattered evidence a true impression, for instance, of the progress of building policy; the *deigma* is not mentioned at all. But a more serious gap is that no equivalent is provided for Hill's Chapter V on the Athenian constitution. Too much of the relevant evidence has been cut out, and the rest is very hard to trace. An index of constitutional *termini* ought to be added in the next edition.

No arrangement will satisfy every wish, but the 'new Hill' will prove a very good instrument indeed, both for teaching and for study purposes—especially if one has the 'old Hill' at hand as well.

VICTOR EHRENBERG.

Hellenistic Civilisation. 3rd edn. By W. W. TARN and G. T. GRIFFITH. Pp. ix + 372. London: Arnold, 1952. 25s.

Sir William Tarn's *Hellenistic Civilisation*, first published in 1927, and republished with revised text and with documentation in 1930, now appears in a third edition (with maps, a welcome addition, for the first time) in which G. T. Griffith has collaborated. This work, in its earlier editions, has long been recognised as without a rival in its complex and difficult field. The beginner can have no more stimulating introduction to the subject, the scholar no surer or better-documented guide through all aspects of Hellenistic civilisation. My task here is only to indicate the main alterations that have taken place, and to point out some lacunae.

Much of the book is virtually unchanged, or at least unchanged in any fundamental way. The first chapter, 'Historical Outline', stands as it was except for one insertion, and the whole of the second half of the book, from Chapter VI, 'Hellenism and the Jews', onwards embodies only very slight changes. This includes the chapters on 'Trade and Exploration', 'Literature and Learning', 'Science and Art', and 'Philosophy and Religion'. It thus appears that the last twenty years have not produced evidence which has led to a fresh evaluation in these fields. More surprising, perhaps, is the absence of any important changes in Chapter II, 'The Greek cities: Social-Economic conditions'. Here, too, the old conclusions stand. Chapter III, 'Monarchy, City, and League' has, on the other hand, several modifications in regard to the constitution of the leagues, and particularly in its account of the Achaean and Boeotian leagues, as a result of the work of Aymard and Feyel respectively. In the same chapter Hellenistic navies, a favourite topic of Tarn's, has been considerably altered in the light of his own researches (primarily in *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*).

The main changes lie, however, in the chapter on Asia, where again Sir William's own researches, embodied in *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (v. below), and *Alexander the Great*, have taken us a step farther towards understanding the complex state of Seleucid Asia Minor. I note as of outstanding interest the detailed discussion of the Seleucid eparchies (first elaborated in *Seleucid-Parthian Studies*), a good deal of rewriting on the subject of Seleucid finances and, in particular, the revaluation (pp. 144-50) of the 'Seleucid Settlement of Asia'. Here Tarn summarises the conclusions of his recent work. Far greater emphasis than hitherto is laid on the military settlements, the *καστράτα*, as the foundation of the work both of Alexander

and the Seleucids, rather than the *πόλεις*. This chapter, however, in spite of its general excellence, contains in its new form some lacunae in documentation, which are not easily explicable in a book which went to press in 1951. I note the most important. The Seleucid settlement of Media has been set in a new light by the discovery of the letter of Menedemus to the Boule and Demos of Laodicea in Media (Nehavend), published by L. Robert in *Hellenica*, vii (1949); while another document from the same region (*ibid.*), a dedication in honour of Menedemus, who bears the title $\delta \epsilon \tau \iota \tau \omega \nu \delta \nu \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu$, throws light on the administration of the trans-Euphratic satrapies, and should have been used in the section on satrapies. Similarly, the discussion of royal epistatai (pp. 153-4) omits the Nehavend inscription, where Apollodorus, together with the city of Laodicea the joint addressee of the letter of Menedemus, is evidently the royal epistates, and also the remarkable decree of Laodicea-ad-Mare (174 B.C.), introduced with the phrase 'Ἀσοληγημάδου τοῦ ἡπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη' (*Syria*, 23, 1942/3, 21 ff.). This latter text is exactly parallel to the document from Seleucia ad Pieriam, and its omission is regrettable. The question of the origin of the city-law of Alexandria (p. 160; cf. p. 197), which is said to be 'not apparently Greek of any one city' (with a reference only to *Dikaiomata*) takes no heed of *POxy* 2177 (publ. 1941), a fragment of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, which reads (fr. I, col. 1, lines 12 ff.): *Καίσαρ τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρῶνται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρῖται*. Again, the still controversial question of the attitude of the Seleucids and, still more, the Attalids, to temple-land (p. 164) needs reconsideration in the light of the bilingual from Aezani published by Jacopi in 1939 (*L'An. Épigr.* 1940, nr. 44: v. now the study of T. R. S. Broughton, in *Studies in honour of A. G. Johnson*, 1951, 236-50). Finally in regard to this chapter, I may note that the inscription (probably not available to T-G) found at Karatas (Cilicia), in which the *Ἀρμόχεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυράμου* conclude 'a pact with the *Ἀρμόχεις* πρὸς τοὺς Κόδωνας' is of interest in connexion with the renaming of cities by the Seleucids (p. 151): v. Werner, *Jahrb. Kleinasi. Forsch.* I, 1951, 325-7, and cf. L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1951, 256-9.

The chapter on Egypt has been revised in the light of Mille. Préaux's *L'économie royale des Lagides*, but the changes are slight. Here again I am left with the impression that the documentation is incomplete, and at least one serious modification is necessary. On pp. 187 ff. T-G give us unchanged the traditional view regarding the ownership of land in Egypt. This view is that all land was the king's and that he held some of it himself in use, while the rest he let in grant, maintaining the right of escheat. According to this theory there are four types of land in grant, comprising the category of *γῆ ἐν ὁρίσιν*. This view stood for long, in spite of the difficulty of *UPZ*, 110, l. 177. But its foundation has been shaken by *PTeb*. 705 (pub. 1933), of 209 B.C., which shows that even then *γῆ ἐν ὁρίσιν* did not embrace, but was parallel to, the other categories such as *γῆ ἐν δωρεῇ*: v. Hunt's introduction to *PTeb*. 705. Certainly the whole question of ownership of land in Egypt needs reconsideration. It is more complex than would appear from the cut-and-dried categories given by T-G. Other points in this chapter which should be noted are: p. 183: 'Alexandria, distinguished from the rest of Egypt as "the city"' (ed. 2), has become 'Alexandria, called Alexandria by Egypt, and distinguished, etc.'; but c. *JRS*, XXXIX, 1949, 56. P. 185, n. 4: the literature on the Alexandrian Boule has grown greatly in recent years, and a reference should at least be made to Jouguet's article in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 1948, 71-94. P. 186: we read (as in the previous edition) that 'the whole population (*sc.* of Alexandria) was subject to Ptolemy's governor, who in the later period had military power.' The evidence for this governor is given as (a) *OGIS* 743, an inscription of unknown origin (doubtless either Alexandria or Ptolemais), and written in a semi-cursive hand and consisting of the words *Πτολεμαῖος στρατηγὸς πόλεως*; the chances of this being Ptolemaic seem to me slight; and (b) Polyb. V, 39, where some one is referred to as $\delta \tau \acute{o} \tau' \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \varsigma \pi \acute{o \lambda \epsilon \omega \varsigma \alpha \nu \alpha \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \circ \varsigma$; but here it is clear both from the context (39A: παρατηρήσεις οὐν ἔβδον τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Κάνωβον) and from the use of *ἀναλελυμένος* instead of, for example, *καταστράτιος*, that the official was invested with authority only on account of the absence of the king. P. 186, the discussion of 'the land of the Alexandrians' should contain a reference to *PMert.* 5 (publ. 1948); cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHVV*, 1981, n. 87.

The lapses in documentation at crucial points detract to some extent from the value of the new edition. But the outlines would need (except perhaps in regard to Egypt) little modification. Tarn's picture of the Hellenistic world, with Alexander and the Seleucids as its heroes, the Ptolemies and the Attalids as its black sheep, and the Roman Republic, 'that immoral state' (p. 33), as the butcher in the last scene, remains brilliant and unsurpassed.

P. M. FRASER.

A History of the Greek World, 323-146 B.C. By M. CARY. 2nd Edn. Pp. xvi + 446. London: Methuen, 1951.

Dr. Cary's revised edition of his history of the Hellenistic world is confined to what could be managed without resetting, and we must be grateful that the author has made such effective use of his limited opportunities. The preface is dated January 1950, and up to the end of 1949 he has taken heed of some (v. below) modern literature in the main fields, particularly Tarn's *Greeks in Bactria and India*, and Mlle. Præaux's *L'économie royale des Lagides*, and he has effected considerable changes in the light of these two books. The first part, the political history, is, however, not wholly satisfactory. Some of the antiquated bibliography has been retained at the expense of any reference to important modern works. His difficulties here might have been lessened had he been content to give a simple reference to Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, III, where full and critical bibliographies to 1940 are to be found. In many instances Cary has shown himself unfamiliar with the development of problems since the war. This is dangerous because a revision dated 1950 might be supposed to have considered such recent work, and the unwary will be led to believe that they tread on solid earth, when it is but sand. A particularly serious instance occurs on p. 145, n. 2, where Cary says that the most critical problem of Hellenistic chronology, the date of the Athenian archon Polyuctus, is settled (to 243/2) by an inscription published by Meritt in *Hesp.* 1938. But Meritt himself had already realised by 1940 that this was not so, and proposed another date (249/8) (v. Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 27 ff., esp. 30, n. 17). Other serious lacunae are also evident on pp. 137 and 141, where the material on the battles of Cos and Andros does not refer to *PHaun.* i, 6, and on p. 138, note 1, the additional bibliography on the Nike of Samothrace should include at least H. Thiersch, *Gött. Nachr.* 1931, pp. 337 ff., and C. Blinkenberg, *Triemolia*, 1938, pp. 37 ff.; while on p. 42 the (unchanged) account of the territory controlled by Pleistarchus shows no knowledge of the important remarks of L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri*, 1945, pp. 55-62. On p. 160 the (unchanged) account of Doso's activities in Caria is wholly vitiated by ignorance of that part of the dossier of Olympichus, found at Labranda, of which the late Axel Persson published a photograph in *Illustr. Lond. News*, 15th January, 1949, and which indicates clearly that Philip V had authority in Caria at the beginning of his reign (cf. now L. Robert, in Holleaux, *Études* iv, p. 162, n. 1). There are other defects, but these suffice to show that even within the limits prescribed by necessity, the political narrative needs much revision, and cannot be said to represent the present state of our knowledge.

In the picture of Hellenistic civilisation which forms the second part of the book there is less to criticise. The chapter on religion was unfortunately not able to take heed of Nilsson's masterpiece, *Gesch. gr. Rel.* ii, 1950, but the chapter on philosophy should at least refer to another great work by a veteran, Max Pohlenz's *Die Stoa*, 1948. The bibliography has other strange lacunae which suggest that the author did not take full account of all that appeared up to the end of 1949.

Dr. Cary's *History* proved itself in the past a useful and reliable introduction to a difficult field. It will still be useful, but I fear that the new edition is less reliable than the old.

P. M. FRASER.

The Greeks in Bactria and India. By W. W. TARN. 2nd edn. Pp. xxiii + 561, with 1 pl. and 3 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 50s.

The publication of the first edition of this work in 1938 marked an epoch, and caused a stir which has hardly begun to subside. This first edition was small, and the second is welcome not least for that reason. The new edition is a reprint of the old, with twenty pages of addenda which, apart from other minor matters, contain what we had long awaited, Tarn's answers to some of the criticisms to which this highly individualistic masterpiece has been subjected. I note as of particular interest his rejoinder to H. Bengtson over the origin of the term *truxia* (add. pp. 1-4); his rejoinder to the fundamental thesis of Altheim in *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, that Trogu's source for Parthian history is Apollodorus of Artamita (the point Tarn makes here is perhaps not quite sufficient and should be taken in conjunction with his review of Altheim in *JHS* LXVII, 1947, 140-1). Main interest will, however, probably centre round his answer (add. pp. 193-7) to Altheim's attack on his view that Antiochus IV won a great victory in the East after his ejection from Egypt in 168. On this hangs much of Tarn's reconstruction of Seleucid history at this point. The new note contains a very important analysis of Polybius' use of *τὸ θαλ.* but it is difficult to give the phrase the precise reference to Antiochus' conquests which Tarn wishes. Tarn retains his

faith in his interpretation of *OGIS* 253, with its reference to Antiochus as *συνεπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας*. This title remains unique among the Seleucids, and I cannot help feeling that Tarn is right in supposing that it postulates a major victory by Antiochus.

Numismatists will find considerable discussion of the many points at which Tarn offered fresh interpretations and on which he was subsequently challenged; and recent numismatic material is also meticulously noted.

P. M. FRASER.

Sparta. By H. MICHELL. Pp. viii + 348. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. 35s.

Sparta, unlike most Greek states, has a history which can be traced almost continuously from the eighth century to the time of Hadrian. Plenty of information is available about the outstanding personalities in Spartan history; Spartan institutions, and the impression which they made outside Sparta, were often described by contemporaries. But the ordinary historical text-books only refer to Sparta incidentally: students are often left unaware whether a given king is an Agiad or a Eurypontid, whether a statesman at a given date is Ephor or Admiral. It is usually explained that there are changes in Sparta between the seventh century and the fifth, and that there is a decline after Leuctra: but hitherto no English text-book has given a coherent narrative of Spartan history together with an accurate account of Spartan institutions and their development.

Professor Michell's book does not quite fill this gap, but it is by far the best work on this subject which has yet appeared in English. His chapters are divided by subject-matter, and not by period: there is no attempt at narrative. He recognises changes—especially after Leuctra—but several centuries are often assimilated on one page, and he often quotes literary authorities without dating them. His use of the ancient authorities is, indeed, rather uncritical: he rejects a statement if it is flagrantly absurd, or if it flatly contradicts better-authorised statements, but otherwise he usually accepts it without further question. He treats Plato as a reliable historian, and quotes a passage in the *Republic* as if it were an explicit description of the Spartan rather than a generalised stereotype of the militarist. He often quotes Xenophon's *Constitution of Sparta*, but never mentions Koster's brilliantly destructive analysis of it: nor does he ever seem to have wondered whether that rose-tinted utopian tract can really have sprung from the robust common sense which produced the *Memorabilia*. Pausanias, too, is treated as a valid historical authority; nor is any doubt expressed about the authenticity of Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*.

All the same, Professor Michell does not idealise Sparta. He rejects several silly stories about Spartan education, admitting for example that the story about the Spartan boy and the fox does not make sense. But he also rejects the attempts at over-rationalisation which seem to have begun with Fustel de Coulanges: his Crypteia is no *Arbeitsdienst*, but (as Jeanmaire suggested) a period of compulsory seclusion for which there are African parallels. The occasional comparisons with African or Pacific institutions are shrewd, but he misses one significant parallel: surely the annual declaration of war against the Helots, otherwise inexplicable, can be paralleled in India, where, as Hocart has shown, the Hindu King was expected to wage a continual, though largely metaphorical, war against the serf castes?

On the Dorian question, the customary view is taken that the Dorians were an aristocracy of conquest, but it is assumed that the Dorians were native Greeks: Darre's contention that they were Nordic is treated with deserved contempt, but some Celtic parallels traced by Hubert might have been mentioned. Kahrstedt's theory that the Helots were enslaved debtors is rejected, but there is no mention of Antiochus' clear statement that 'those who did not take part in the Messenian expedition were treated as serfs and called Helots', which, based presumably on Tarentine tradition, may strengthen the possibility, recently suggested by Mireaux, that the Dorians were simply a military caste. It is possible, too, that Dorian blood may be as fictitious as Norman blood, and that the relevant genealogies may have been invented by some seventh-century poet, perhaps Cinaetho. The importance of a few non-Dorian words found in inscriptions is not overrated; nor, indeed, is the rest of the rather scanty evidence from pre-Roman inscriptions.

When he deals with Spartan political institutions, Professor Michell rather underrates the peculiarity of the double kingdom: there is very little connexion between the Spartan dyarchy, based on two rigidly distinct and often hostile families, and the instances he gives of kingship shared between brothers. The Bellerophontic parallel is even less happy: surely any young man who kills a dragon may reasonably expect the Princess' hand and half of the kingdom—it is the recognised rate for the job. And need it be true that the lamentations at a

royal funeral are caused by fear of the King's ghost? The obsequies of our own monarchs are not thought to call for any such explanation. There is also a tendency to suppose that the Kings had no coherent policy, except a greater or lesser desire to maintain or increase the privileges of the Crown: the overseas adventures of Cleomenes and Pausanias are hardly mentioned. Similarly, the author seems to overrate the unanimity of the ephors.

Foreign policy is rather neglected. Preston Epps' famous article on Fear in Spartan Character is ably answered, though the point might have been made that the word 'fear' in Greek did not carry the associations of cowardice that belong to the English word; but it is not made as clear as it might be that, except for short spells in the eighth, fourth, and third centuries, Spartan policy was, as Cavaignac has shown, remarkably non-aggressive. It is strange, too, that for the Roman period the worthless evidence of Philostratus should be quoted twice, while the Eurycles family is not mentioned.

The passages on finance and economics are interesting: the uselessness of ancient statistics is frankly admitted, and the suggestions about the Cleros are helpful—though a map of Laconia would have been very welcome. The stories of a Lycurgan veto on coinage are openly rejected—it is remarkable, by the way, that so many scholars say 'apocryphal' when they simply mean 'untrue'. It might have been added that the *ἐποχρηματία* prophecy was also made about, of all places, Tegea. The military passages are made unusually clear.

Sources, both ancient and modern, are occasionally misquoted: the footnotes are convenient and legible, but a few of the references given are incorrect. The reference to Ziehen's article on the earthquake omits the important and interesting suggestion that the loss of female life was the most disastrous result of the earthquake. The interesting, though rather trivial, question of Jews in Sparta is briefly treated, without mentioning several recent suggestions—for example, that the story told in the Maccabees may have originally been derived from a misunderstanding of the word Sephardim.

Many of the author's conclusions may be questioned, but all can be reasonably defended. A book of this size could not be expected to deal with all the theories on this subject; as Ollier has shown, the lunatic fringe of scholarship was as busy in antiquity as it is to-day, and, then as now, it took particular interest in Sparta. Nor is this a synopsis of Spartan history comparable to the works of Roussel, Ehrenberg, or Poralla, but it is by far the best English text-book on the subject. It will not greatly increase the knowledge of specialists, and it may over-estimate the learning and general knowledge of the ordinary student, but it is a better compendium than any other that is easily available. It is a sober, factual book; every student of Greek history will find it useful, interesting, and, on the whole, trustworthy.

H. W. STUBBS.

Ancient Sparta: a Re-examination of the Evidence.

By K. M. T. CHRIMES. Pp. xv + 527, 9 pl. and map. Manchester: University Press, 1949. 45s.

A new work on Ancient Sparta, planned on the generous scale of the present volume, with more than five hundred pages, deserves careful and respectful attention. Whatever degree of assent may be given to the statement, with which the Introduction opens, that 'No student of Ancient Greece could be satisfied with the present state of our knowledge about Sparta', any attempt to extend or clarify our knowledge will be welcome, especially if, as in the present work, the problems are approached from a new angle. This approach, which is certainly both novel and thoughtfully planned, involves the discarding of a chronological arrangement in favour of making 'a study of later Sparta, based mainly upon the epigraphical evidence, the starting point for a fresh examination of the evidence about the earlier period'.

The epigraphical evidence comprises the extensive series of dedications by the victors in the boys' contests at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and the no less numerous statue-bases, records of *Cursus Honorum* and lists of magistrates, Gerontes, etc., which belong predominantly to the second century of our era. Among these documents, those which contain the terms *βοαγός*, *κἀνευ*, or *συνηγός* are examined in detail (Pt. I, Ch. III) and tabulated in Appendix IV (pp. 442-70), with a praiseworthy attempt to establish their exact dating on the basis of a list of eponymous Patronomoi. The fact that this list is by no means free from errors does not effect the validity of the author's conclusions, namely, that a boy who is styled *τῷ θεῷ κἀνευ* was not merely a fellow-member of the same *ἀγὼν* as the boy to whom he is thus related, but owed his admission to it to a process of selection by a boy of a 'privileged family', who might attach to himself one or two boys of inferior social status. These 'inferiors' found in the later inscriptions

are to be identified with the *πόδαρες* of classical Sparta (two of whom, for instance, accompanied Cleomenes III on a campaign, Plut. *Cleom.* 6), but there is no epigraphical evidence for the word. The *συνηγός*, on the other hand, enjoyed a more favoured status, and was, on this view, a boy who could only be co-opted into the *ἀγὼν* by its leader, the *βοαγός*.

This interpretation of the term *συνηγός* is made more complicated by the author's theory (if I understand her aright) of two different grades of boys possessing this title. Is it not possible that the distinction between a *Kasen* and a *Synephebos* was based merely on the age of admission to the *Agelē*; i.e. that the *Kasen* was admitted before reaching the age at which one became an *Ephebos*, and the *Synephebos* on, or after, he had reached it, but only if nominated by the *Boagos* of his year; and that in some cases he might have been a *Kasen* already? On the other hand, the explanation here offered for the word *κἀνευ*, a meaning practically 'foster-brother', seems distinctly more satisfying than any previously suggested. As to the origin of this social stratification of the youthful inhabitants of Roman Sparta, it is argued that it represents a direct, and almost uninterrupted, survival of conditions existing in classical Sparta, and in fact derives from the very beginning of its history.

To justify this claim, the first chapter is devoted to a study of Hellenistic Sparta, in order to show that the period extending from the reforms of Cleomenes III to the end of the Achaean domination in 179 B.C. did not witness a permanent suppression of the city's characteristic institutions: the evidence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch is in turn examined, with the conclusion that their accounts, for one reason or another, give a misleading picture of the facts, and that the abolition of the *Agoge* during the years 188-179 (or perhaps only 188-183) did not materially affect the continuance into Roman times of 'Lycurgan' institutions. This continuance is essential to the author's whole argument, but it must be admitted that she has not made a convincing case for it.

The other episode in Spartan history which would appear to have interrupted the continuous survival of the traditional institutions, namely the 'hegemony' of Eurykles and his son Lakon, is fully discussed in Ch. V, special attention being paid to the account given by Josephus of the former's relations with Herod of Judaea, and to the chronological implications of the well-known inscriptions from Gytheion and Corinth. The conclusions that Eurykles, if he did in fact become *ἡγεμὼν* at Sparta (the attempt to find an alternative explanation for Strabo's use of this word to describe Eurykles' position carries little conviction), was exiled by his countryman after a brief period of rule, and that the Lakon, whose name is found on coins of Claudius, was not his son but a kinsman, involve the highly improbable explanation that the coin-legends *ἐπὶ Εὐρυκλέους* and *ἐπὶ Λάκωνος* refer to the tenure by these two persons of the high-priesthood for life of Augustus (pp. 188-96).

If we turn to the evidence of the inscriptions, we find that the boys' contests at the Sanctuary of Orthia are commemorated in one dedication of the early fourth century B.C.; and that in one apparently of the second century B.C. (*IG* V. 1, 255, which Kolbe, however, would date to the first), we find the terms *κἀνευ*, *μηχρόβουτος*, and *πρωτοπρόμ[η]πας*, all familiar in the dedications of the Imperial period. But it is perhaps significant that no other inscription of this series appears to be appreciably earlier than the time of Augustus, and that we do not find the words *κἀνευ* or *συνηγός* in any list of magistrates or other officials before the late Flavian era. Might not this be taken to indicate that the boys' contests continued to be held even during a long period in which the stricter enforcement of the *Agoge* had lapsed? And might we not be justified in attaching more historical importance than is usually conceded to the effects of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana in the reign of Nero? If these included a 'Lycurgan' revival of the *Agoge*, it would give additional point to the Emperor's refusal to visit Sparta in the year A.D. 67. Miss Crimes, however, prefers to believe (pp. 159 f.) that there was a 'conspicuous revival of the more archaic and peculiarly Spartan institutions about the end of the first century, and rather too late for Apollonius to have played any direct part in it'; but she can only point to the revival of the *ἀποστοματικὸς ἀγὼν* and to the (possibly new) appearance of the office of *νομοδίκης* in inscriptions of that period.

This recognition of a 'conspicuous revival' seems to some extent inconsistent with her assumption of a substantial continuity, and surely confirms the impression that it was an essentially artificial revival, however patriotic in spirit, and in any case incomplete. There can hardly have been, for instance, a revival of communal meals on the original scale, though admittedly we find several examples of a *πρωτόπ[η]τος* attached to lists of Agoranomoi. In Miss Crimes' view the mention of *ἑσπεῖραι* or *ἐξοσπεῖραι* following certain—but not all—lists of Ephors and Nomophylakes indicates that

they too had a regular *Syssitia*, but it is preferable to regard these as recording exceptional rather than normal procedure.

The fact that we find the author's belief in the continuance of the traditional institutions unsupported by convincing evidence, whilst various important considerations seem to tell definitely against it, must not lead us to ignore the distinct merits of certain parts of the book. The study of Spartan territory and of its economic resources under the Principate (Ch. II) gives an admirable survey of the evidence, and the treatment of the involved topographical problems of the Laconian-Messenian frontier is a valuable contribution to knowledge, and is made reasonably clear with the aid of a map. (By an unfortunate oversight Sparta is shown on this map on the wrong side of the Eurotas, and Amyklai is for some reason omitted.)

The detailed discussion of the ephebic organisation (Ch. III) is noteworthy for the suggestion that the age-classes recorded on the dedications of the boy victors refer to boys in the Ephebe-groups: i.e. that a *παριζόμενος* was not in his eleventh but his seventeenth year. This perfectly reasonable interpretation of the familiar gloss on Herodotus, ix. 85, clears away many obscurities, as Miss Chrimes points out, not the least of which was the anomaly that a *παριζόμενος* of ten years of age (on the old view) could style himself *συνήθερος* (to his Boagor); moreover, that we had apparently no epigraphical evidence for the training or contests of the Epheboi; and further, that Plutarch's statements as to the age of the *μυλαιοί* could not be reconciled with the old view on any reasonable hypothesis. This explanation also favours her identification of the 'sickle' dedicated by the victors as a military weapon, in fact the *ἐσθήλη* (cf. p. 255 for references to it by Xenophon, Pollux, Hesychius, and Suidas). That the *καθημερινόν* was a hunting-dance rather than a hunting-game is another attractive suggestion; and a good case is made out for identifying the *δραστηριώσις* or ritual flogging with the cheese-snatching ceremony described by Xenophon (*Resp. Lac.* II. 9); the attempt to distinguish it from the *καρτερίας ἀγών* (pp. 134-6), which is interpreted as a kind of 'passing-out test' at the end of ephebic training, seems much less convincing.

In Ch. IV we have a useful survey of what little is actually known about the functions of the Gerusia and the Magistracies. The attempt to identify the five Assistant-Patronomoi as the additional members who made up the number of the Gerontes from the twenty-three, found regularly in lists of the Imperial period, to the traditional number of twenty-eight who formed the *Βουλή τῶν κτ'* mentioned in an inscription, seems to be mistaken, though we may readily agree that this enlarged Gerusia was also known as the *Συνάγκλη*. On the vexed question concerning the Tribes and Obes in the Roman era, it is rightly pointed out that the elections to boards of annual magistracies (some numbering six, some five) cannot have been held on a tribal basis, and that the Obe of the Amyklaians was not an element in the Spartan organisation; and it may well be true that at this period the Tribes (Phylai) merely existed as athletic groupings. But is it equally likely that the Obes could have been sub-divisions of the Tribes comprising only the Age-class known as the *Σεμπείς*, young men of twenty or twenty-one? If so, its meaning must surely have undergone a remarkable change since the days of the Rhetra! For the ingenious but misguided attempt to interpret the victories recorded on inscriptions by teams of *Sphaireis* as won by teams of boxers rather than of ball-players it should suffice to refer to my remarks published in *BSA* XLVI, 197-9.

In Chapter VI ('The Early Social Organisation in Sparta and Crete') we are introduced to the first stage of the application of the epigraphical evidence to the problems of the earlier period. Rejecting the ancient beliefs that the Spartan constitution was derived from Crete, or vice versa, and that Cretan serfdom was a close parallel to the Helot system at Sparta, the author emphasises the resemblances to be found in social organisation, e.g. that between *Syssitia* and *Andreia*, and that between the Cretan *Agelai* and the Spartan selection of *Mothakes* (later, *Kasens*), though it must be admitted that here also she is tempted to overwork the comparison. Can we accept her equation of the Cretan with the Spartan *Hippeis*, the latter being here identified with the 'Privileged Families', and of the Cretan *Κλαροί* with the *Νικοσυμώτες*? And what grounds are there for the assertion that 'in Sparta of the feudal period all political power was evidently (*sic*!) in the hands of the *Hippeis*, the class of large landowners whose name survived in the *τριστόκοι* *ἱππῆς* καλούμενοι of much later times' (cf. *Thuc.* V. 72, 4)?

Survival of another kind is postulated in the study of the Cult and Festival of *Orthia* (Ch. VII), in which, developing a suggestion by Nilsson, the author endeavours to show that the cult derives from that of the Minoan 'goddess of wild life', and that the title *Orthia* means 'the goddess of the steep mountain'

(appositely citing Strabo's use of this epithet to describe *Taygetus*). We may note in passing the discussion of the dress of the goddess on the various votive offerings, especially the lead figurines, for the costume of which a Minoan origin is claimed, in connexion with the attractive suggestion that the *εἶδος* which Alcman's maiden-procession dedicated was an instance of the annual gift of a robe for the cult-image. But we cannot help feeling that on two essential points, namely the explanation for the worship of the mountain-goddess in a riverside meadow and the theory that the supposed pre-Dorian levels of her sanctuary must have been washed away by floods, ingenuity has outrun judgement.

On the question of the Subject Population (Ch. VIII) it will be seen that the author, following Eduard Meyer rather than Busolt, believes that the Dorian invaders penetrated into the Southern Peloponnese in large numbers; that the Spartan conquest of Messenia 'involved no completely new problem of government at any stage, since its population was similar in race and in social organisation to already-subjugated Laconia'; that is to say that in Laconia and Messenia alike the invaders held in political subjection the presumably less numerous pre-Dorian population.

This view of the process of Spartan expansion over the Southern Peloponnese forms one of the main supports for the author's dating of the Lycurgan reforms (Ch. IX). The conclusion 'that there are fairly cogent reasons' for dating them to 809 B.C. (which may cause some surprise) is reached by way of a detailed rejection of Wade-Gery's arguments for a later date in *CAH* III (1925), together with the contention that Herodotus (i. 67) intended to refer to two widely separated Arcadian Wars (thus Charillos should be dated to the first half of the eighth century B.C.) and that the evidence of the King-lists is historically trustworthy, at any rate for the Agiad line. In spite of the ingenious (and not unlikely) suggestion that the Spartan reckoning of a generation was twenty-seven years, and not three to a century, it is not easy to accept the contention that a regular eighty-one-year cycle can be traced backwards from 404 B.C. to justify Thucydides' reckoning of 400(+) years from that date for the Lycurgan reforms.

The nature of the Lycurgan reforms is examined in Ch. XI (pp. 412-28) and the text of the Rhetra in Appendix VI (pp. 474-89). The conclusion that we must recognise two stages in its composition, (1) the oracle given to Lycurgus at Delphi and (2) an enactment of purely Spartan origin emanating from the Gerusia and the Kings, which may well date from the time of the First Messenian War, lands us in a whirl of conjecture, concerning not only the well-known textual *οὐκ* in the Rhetra, but its whole contents: e.g. that the words *ὅν ἀρχαίως* point to the creation, or recognition, of the double monarchy, and that the words *ἀπὸς ἀπάσθων* refer to the distribution of new lots from publicly owned land to newly enfranchised *δουλοί* (the subject of some lost Rhetra). Nor must we overlook the improbable account of the origin of the Ephors (pp. 402 ff.) as 'two royal Ephors' plus three attached originally to the three (purely hypothetical) *φυλοβασιλῆες* of the three Dorian tribes.

Only the briefest mention can be made of the discussion of the Spartan Army organisation (Ch. X) which includes some good points, such as the Spartan weakness in training and using cavalry, and the gradual evolution in the fifth century from a heavy to a lighter hoplite equipment, as is worn by Mnason (in whom we may readily agree to recognise a Spartan) on the incised tombstone from Thebes; but why need this be dated as early as the siege of Plataea? At the same time we find some rash pronouncements on Spartan generalship and on the source of Thucydides' information about Spartan army organisation; and, not for the first time in this book, a serious lack of acquaintance with essential publications (e.g. on the Battle of Mantinea and the meaning of *Enomotia*). A (surely perverse!) interpretation of the three-coiled serpent in the oracle (Herod. vi. 77) can hardly be said to justify the suggestion that the three serpents supporting the Plataean tripod at Delphi 'symbolise a predominantly Dorian army'. No less perverse is the translation of *Νέμος βασιλεύς* as 'the King is the Law' (p. 473).

We must, in fact, be constantly on our guard against reckless statements, not least in the author's handling of inscriptions, as for example in the impossible attribution of *IG* V. 1, 1346 to Sparta (an error to which the reviewer has called attention elsewhere) and in the sometimes arbitrary emendation of texts in defiance of the evidence of the stone. A similar weakness is responsible for some of the impossible dates in the list of Patronomoi, which cannot be accepted as the last word on this admittedly intricate topic.

To sum up these remarks: Miss Chrimes has put forward some valuable suggestions to help our understanding of the

social organisation and economic conditions at Sparta both in the Roman period and earlier, but she is by no means an equally safe guide where constitutional and political history is concerned. It is a pity that in these fields critical judgement has not kept pace with her industry and ingenuity.

A. M. WOODWARD.

Thèbes de Béotie, des origines à la conquête romaine.

By P. CLOCHÉ. Pp. 289, with 1 map. Namur: Faculté Universitaires, 1952. B. Fr. 150.

Professor Cloché has here attempted a deceptively difficult task. It was the tragedy of Thebes that, while strong enough to obstruct with stubborn valour and at last to foil the attempts of Athens and Sparta to impose their own peace, she lacked, even more conspicuously than they, the power to do it herself. She was rarely, if ever, completely mistress even of Boeotia; and the Sacred War showed that she could not permanently control central Greece. Even in his account of her greatest days, C. has too often to interrupt his narrative to refer to the satisfaction or otherwise with which Thebans must have viewed the results of some stroke of Athenian or Spartan or Persian policy which they were unable to prevent. Nevertheless, he succeeds, at least in dealing with the period 431–335, a period in which he has long been particularly at home, in giving us a history which, with its full references to sources and to the modern literature at least in French (though rather rarely in other languages) will no doubt be useful to many.

In the Hellenistic age, after the restoration of 316, the difficulties increase. There is little in the way of literary evidence outside the excerpts from Polybius; and Polybius disliked Boeotians, or at least the form of social democracy which seems to have developed in the restored Thebes, whose aristocracy had been shattered by the catastrophe of 335. C. tends to take Polybius at his face value, although he realises (p. 245) that many of the criticisms are those which had already been levelled against Periclean Athens. What should we think of Athens if we had only the evidence of a Peloponnesian historian? Polybius is more hostile even than C. realises; for the *κακεία* to which he attributes the anti-Roman attitude of Boeotia in 191 is not, as C. translates, their 'situation misérable', but their 'perversity': *κακεία* = 'méchant'; cf. Polyb. I. 68, 10, V. 87, 3, XXVIII. 17, 12. The inscriptions give (naturally, being official documents) a much more favourable picture, to which C. does justice in dealing with an earlier phase (pp. 230 ff.). One would have welcomed an attempt to give a picture of the Boeotian democracy, with its achievements, faults, problems, and difficulties, taking account simultaneously of both official and hostile evidence. In these last chapters, indeed, the author seems to be tiring. Discussions of evidence clog the narrative—perhaps inevitably; and the footnotes to which one looks for references to sources refer us too often only to the conclusions of other scholars.

The treatment of the prehistoric and archaic periods is sketchy. Certainly the material is scanty; but a more lively picture of early Boeotia is given, to cite only French works, in Guillon's pleasant essay, *La Béotie antique* (1948), or even in the couple of pages in Jardé's *Formation du peuple grec*. After postulating, on the archaeological evidence, an Achaean invasion ejecting earlier 'Carian immigrants' c. 2000 B.C., it is surely making confusion worse confounded to continue 'Ces nouveaux maîtres . . . étaient-ils des Ioniens?' What was the connotation of the terms Achaean, Ionian, Carian, etc., in 2000 B.C., if they existed at all, is not a question to which we can reasonably expect an answer from archaeology. In dealing with the early laws of Thebes also (p. 26), is it correct to translate νόμοι θεσμολ, explained by Aristotle as laws directed to maintaining the number of *kléroi*, as 'lois positives'? Apart from the question what such an expression would mean, it is surely only after the formulation of rules of logic or at least of grammar, that the word θεσμός can have developed its Hellenistic and modern meaning; but the phrase in Aristotle seems to be quoted from early Boeotian legal language. 'Laws of adoption', the expression used long ago by Jowett, seems linguistically more probable, and also gives better sense.

The military history is weak; the account of Leuctra is traditional, and that of the disastrous sortie of 335 gives no clear picture; though Arrian, who is duly cited, shows perfectly clearly how Alexander, with brilliant opportunism, snatched a crushing victory out of a battle begun badly and against his orders. The account on p. 199 is worthy of Diodorus. Incidentally, no doubt by an error in proof-correcting, all the references to Diod. XVII are given to Diod. XVIII.

The map is the sketch-map out of Guillon, *op. cit.*; it was barely adequate for that brief essay, and is quite inadequate for the present which, whatever its faults, is a learned work.

A. R. BURN.

Sybaris. By J. S. CALLAWAY. Pp. ix + 131. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. 40s.

As long as the ruins of archaic Sybaris remain buried somewhere under the bed of the river Crati (Krathis), no modern student can hope, in writing of this famous city, to contribute any major additions to her known history. Meanwhile, the evidence of ancient authors and the scanty archaeological gleanings from the area have been used to the full in two detailed studies recently published: that of J. Bérard on the origins of the colony (*La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*, 1941, 152 ff.), and that of T. J. Dunbabin on her place in the political and economic history of Magna Graecia and Sicily (*The Western Greeks*, 1948, 24 ff., 75 ff., 153 ff., 356 ff.). Professor Callaway makes no claim to any new approach to the evidence, observing only that his book 'attempts, by drawing on all known sources, to present a somewhat fuller and more integrated account of the city as a whole than has heretofore been available' (p. vii). We have therefore no right to complain if we find little in his thesis that has not already been stated or inferred elsewhere. It collects its material in a form easy to assimilate, and its leisurely style provides a suitable setting for the ever-green Sybaritic tales of blisters raised by crumpled rose-petals, dancing cavalry chargers, and all the other traditions gathered principally by the industry of Athenaeus and Aelian. But as an authoritative account of the first Sybaris (would not a more precise title have been fitting?) it is inadequate. This is not a full account, but a discursive narrative which gives full measure to certain aspects, including some hardly relevant, and barely a word to others which are of far more importance. Two remarkable omissions may be noted. The author says nothing about the Achaean alphabet of Sybaris, though it is the prime archaeological corroboration of the literary tradition which established her as an Achaean foundation; and even more striking is his neglect of her fine and well-known coinage. His only glance at the archaic alphabet is a sketch (without epigraphical commentary) on p. 49, n. 41, of the miniature bronze axe-head in the British Museum from S. Agata di Esaro (*IG XIV*, 643); and his only detailed reference to the incuse coinage of Magna Graecia concerns the theory, admittedly tentative and not generally accepted, of Pythagorean influence in the technique (pp. 67 f.). Yet he devotes much space to (e.g.) Milesian woollens, Tarantine stuffs, the pet dogs of Melita, the temple of Hera Lacinia near Croton, and even the painter Zeuxis.

This should be sufficient warning to the serious student. A few more specific points may be noted: p. 23—if the location of Aminaian wine is discussed, should not the theory of J. Bérard be mentioned, which sets Aminaia near Poseidonia? (Bérard, *op. cit.*, 415 ff. and *Mél. d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* lvii, 1940, 27 ff.); p. 28—the date 'ca. 507 B.C.' for the Epidaurians' request for olive-wood from Athens requires some explanation, to say the least of it; pp. 69 f.—why, amid so much explanatory detail elsewhere in the text, is merely the name of Dorieus mentioned here, with no reminder of who he was or what he was doing in the area during events preceding the campaign against Kroton in 510, save for the terse footnote 'Herod., v, xx (sic), 44'? p. 86, note 79—Sybaris founded ca. 720 B.C.; but on pp. 1 ff., where both the Eusebian date (709/8 or 708/7) and the ps-Skymnian (729) are given, the question is left open; p. 104—there seems to be some confusion here, in which the dedication of Amphinomos and his sons to Athena Lindia, preserved for us only by record in the well-known Lindian 'Temple Chronicle' of the third century B.C., is described as 'an inscription found at Lindus and dated in the seventh or sixth century, B.C.', with a footnote which only confirms the confusion by misinterpreting A. R. Burn, *The World of Hesiod*, 239 (not 259, as there given); p. 106—should the *floruit* of Hippys of Rhegion be described simply as 'period of the Persian Wars', without even a reference to the argument of Jacoby concerning the work of Myes c. 300 B.C.? If we leave the narrative and turn to the *Prosopographia Sybaritica* (pp. 119 ff.), we find that it loses much of its value by mentioning no dates throughout, save that of the Olympic victor Philytas; and among the names appear both the doubtful oikist Sybaris and that of the youth Sybaris in a painting (Paus. vi, 6, 4), who was either a personification of the river or else the oikist already mentioned. The *Prosopographia Poseidonia* omits the names of Phillo and Charmyllidas (first half of the fifth century B.C.: *IG XIV*, 664); and possibly that of Dymciadas should also be mentioned, inscribed on a bronze jug found north of Poseidonia near Salerno (*IG XIV*, 694). There is a long bibliography, which may be supplemented from that of J. Bérard, *op. cit.*; the work of Dunbabin, though included in this bibliography, finds no place in the text or footnotes—a startling omission which leads one to conclude that it was not available at the time of writing, since (to name only one instance)

reference to it would have caused a modification at least of the statement on p. 22 on the economy of southern Italy. Unchecked minor slips, omissions, and misprints in spelling or punctuation are far too numerous; thirty-two were noted on 131 pages.

We must continue therefore to wait for an authoritative account of the history of the first Sybaris; but it is certain that, when excavation finally makes this possible, nobody will follow the finds with a more lively interest than Professor Callaway, nor be more generous in giving credit where it is due.

L. H. JEFFERY.

Race-relations in Ancient Egypt: Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Roman. By S. DAVIS. Pp. xiii + 176. London: Methuen, 1951. 21s.

The strangely complicated racial problems of South Africa no doubt go a long way towards accounting for the interest recently shown by classical scholars of that Dominion in the broad question of how men of differing race, nationality, religion, and politics got on together in the ancient world. There was perhaps no land where these problems were more urgent and more far-reaching than in Egypt, especially in Alexandria; and Dr. Davis, following in the footsteps of Haarhoff and Balogh, has chosen an excellent subject for his essay, the aim of which is 'to review what effects the new spirit, the sudden waking to man's unity, had on the development of race-relations in one particular corner of the ancient world'.

The three parts of the essay are concerned with the Greeks, the Jews, and the Romans. This scheme is reasonable, but involves some repetition. Thus the problem of Alexandrian citizenship comes up twice, first in Part I, and in more detail when the position of the Jews is treated in Part II. Likewise the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is discussed in some detail on p. 64 and again on pp. 146 ff., with some detriment to clarity and consistency. The third section, dealing with the Roman attitude towards race under the republic and the empire, is very general, and much of it only indirectly concerns Egypt.

The opening of the book is dogged with disaster. After a fly-leaf with a reference to 'Race-relations in Ancient Egypt' comes a page containing the much-quoted passage from Isocrates which defines Hellenes as μέλλον . . . τοὺς τῆς παιδείας ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας (*Panegy.* 50: Davis inadvertently omits the key-word παιδείας). But it is nearly twenty years since Wilcken showed that this passage does not envisage an extension of the concept of Hellenes, but rather restricts it to those who share the Attic παιδεία (*SB Berlin*, 1922, 114 n. 3), so that it is really irrelevant to Dr. Davis's theme. There is much worse to follow. The book is based almost entirely on secondary authorities, and these are used in a most unusual fashion. The author has not been content to reproduce the arguments of his predecessors: he frequently copies out up to a dozen lines *verbatim*, sometimes with inverted commas and acknowledgements, sometimes with neither. In Part III whole paragraphs are simply extracts from A. N. Sherwin-White's *Roman Citizenship*. For example, p. 146 is a transcript (with occasional omissions and changes of phrase) of S-W., pp. 218-20. S-W.'s references are reproduced, and one error is interpolated. P. 148 discusses *P. Giess*, 40 and the views of A. H. M. Jones. It reproduces S-W., pp. 224-5 (with the combination of round and square brackets to be found in his text) and summarises Jones's arguments in S-W.'s words (introducing the misprint *Aegyptus* for *Aegyptius*). A passage at the bottom of the page deforms its original source (S-W., p. 227) by omitting *numero* from the phrase *qui in dediticorum numero sunt*. Bickerman's views here are also taken *verbatim* from S-W., p. 225. On p. 149 Davis remarks on *P. Giess*, 40 and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*: 'It is a moot point whether a measure capable of being described as "ciuitas omnibus data" can have been affected by the three lines in question.' An odd remark. To understand it see S-W., p. 226, where the key-word is 'effected'. Perhaps we may charitably blame the printer. But these examples can be multiplied indefinitely; and repeatedly Dr. Davis introduces copyists' errors into his text. Nor is Sherwin-White the only one to suffer. In the earlier chapters Bevan, Tarn, and others are treated in exactly the same way. Nowhere can one be sure whom one is reading.

In only one chapter is there evidence of original work. Unless I have overlooked some *Quelle*, Dr. Davis has a new theory to propound on the problem of the rights of the Alexandrian Jews to citizenship. Briefly he argues (pp. 108-12) that in Alexander's original foundation some Jews shared in the citizenship along with the Greeks, but that subsequently other Jews migrated to Alexandria, where, though not citizens, they had their own *πολιτεία* with a *γενοσία* (like the *πολιτεία* of Greeks scattered through Egypt); thus a few Jews were

citizens, but the majority were not. This is unlikely to be the last word on a vexed issue, but it is a reasonable hypothesis, and may well be right.

As a popular exposition this essay will be of some use. But the reviewer must regretfully point out that it is hampered even for this purpose by an infelicitous and often ambiguous style (where its author is using his own words), by an inadequate bibliography (this contains no works later than 1941, and the book shows no acquaintance with certain essential books and articles by Peremans, Claire Préaux, Taubenschlag, Zucker (in *Das neue Bild der Antike*, Vol. I, 1942, pp. 369-88), Fuchs, and others, including Tarn's *Alexander the Great* (1948)), and by a disproportionate number of misprints, few of which offer the palaeographical interest of *ἀνθρωπος* for *ἀνάνθρωπος* (p. 62, n. 5) or the speculative interest of the *Journal des savantes* (p. 49, n. 3).

F. W. WALBANK.

Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine.

By P. GRIMAL. Pp. xxi + 576. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. Fr. 2400.

There was room for a book of this size and kind. Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa are not within reach of every purse, nor does every student want as full information as they give; also, some of their older articles 'date' very markedly. Manuals of mythology can hardly avoid being selective, and however well indexed, do not always readily answer the question 'Who was So-and-So and what is the story about him (or her)?' Grimal has set himself to give a brief but not inadequate account of nearly everyone mentioned in Greek mythology and in the pale shadow of it which Rome in historical times produced, and to furnish each article with a list of the passages, or the chief passages, in ancient authors which tell the story. The printers have set up the information fairly on good paper and have reproduced clearly and well both the many genealogical tables which serve to guide the reader and the pictures, taken from vase-paintings, which stand at the head of each letter. The author has added two indexes, one of proper names, useful because some characters are so very minor that they have no article assigned to them (as Polymedon, whose only claim to remembrance is that he is a son of Priam and named in the article devoted to his father) or are mentioned in several places in varying contexts (thus Tarchon is spoken of five times outside the article headed with his name), and another of mythological themes, a most helpful tool to any folklorist or comparative mythologist. Ch. Picard contributes a preface in commendation of the work, and Grimal himself introduces the long series of heroes, heroines, and deities with a dozen pages explaining what he intends to achieve and setting forth his views of the nature and importance of Greek legends. A small point is that, writing in French, he very understandably finds or makes a French form for every name, when he finds it possible to do so; but as almost every article gives the name again in its Greek or Latin shape, this will cause little or no inconvenience to readers who are not countrymen of the author.

In a work necessarily restricted in size as this is, much has to be left out, and the author has omitted practically everything but the stories themselves. Thus in discussing Hyakinthos, he does not tell his readers that H. is demonstrably an old god, though he adds to his classical references the title of Miss Mellinck's recent monograph, which deals fully with the question. Perhaps this is as well, for in his introduction and in the few places where he gives some comment on the story he is telling, he shows too much indulgence for the unsound sort of theorising; for instance, he regards as proved one of the wildest sociological hypotheses of Marie Delcourt (p. xvii) and finds 'de bonnes raisons' for believing some of Dumézil's lucubrations (art. *Horace*, end). But every mythologist may be allowed his fancies, if he will faithfully record the facts, i.e. tell the ancient tales in substance as the ancients told them, and this, with but few errors, Grimal does.

It would, of course, be too much to expect that in nearly 600 closely printed pages there should be no errors. In a notice of this work in *CR* I draw attention to those which met my eye on first looking through the book. If I now add a second crop of the same, it is, as before, from no desire to cavil at a useful task conscientiously performed, but simply to point out certain small matters in which a reader might be misled and suggest to the author some minor amendments which he might make when a second edition is called for, as I hope it soon will be.

In the article *Amphitrite*, then, it is hazardous to interpret her name by 'Celle qui entoure le Monde', or anything else which suggests that it is wholly Greek. On the other hand, *Anna Perenna* has a transparent etymology which might have been mentioned, she being a projection, if we like to use that

term, from the phrase *annare perennare*. Apis the Peloponnesian hero has been given a false accent. Such a misfortune has befallen fewer of the characters than might have been expected when there are so many of them, and generally it is patently the fault of the printer, as in the art. *Héraclides*, while in a few others, such as *Théodamas*, the accent has simply disappeared. But in the art. *Basilida Grimal*, like his predecessor in Roscher, forgets to warn his reader that B. the obscure daughter of Uranos and B. the personification of royalty have not the same accentuation. In discussing so obviously supernatural a being as Chrysaor, it is somewhat misleading to explain his name by 'l'homme à l'épée d'or'. The obscure Chrysothemis daughter of Karmanor the Cretan is briefly noticed and the one mention of her in Pausanias duly given, but Chrysothemis daughter of Agamemnon is omitted entirely. Myrtilos is adequately treated, but it might have been worth while to add that he suggests the Hittite royal name Mursil, whatever the significance of that resemblance may be. It should be made clear under *Pales* that we now know that there were two deities of that name. When some of the principal figures are dealt with, the general rule of giving references only to ancient mentions is broken judiciously; for instance, the bibliography for Zeus includes A. B. Cook and one or two other moderns. This being so, the author might consider adding to the references for Poseidon the excellent monograph of Fr. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon u. die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens*, which, being published something like a year before his own book, perhaps did not reach him in time to be used. In the text of the article, something at least should be said about the intimate connexion of the god with horses.

It will be evident that most of these proposed improvements are minute details, which could be altered without disturbing the arrangement of a single paragraph. Other small faults could no doubt be discovered by a minute and lengthy examination, or by long use of the work for reference, but I doubt if they would be found very numerous. The many who are likely to resort to the *Dictionnaire* when information is wanted in a hurry would readily forgive far more and worse shortcomings for the sake of the great amount which has been well and diligently done.

H. J. ROSE.

Opuscula Selecta. Vol. 1. By M. P. NILSSON. (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, II, 1.) Pp. 456. Lund: Gleerup, 1951. Sw. Cr. 45.

Few scholars have contributed so many and so valuable articles in various languages to the elucidation of the problems of classical antiquity as Martin Persson Nilsson. It is therefore a most welcome piece of news that they are all to be collected, save those which were written for encyclopaedias and the like, those composed in Swedish, those which are obtainable separately, and a few other exceptions, such as reviews. The *terminus ad quem* is the year 1939. No important changes have been made, and the few alterations are indicated by brackets. The author therefore does not set forth anything in this volume (which contains his articles on Greek religion and mythology) as being necessarily his precise views of to-day, for he modestly states in his short Latin preface that he fears he cannot live long enough to bring everything up to date and put right all that might be the better for correction.

How much search in obscure periodicals, or at least periodicals not easily consulted in the average British library, the reader is now spared is evident from the notice at the beginning of each essay stating where it originally appeared. *ARW* indeed is generally to be had, but that accounts for only about half of the contents, and not a little of the rest came out in Scandinavian publications far less well known here than their general level of merit warrants. Perhaps an incidental result of this volume may be to set some researchers on the track of them, to see what else they contain which is worth reading.

The series opens with the study of *Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten*. On this follow three short pieces, dealing respectively with Dionysos on shipboard, stelae of Zeus Ktesios which show a serpent, and Zeus Kataibates. Then comes the important article, *Die älteste griechische Zeitrechnung, Apollo und der Orient*. On this follows the long discussion of the origins of Tragedy, a work by no means put out of date even by the labours of Pickard-Cambridge in clearing away masses of ill-supported theory. The next is that admirable study, *Die Anthesterien und die Aiora*, and there follow nearly fifty pages on processions in Greek cult. It is much to be wished that the succeeding study could become known beyond the circles of classicists and *Religionsforscher*. It is the magisterial work *Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*, the one important contribution to the subject since Usener, and knowledge of it would rid semi-scientific literature of much nonsense, the fruit of fifth-hand acquaintance with M. Lipenius. The next two are slighter

performances, *Das Rosenfest* and *Die traditio per terram*. Then follow discussions of the story of Oidipus and the funeral pyre of Herakles, and after them comes another important study, *Götter und Psychologie bei Homer*. The next is the first adumbration of what was to be worked out at full length in the author's Sather lectures, the proof that Greek sagas are all Mycenaean, perhaps Nilsson's most important contribution to scientific mythology. Minor points are discussed in the next two, *Die Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen* and the only English essay in the collection, *Plutarch's Quaestiones Graecae*, No. 24. The complicated and controversial interpretation of those Attic vases which deal with the Choes is touched upon in the next, *Eine Anthesterienvase in München*, which is followed by *Die Götter des Symposions*, and the volume ends with that curious and learned illustration of the famous weighing-scenes in and after Homer, *Zeus mit der Schicksalswaage*.

That the collection includes matters which were, often which still are, controversial is surely clear from the very titles. That it would be unprofitable to go into such points here is equally obvious. One thing is evident, that the volume contains nothing which is not worth re-reading. Some members of a younger generation perhaps will make the acquaintance of some of these writings for the first time; it will be much to their profit.

The printers seem to have done their work well; I have noted a few small misprints, not likely to mislead anyone.

H. J. ROSE.

The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate. New interpretations of Greek, Roman and kindred evidence, also of some basic Jewish and Christian beliefs. By R. B. ONIANS. Pp. xvii + 547, with 2 text figures. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 45s.

This highly ingenious work is the fruit of long study, extending over some thirty years. Its basic principle no one is likely to deny; the author starts from the assumption that numerous words which took on an abstract meaning, suitable for philosophic and scientific discussions, originally signified something concrete, and in general that early thought on the matters specified in the title was different from that of later days, forming, he thinks (p. xi) 'a remarkable system of beliefs, coherent in itself and, when we grasp the appearances of things strangely conspiring, not unreasonable'. While he holds that this 'system' was 'largely shared' by a number of peoples, including not only Germanic and Celtic but also Semitic, he devotes most attention to the Greeks, for the sound reasons that information concerning early Latin thought is scanty and he has to depend on second-hand information concerning Semitic languages.

He begins with Homer, as telling us what we know of the earliest Greeks of whom we really know anything. His first chapter discusses 'Some Processes of Consciousness', and stresses the large emotional element in that part of the vocabulary which came to be intellectual, especially the uses of such words as *οἶσθαι*. The next chapter treats of *The Organs of Consciousness*, and its fundamental proposition is one which has, I think, already been made public, that *σπῆν* means 'lungs' in Homer. That it does not precisely mean the diaphragm in early pre-medical language he has, in my judgement, fully proved; that many of the statements made about the *σπῆν* agree with what really goes on, or might be thought to go on, in the lungs is also pretty clear. I remain, however, somewhat doubtful, and am inclined to believe that to Homer and other early users of Greek the word meant nothing more definite than 'inward parts', 'entrails'. But the numerous subordinate propositions arising from the main one about *σπῆν* deserve examination by critical readers; to go into them in detail here would mean writing a long monograph. Chapter III, *The Stuff of Consciousness*, puts forward the suggestion that *θυμός* meant something like 'breath-soul', but comes near my own theory, that it is the blood-soul, see p. 48; it is 'breath related to blood, not mere air but something vaporous within'. Again there are interesting corollaries, including a discussion of the original meaning of *σάπερ*. Air or breath is still important in the next chapter, which treats of cognition and the senses. A short chapter on the liver and other organs of the lower abdomen concludes this part of the book and contains more familiar matter.

Part II passes on to a discussion of the soul and its relation to the body. O. naturally starts from *ψυχή*, and emphasises its relation to the head as the seat of life; the connexion is natural enough, since breath comes from the head, but hardly enough attention is given to the other reasons for the tendency to equate the head with the whole person, e.g. the presence in it of most of the sense-organs and the patent fact that its removal or serious injury inevitably means death. But a very interesting

consideration is the supposed connexion of the head with generation, via the cerebro-spinal fluid (pp. 108 ff.). Considering this, O. will not agree that *ψυχή* means, as is generally supposed, the breath-soul; that belongs rather to the lungs and is, as already stated, the *θυμός*. The next chapter takes the discussion into the Roman field, and has much to say concerning *caput*, *genius*, and *numen*. The idea of a close connexion of the head with generation yields a plausible explanation of the curious phrase for sexual connexion, *caput linare* (Plaut. *Merc.* 537 and elsewhere in Comedy, also at least one Tragic passage, Livius Andronicus ap. Nonius 334, to M.). It signifies the diminishing, as by filing, of the literal head, thought of as containing that *cerebrum* which O. (p. 125) would connect with the roots of such words as *creare*. In the *genius* and *iano* he sees analogies to *ψυχή* as explained by him. The rest of the chapter contains much that is interesting, though often in my opinion hazardous, concerning the head. *Anima* and *animus* furnish the material for the next chapter, the discussion being to some extent conditioned by O.'s theories; he cannot suppose either of these words to mean 'life-soul', being convinced that that is what *genius* properly signifies, a proposition which I cannot accept. Chapter IV concerns the knee and its sexual associations. These do exist, but the argument is not helped out by mistranslating γόνυμα μέλας in Eur. *Elect.* 1209 by 'generative members'. There, Orestes is remorsefully telling how Klytaimnestra behaved when being killed, πρὸς τὸν γόνυμα μέλας, i.e. 'she that bore me knelt to me for mercy'. An interesting suggestion is that on pp. 177 f., that the synovial fluid in the knee-joint was imagined to have something to do with the semen. A similar discussion regarding the thigh occurs later in the chapter. Chapter V discusses strength and its association with bodily fluids, but again there is a curiously inept remark, p. 193, 'That the knees should be imagined to be seats of a man's strength is strange, but it would be stranger still if the head was thought to be such also.' Has O. never felt his knees give way under him nor his head swim from over-exertion? Chapter VI, dealing with *The Stuff of Life*, comes to grips with the familiar problem of what αἶμα originally meant. The answer is again found in the liquid or liquefiable parts of the bodily make-up, a conclusion fortified by a variety of arguments, etymological and other. All this leads naturally to the next chapter, on *River-Worship and some Forms of the Life-substance*. This again leads up to a discussion of hair-offerings, and hair again to horns, including those of the cuckold, all of which are once more connected with the sexual associations of the head. Chapter VIII treats of some of the early philosophical ideas, Chapter IX of death and cremation, including that partial cremation for which there is some archaeological evidence, and Chapter X of *χοῖα* and other offerings both to the dead and to gods. The last chapter of this section proposes a new origin for ambrosia, which O. thinks related rather to fat than to honey.

The general subject of Part III is *Fate and Time*, and now we meet a new series of ideas, those associated with binding and the related processes of spinning, weaving, tying, and rope-making. As spinning, in its early forms, involves the use of the upper leg, it is not hard to find a reason for the future being on the knees of the gods; the *μήματα* of combat and other matters are the ends of the rope or cord which knots all fast; Chapter III even explains *κοῖτος* as an opening between threads on the loom originally. *The Weaving of Fate* (Chapter IV) covers better-known ground, and the following chapter adduces parallels from outside the classical European world. Various other aspects of the subject occupy the remaining chapters, the last discussing *τύχης*, in which O. finds an original meaning of a (more or less circular) band. Finally there are over forty pages (469-513) of addenda, brief discussions chiefly of minor points.

That the whole work is full of learning and ingenuity is very clear. Unfortunately, it is not always sound. I have no room to discuss a large number of small matters in which the author seems to me to misunderstand his sources in details, to indulge in risky etymologies, or otherwise to stray from strict accuracy; but there is one besetting fault which has not been sufficiently avoided in any part of the book. Our earliest evidence for Greek, Homer, is at best something like a millennium later than the coming of his language to Greece; our earliest specimens of Latin, save for one or two archaic inscriptions and a few liturgical or legal scraps, are of the third century B.C., many generations after the beginnings of that tongue. In this time there was abundant opportunity for words to pass away from their primitive etymological meanings, e.g. for *τύχης* to come to signify 'consummation', 'completion', even 'end', or *caput* to take on the sense of legal or other personality. In their new meanings, the words could, and I think did, form entirely new relationships, including poetical kennings, which can throw little or no light on the significance

they may once have had; for instance, *τύχης ἐπιθήσας* might, even in Homer, be used with no more feeling either for the primitive sense of *τύχης*, whatever that was, or consciousness of using a metaphor than we have when we 'reach' a conclusion or 'put' an end to something. And the bulk of the idioms analysed are much later than Homer or Plautus. A new edition, which it is to be hoped the work may reach, should allow for this difficulty and for choice get rid of sundry examples which for chronological or other reasons are unconvincing.

H. J. ROSE.

The Greeks and the Irrational. By E. R. DODDS. Pp. ix + 327. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1951. 37s. 6d.

Since the Greeks were the clearest-witted people of antiquity, the founders of modern philosophical and scientific thought, to whom we owe the very words 'logic' and 'dialectic', there is a certain tendency, implicit rather than explicit, to regard them as a sort of inhuman reasoning-machines. This thoughtful and well-informed book sets out to correct any such one-sided view and to point out the existence of a quite different attitude, a disposition, such as is found in all human communities, to think along lines which logic refuses to follow, to be influenced by tradition, imagination, emotion and other forces owing nothing to the reason. The keynote is struck on p. viii, 'Why should we attribute to the ancient Greeks an immunity from "primitive" modes of thought which we do not find in any society open to our direct observation?'

Beginning, as is appropriate, with Homer, Professor Dodds discusses Agamemnon's elaborate excuse for his behaviour towards Achilles. The *ἔτι* on whom, or which, he lays the blame is, it is suggested (p. 17), the machinery for 'projecting' his 'unbearable feelings of shame' on to something outside himself. The author, by the way, accepts and makes much use of a recent classification of human societies into shame-cultures and guilt-cultures, and puts that of the Homeric nobles into the former category, where the penalty of wrongdoing (apart from legal action) is not the torments of an unquiet conscience, but the loss of one's fellows' esteem, of 'face'. The transition from the one type of society to the other is the theme of the next chapter, which has something to say of divine *φρόνους*, its moralisation, as the author claims (p. 31), into *νέμεσις*, and the development, during the archaic period, of doctrines of reward and punishment extending beyond the present life. With characteristic modesty and good sense, he emphasises (pp. 48, 49) that his sketch of the development cannot be directly proved and that no simple formula will explain any such process 'without residue'. Chapter III has the paradoxical title 'The Blessings of Madness', the allusion being to Plato, *Phaedr.* 244a 6-7. It deals with the prevalence in early times of the idea that madness and ailments generally are of divine origin, and goes on to speak of inspired prophecy (the discussion of the Pythia, pp. 73 ff., is brief but good), the ritual, considered from the psychological point of view, of Dionysos and the Korymbantes, and inspiration of poets by the Muses, of course in days before that became merely a poetical formula. It was worth pointing out (p. 82) that the idea of the poet being in a frenzy cannot be proved older than the fifth century, and he suggests that it is 'a by-product of the Dionysiac movement'.

In the following chapter, 'Dream-Pattern and Culture-Pattern', use is made of what seems a sound axiom, that the way in which any given people think of and interpret dreams depends on their 'local culture-pattern' (p. 103), in other words that any given community will treat these phenomena in a tolerably uniform way, which may be widely different from that of another society which is organised differently. With references to and some courteous disagreement with certain remarks of mine written more than a quarter of a century ago, he examines what Greek authors, including physicians and philosophers, have to say about dreams, and emphasises the unlikelihood of most of these visions to our own. Chapter V passes into a most fascinating subject, and one which especially calls for what it here receives, good documentation and sobriety in handling, for it is 'The Greek Shamans and the Origin of Puritanism'. Leading shamans, in the sense in which he uses the word, i.e. persons who had by one means or another come into contact with those cultures in which shamanism is a characteristic phenomenon, were among others Epimenides and Orpheus, the latter being 'a mythical shaman or prototype of shamans' (p. 147). I should be willing to allow that behind the legends there is a real figure, although, like Professor Dodds, I know much less about Orpheus and Orphism than once I thought I did. The puritanism which the author connects with 'Orphic' and similar doctrines is

'a horror of the body and a revulsion against the life of the senses which were quite new in Greece' (p. 152).

This brings the treatment down to the classical age, and Chap. VI speaks of 'rationalism and reaction' in that period. Its content is the encounter between the mass, the conglomerate as Gilbert Murray calls it, of inherited and generally irrational beliefs and the critical, rational attitude of the Ionians, the open clash between the two in the occasional trials for impiety, and the rise of the cult of Asklepios with all that that implied of non-rational emotionalism. A little is also said of the growing prevalence in the fourth century of magical practices, as shown by the *defixiones* which survive. The next chapter has a closely connected theme, for it discusses Plato's attitude towards the irrational soul, including the allowances he makes for suitable ritual to be used by the unphilosophic man where the philosopher would employ his own methods (p. 222). The last chapter takes the story down, admittedly (p. 236) to nowhere near the end, for that would involve a discussion of Neoplatonism and much else for which the book, or rather the original series of lectures, had no room, but far enough for the appearance of what the author calls 'The Fear of Freedom', the retreat, which had certainly begun by the third century B.C., from the 'open' society, one free from the local limitations of earlier days, to which early Hellenistic Greece was approximating (p. 237). When political freedom, as the little city-states had understood it, was gone, there was left, or might have been left, such freedom for the reason in philosophical and scientific speculation as it had never had before; the opportunity was not accepted, and irrationalism returned.

I have in this brief survey of an important work given no more than an account of the chapters, that is, substantially, of the lectures delivered in Berkeley. The book contains much more, in its full equipment of notes, which often are in effect short and highly concentrated essays on various details of the subject. There are also subjoined two appendices, one on maenadism and the other on theurgy, reprints with some minor alterations of articles published in the *Harvard Theological Review* and the *JRS*. It is much to be hoped that we shall see further full-length discussions from the same excellently informed source.

To list the few small points on which the reviewer disagrees with Professor Dodds and a half-dozen trifling slips of pen or press would serve no useful purpose here. The latter any intelligent reader can correct for himself, the former are matters for detailed discussion.

H. J. ROSE.

Ignis Divinus. Le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité : contes, légendes, mythes et rites. By C.-M. EDMAN. Pp. 305. Lund: Gleerup, 1949. Kr. 13.

In some ways this treatise, although full of interest and miscellaneous information, resembles the celebrated search for the black hat which is not in the black room. The author is a man of good sense, slow to accept fashionable dogmas (as, that a myth, or what may be taken to be a myth, necessarily springs from a rite), and seems first to have been put upon his subject by the prevalence, for about a century, of some curious views, founded upon most hazardous interpretations of some passages in Lucian, *de dea Syria*, and Dion Chrysostom, *orat. XXXIII*, concerning the alleged burning in effigy of one or another of the Anatolian gods popularly identified with Herakles, with the alleged intention of giving him new and more vigorous life. That this was nothing but fantasy, and the further explanations of sundry ritual performances based upon it pure cloudcastles, did not take long to show, but Edsman was led on to a wider piece of research. Does there exist any tradition, especially any European tradition, of fire as a means of conferring new life (not simply an instrument for consuming the mortality of a composite being like Herakles), and if so, does it go back to any kind of rite, native or foreign?

His attempt to find an answer led him into some curious fields, not all familiar to a classicist. There is a pretty widespread European tale (varying in context from miracles of Christ and the saints to pure popular farce) of how some gifted or holy person made old people young again by putting them in a blacksmith's fire and forging them on the anvil. There is, of course, the apotheosis of Herakles himself, from which the original discussion started. There are such stories as that of Demeter and her young Eleusinian nursling. There is the tale of Kalanos and his self-immolation. There is the notorious death of Proteus Peregrinus. There are pious legends of Christian martyrs glorified rather than destroyed when burned at the stake. The connexion of any of these with any sort of rite is shown to be most hazy, and in many cases can almost be demonstrated not to have existed. The one exception is the Indian story, which does seem to connect with a rare and

doubtfully orthodox ascetic practice intended to win immortal and superhuman existence for the performer. This is discussed at some length on pp. 250-82. Here we do seem to have the idea that the fire (as in certain neo-Platonic speculations, see pp. 204 sqq.) has a vivifying virtue which can under certain circumstances be employed for the purpose of making a man into something more than man. But this is not to say that any commonly used ritual or popularly accepted idea underlies either the stories mentioned above, or that of the phoenix (into which Edsman goes at some length), or the ritual of Mt. Oite.

H. J. ROSE.

The Herdsman of the Dead (Studies on some Cults, Myths and Legends of the ancient Greek Colonisation-area). By J. H. CROON. Pp. ix + 112. Utrecht: H. de Vroede, 1952. 12s. 6d.

This work concerns certain cults, myths, and legends connected with hot springs throughout the Greek world. Such cults were, naturally, chthonic in origin; why, then, were these springs so often sacred to Herakles, and in particular to Herakles in his Labour with the monstrous herdsman Geryon? C. bases his answer on the suggestion of Gruppe and others, that Geryon was originally a chthonic deity, a herdsman of cattle (souls?) in Hades, and as a chthonic power a patron of hot springs also; and Herakles, as his victor, replaced him as that patron. C. extends this view farther. He holds that in almost every place where there existed hot springs with their local chthonic guardian that guardian, whether Geryon or another, was apt to be replaced by Herakles, in his widespread rôle as the heroic Conqueror of Demons. The origin of it all will then lie in an early myth which told that Herakles went down to Hades to kill the cattle-owner, the Herdsman of the Dead, who was also the guardian of hot springs; and the birthplace of this myth should be sought accordingly in some area early associated with Herakles, and also containing such springs. This C. suggests was the district round Oita, where were both Herakles and hot springs (Hypate, Thermopylai). Also, it is not very far from Chalkis. This is important for his thesis, for he holds that Geryon's classical setting in Iberia arose simply because he was an underworld deity, and for the early Greeks the Underworld lay vaguely in the unknown west beyond Okeanos (Hesiod *Th.* 287 ff.). It was the Greek colonists who caused his mysterious Erytheia to be shifted into the real West. The Chalcidians set him in Sicily and the area round Kyme in Italy; the Phocaean pushed him to far Tartessos, and there he stayed fixed, even after Tartessos had become known to Greek traders. C. discusses in detail all the stations and traces of the cult along the way from mainland Greece to Iberia, finding a Corinthian origin in the version which held that Erytheia lay in the Corinthian colonial territory round about Ambrakia (Hekataios *F* 26 J). In a final chapter he links up with his main thesis the cult of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione, and the Thessalian story of Admetos of Phera; and he discusses various places where hot springs occur at or near known Hades-entrances.

In a tradition of such antiquity, and with so many different strata, as that of Herakles and his battles in the Underworld, no modern theory can be expected to explain things in such a way as to cover all the conflicting data; for the vast literary evidence is plainly of very unequal value. C.'s theory is no exception; there are awkward gaps, as he himself honestly admits (e.g. for general argument: even if the colonial version did become the accepted one, how did it so successfully swamp practically all traces of the original version in Greece proper?—for detail: hot springs at Himera, but no certain chthonic cult there recorded; conversely, at Agyrion a Geryon-cult but no hot springs). But in broad outline his theory presents an attractive picture, surely preferable at least to those which have explained Geryon as a Phoenician daemon; and it contains much valuable material for those who may still wish to take the Geryon-story farther.

A few points may be noted. On p. 4 C. says: 'Before the Hellenistic Age we know nothing of buildings for bathers or anything like equipment for systematic cures.' Does not the coinage of Himera, with its silen standing in a foot-bath under a spout gushing water, suggest that by the mid-fifth century Himera already advertised her healing waters and had some equipment? On p. 47 he suggests that the 'Chalkidic' winged type of Geryon may be a survival from the tradition of a winged death-demon; the explanation in Bowra, *Gk. Lyric Poetry*, pp. 88 and 114, is perhaps less strained, namely that Stesichoros gave Geryon wings in his *Geryoneis*, and the painters of the 'Chalkidic' vases followed the poet's description. Nor does C. point out the practical reason that the Greeks had for asserting that Herakles had gone to the far West to overcome Geryon—because it gave them, as 'heirs of Herakles', a charter-right to follow their heroic predecessor into that

good trading-area in defiance of the Phoenicians—a piece of propaganda crystallised, according to modern historians, in the *Geryoneis*.

C. further includes a list (App. B) of all vase-paintings known to him which show the Geryon Labour. This is very useful, but it suffers because, basing it on Klein's list published in 1886, he retains as far as possible K.'s order and headings. This means that his list is not chronological, and that he retains K.'s old heading 'Rhodian', while himself explaining that the vases under it are in fact Attic b.f. By following K.'s order he has had to scatter the twelve closely connected b.f. amphorae which all belong to Beazley's 'Group E' (*BSA* XXXII, 1 ff.); they appear here as nos. 6, 11, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, and, while 19, 23, 35, 37, 39, 40 include a reference to *BSA* XXXII, the other six do not. The early Protocorinthian pyxis BM A487 is left where K. put it, as no. 33 among the Attic b.f., though C. calls it 'Orientalistic-Corinthian style'; a reference to Payne, *NC*, p. 130, is needed. References to Beazley's *Development of Attic Black-Figure* (published since C. wrote his list) can also be added now to C.'s nos. 6, 26, 27, and 28, and an addition made to the list from B., p. 112, note 4 (ch. vi): b.f. amphora, mid-sixth century, Ros Coll., Baden (since the reverse carries a Bacchic scene, this might be added to C.'s 38 and 39, as a third candidate for identification with the unidentified no. 22); add also b.f. amphorae Heidelberg S 178 and Hirsch Coll. 141 (= Neutsch, *Ganymed*, 38 f., nos. 1 and 17 in a good list of Attic b.f. Geryon-scenes).

In the Preface Dr. Croon apologises if any of his English is not idiomatic; but I found it wholly admirable.

L. H. JEFFERY.

Die religiöse Erfahrung der Naturvölker. By P. RADIN. Pp. 128. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1951. S. Fr. 8.

This is one of the non-classical volumes in the series *Albae Vigiliae*, of which several have dealt with Greek religion. In spite of its German dress, it belongs in fact to a different circle of learning, the American, and is translated from an English original. Professor Radin's other works have dealt mostly with American anthropology, a field from which almost as much has been borrowed for general use as from Polynesian. For classical scholars the main value of the book lies perhaps in its warnings against uncritical acceptance of anthropologists' generalisations, particularly when these have been taken over by philosophers and historians of thought who have not themselves enjoyed direct acquaintance with the material. Among these constructions readers of the late Professor Cornford's earlier works will be interested to find the *representations collectives* of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl; other examples are Usener's *Monienlangötter* and *Sondergötter*.

On his own ground, Radin criticises particularly the original accounts, given by observers too full of preconceived religious or philosophical notions, of such familiar terms as *manito*, *orenda*, and *wakan*, which have been no better handled than the *tabu* and *mana* of Polynesia. A new term to most readers, and one of particular interest to classical scholars, will be the Siouan *xop*, used of the unmanageable aspects of the holy or supernatural, such as possession, to which the mind is merely passive, in contrast to *wakan*, with which priests or qualified persons can deal largely on their own terms.

From this American material, supplemented from Eskimo and Siberian tribes, Radin presents convincing evidence that the religious notions of primitive no less than of advanced peoples originated with exceptional individuals of spiritual or intellectual distinction, whose teaching is then imperfectly understood and mechanically applied by the practical majority. The latter are thus not the best or the most original sources for the true meaning of such words as *manito* and *wakan*, which imply properly something more than the merely strange and terrifying. Among the religious there are those of mantic disposition on the one hand and on the other the intellectual and philosophical. These types are particularly pure when society has definite castes, and it is they who elaborate mythology and cosmogony. The mantic types are accustomed to psychic disturbance, and better able to endure it than the plain man, to whom at crises it comes with devastating force.

The evidence presented by Radin will not be surprising to those who are interested in primitive poetry or who have read with any sympathy such a book as Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige*, which naturally the author mentions. His lesson for students of Greek and Roman religion would be to read the sources with sensitive care and not to be blinded by intellectualist theories, whether these prescribe too confidently necessary stages of religious advance, or, more insidiously, discount as bad evidence, because remote from the people, the utterances of some of the greatest poets.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

Die Astronomie der Pythagoreer. By B. L. VAN DER WAERDEN. (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Natuurkunde. Eerste Reeks, Deel xx, no. 1.) Pp. 80. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1951. Price not stated.

Having previously dealt with the theory of harmony and the arithmetic of the Pythagoreans, Van der Waerden in this article proceeds to discuss their astronomical teachings as far as these can be recovered from Plato, Aristotle, and various later writers down to Martianus Capella. In seventy-four pages of text, some thirty-one of which are occupied by the citation in translation of appropriate passages from Greek and Latin authors, he sets forth the developing doctrines of the Pythagoreans, together with his views on the cosmology of Plato and the astronomy of Heraclides of Pontus.

After expounding in general terms the doctrines of the early Pythagoreans, and contrasting them with those of Anaxagoras, who is taken as a typical representative of the Age of Enlightenment, W. proceeds to discuss the cosmology of Plato as seen in the *Laws* (X and XI), *Phaedo*, *Republic* (X), and *Timaeus*. He sets it out and discusses it under twelve headings, showing the undoubted Pythagorean influences, except in the sequence of the planets, which he reserves for separate discussion.

W. then returns to the consideration of *Republic* X 616b-617c, and *Timaeus* 36b-d and 38c-39c, together with the explanations of various ancient commentators, in order to wrest the meaning out of these vexed passages. He enquires into the meaning of the breadths of the planetary circles in the *Republic*, Plato's description of the behaviour of Venus and Mercury, together with the exact meaning of the 'opposite tendency' (*ἐναντίον κίνησιν*) in *Timaeus* 38, and comes to the conclusion that Plato is alluding to the theory of epicycles. This was the view of the most ancient commentators, though the majority of modern authors are unwilling to read this into Plato. The breadths of the planetary circles are necessary to accommodate the epicycles; and while the sun's circle moves from right to left and his epicycle from left to right, the epicycles of Venus and Mercury move from right to left though their circles move with the sun's, this being their *opposite tendency*. The expression 'Kreise, die einen Kreis gehen' (*κύκλους λόγους*) he considers 'ein sehr prägnanter Ausdruck für Epi-zykel'.

The system of Philolaus and Hicetas, with central fire and counter-earth, is then considered; W. considers that an earlier mythical system of Philolaus was taken over fifty years later by the astronomer-tyrant Hicetas of Syracuse and made into something more astronomical. On the slender evidence of *Laws* VII 821e-822b, and Plutarch, he concludes that Plato in his old age adopted this system.

Modifications of the Pythagorean system are then considered with reference to the dark bodies, the movement of the earth in Plato (in *Timaeus* 40 he accepts Cornford's interpretation as the best), and the rotation of the earth.

W. then proceeds to consider the chief problem of Pythagorean astronomy. 'Is it possible to allow each planet to describe only a single circle, and so to select the radii and periods of revolution that the phenomena will be saved?' To which there is only one possible answer: 'The periods of revolution of the earth and the sun must both be fixed at one year. The earth must also rotate daily on its own axis. The circles of Venus and Mercury must lie inside that of the earth. The radius of the sun's circle is immaterial: the sun appears, as seen from the earth, always as if it stood at the centre. The moon revolves round the earth.'

W. concludes that this system, the revolution of all the heavenly bodies about a central point, could have been first advanced in the middle of the fourth century, in the time of Heraclides of Pontus, when the idea of axial rotation emerged.

He then surveys the evidence concerning Heraclides, particularly Chalcidius chapters 110 and 111 on the *Timaeus*. After admitting that there are contradictions in the evidence offered by various writers, he makes a careful examination of the Chalcidius passage and concludes that this passage comes from Adrastus. From a study of the manuscript tradition he deduces that the figure of Adrastus must have shown three concentric circles (sun, Venus, and earth), hence that Heraclides put forward the system outlined above. As for the Geminus fragment, the authenticity or interpolation of the name of Heraclides will not affect this interpretation. W. finally claims that a geocentric interpretation of Heraclides' theory is untenable.

Aristarchus of Samos is still left with the credit of the heliocentric theory, and the reasons are set out why later astronomers preferred the geocentric theory. The work concludes with a survey of later geocentric theories, with some references to Babylonian arithmetical methods and Indian astronomy.

Van der Waerden has shown extreme ingenuity in the re-interpretation of the materials available for this study, and has produced results which differ greatly from those previously reached. One wonders whether, in contrast to the over-cautiousness of Heath, he has not made too much out of too little, especially in Plato; but though his views may not win the acceptance of many present-day workers on Plato or Greek astronomy, they should provide another incentive for the re-examination of many obscure passages to which we are accustomed to turn a blind eye.

A. P. TREWEEK.

The Exact Sciences in Antiquity. By O. NEUGEBAUER. Pp. xiii + 191, with 14 plates and 30 text figures. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1951. D. Cr. 42.

This work is a presentation in book form of the six lectures delivered by Neugebauer at Cornell University during the autumn of 1941, hence the original form has forced upon him a much more free and summary treatment than would have been given in a purely written work. He has, however, taken the opportunity to add some detailed notes and a critical bibliography to each chapter.

As N. points out in his preface—which is worthy of careful reading for its judicious common sense—he has tried to survey the historical interrelationship between the mathematics and astronomy of various ancient civilisations. Abandoning to Heath the field of Greek mathematics, and passing over the complicated technicalities of Greek astronomy, he deals mainly with mathematics and astronomy in Babylon and Egypt, their relationship to Hellenistic science, and the transmission of the latter to the Hindus and the Arabs. To put a title to such a series of lectures is a difficult one, and the words 'The Exact Sciences' are somewhat misleading; they apply quite well to the arithmetic discussed, but the astronomers considered were rather people travelling hopefully towards exactitude than actually arriving there.

After an introduction which emphasizes the fact that the transmission of mathematical and astronomical methods and material gives us very accurate information about the time and circumstances of the contact of civilisations, N. surveys the fields of the exact sciences in six chapters, dealing with Numbers, Babylonian Mathematics, the Decipherment and Evaluation of the Sources, Egyptian Mathematics and Astronomy, Babylonian Astronomy, and the Origin and Transmission of Hellenistic Science.

Chapter I discusses various systems of numbering, of both integers and fractions, as seen in late medieval France, Greece, Rome, and the two periods of Babylonian mathematics.

Chapter II deals with the mathematical methods of the Babylonians, in both the old Babylonian and the Seleucid periods, these being illustrated by quotations from texts. The use of multiplication tables is illustrated, including the use of reciprocal sexagesimal tables for division; there is also a fine example from a tablet (Plimpton 322) of the relations between the sides and diagonals of a series of rational right-angled triangles—a tablet which raises quite a number of still unsolved problems about method. Quadratic equations are also treated. This, however, is all arithmetic, there is no real geometry or algebra; as N. observes (p. 47), 'Babylonian mathematics never transgressed the threshold of pre-scientific thought.'

In Chapter III he considers the sources from which we draw our knowledge of ancient science. After showing how misleading modern editions of an ancient mathematical text can be—and those who have worked in this field well know how cavalierly such editions can treat abbreviations and diagrams—and lamenting the lack of modern editions of various minor and even major works, he passes from manuscripts to papyri, which have their own peculiar set of frustrations; but all this trouble is, as N. observes (p. 59), 'child's play compared with ancient Mesopotamia'. The difficulties of excavation, preservation and publication of tablets, and the urgent need of 'excavating the source material in museums', are also mentioned, before he turns to a sample decipherment of a text.

Having disposed, in Chapter IV, of the crudity of Egyptian mathematics and astronomy, N. deals in Chapter V with Babylonian astronomy. After exploding the still commonly held myth of its great age and excellence, he deals with the work of Epping and Strassmaier and their successors on lunar theory, and then with procedure texts and ephemerides, with the two systems of interpolation for solar, lunar, and planetary tables.

Chapter VI considers the oriental as distinct from the purely Greek background of Hellenistic mathematics. The differences between the Greek (geometrical) and the oriental (arithmetical) approaches to astronomy are mentioned, as is the survival of primitive arithmetical devices in the Demotic and Greek

astrophysical papyri. The antecedents of Hindu and Arabic mathematics form the final topic.

The book has a useful chronological table at the beginning, diagrams throughout the text, an index and an excellent set of plates, including a delightful reproduction in colour of 'September', from the Book of Hours of the Duke of Berry, which N. uses as a starting point for his discussion of numbers.

This work, like the lectures, is less for the expert in any particular part of this field than for the intelligent layman or the beginner; but it should encourage such readers to turn their attention to the more detailed and specialised works in various domains of this field, including the more solid works of Neugebauer himself.

A. P. TREWEEK.

Arrest and Movement. An essay on space and time in the representational art of the ancient Near East. By H. A. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT. Pp. xxi + 222, with 94 plates and 47 text figures. London: Faber and Faber, 1951. 50s.

This important book reviews the arts of the three most aesthetically original civilisations of the pre-Greek world—those of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Crete—in relation to their treatment of the problems of space and time. The author's consideration of the peculiarities of spatial rendering is by no means limited to formal characteristics. When speaking, for instance, of dramatic tension in painting and relief, she frequently treats form and subject as inseparable; a perfectly legitimate method of interpretation usually ignored in modern art criticism. Here it produces an occasional dogmatism, since the formal aspects of an art are subject to fixed laws, but its manner of representation is not.

Mrs. Frankfort's effort to comprehend the total significance of a particular style sometimes leads to over-elaboration, but every reader who takes the trouble to negotiate these intricacies will find the thought behind them perfectly logical, and richly rewarding.

The arts of Egypt and Mesopotamia have been studied during twelve years of excavation in both countries, a contact which has imparted its own vitality to the writer's scholarship.

These Egyptian and Mesopotamian sections are concerned with the problem of monumentality, that is, with the relation of temporal events to what is timeless.

After protodynastic times, Egypt achieved this only in sculpture in the round. Since paintings and reliefs in the tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms did not provide for a spectator, the spatial relation between object and observer was ignored. Only under Seti I did scenes in relief become for a short time monumental.

The Amarna revolution uprooted the long tradition of timeless existence in art. Its interest was concentrated on the passing moment. The discursive reliefs of Rameses II and III treat the tremendous historical events of their reigns in scenes where symbol and actuality are unrelated. After them Egyptian art becomes repetitive and therefore static.

Mesopotamian Art did develop a conception of the time aspect, in reliefs which represent the facts of history as the fulfilment of a divine command. Mrs. Frankfort rightly calls the triangular stele of Naramsin, which shows the king at the apex of the upward surge of conquerors and downward fall of the defeated, a true monument commemorating a human achievement which is both actual and transcendental. One may, in fact, assert that the hero has arrived in art.

In Assyrian relief, on the other hand, human and divine activities are kept apart, the God appearing as a symbol from above, so that time is unrelated to eternity, and except in the tragic hunting scenes, its technique deteriorates into a somewhat shallow record of victories. The author shows how this secular vision, unique in pre-hellenic art, turned the minds of the Assyrian sculptors to the problem of topographical coherence. Their suggestion of perspective by means of diagonals was never surpassed, she considers, down to Hellenistic times. Assyrian relief is naturally important to us for its probable influence upon early Greek attempts to render space and corporeality.

Readers of this *Journal* will feel a special interest in the third part of Mrs. Frankfort's book, which deals with Minoan art; a world, as she says, which is intellectually and morally beyond our grasp. Even if we knew the factual history of Minoan Crete, the secret of its values would elude us, since it avoids the subject of human achievement out of lack of the desire for monumental significance. The author describes this art as a sort of serious play in Huizinga's sense; responsible because based on ritual, but always anonymous. In contrast to Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the religious event transcends the action, the human agent in Crete incorporates the event. Sir John Forsdyke's recent identification of the chieftain on the

stone vase from Haghia Triada as Minos himself would in no way invalidate such a claim, since the bearer of that title would play an accustomed rôle, in receiving the hides of victims of sacrifice.

In rejecting with Nilsson and Karo the notion of Mycenae as a mere outpost of the Minoan Empire, Mrs. Frankfort emphasises, even more than they do, the difference in content beneath the similarities of style. She applies the 'torsion' and 'unending rapport', discovered by Matz in Kamarese vase-painting, to the general formal aspect of representational art in Crete, perceiving 'a sense of the organic even where organism is not depicted'. In the best fresco painting, she notes, 'balance of centripetal and centrifugal movement makes the design as rational and convincing as organic form'. She stresses the harmonic coherence of these frescoes as belonging to painting in the modern sense, in contrast with the linear clarity of the great Middle Eastern Kingdoms. The Minoan vision, as she justly points out, is not naturalistic in the sense of a conscious interest in the appearance of the phenomenal world, nor is it expressed in true landscape, since not only depth, but also verticality, is ignored. Its figures float in suspense. What they convey is authentic movement in an inarticulate setting. The author reaches beyond the 'überhaupt Leben' of Curtius, with the term 'absolute mobility', recognising the key to Minoan art in the self-sufficiency of its movement. An unparalleled quality of freedom ignores not only the functional relation of the parts of single figures, but even their weight.

Some of these conclusions may seem a little sweeping, but no one else has touched so precisely the essential peculiarities of Cretan art. The result should be of value to artist and archaeologist alike.

G. R. LEVY.

✓ **Assur und Babylon.** By FRIEDRICH WETZEL. 72 pp., 36 plates and 1 map. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1949. DM. 3.

This book is one of a series on the art and culture of the ancient Near East as represented by objects in the collections of the Berlin Museum. In keeping with *Die Sumerer* and *Die Hethiter* it is well produced and excellently illustrated. The author is an experienced archaeologist, having been with the German expeditions working at Assur (1903-14) and under Koldewey at Babylon (1899-1917). He draws most of his illustrations from objects discovered at these sites.

A two-page introduction outlines the history and geography of the two countries. It is obvious that in such brevity no one can cover adequately even the main essentials of such complex subjects in the light of our ever-increasing knowledge. An adequate setting for a discussion of selected objects of art is, however, given. The presentation commences with a fine diorite head. This was purchased from dealers, as it fitted a headless statue found at Babylon, whither it had been taken as booty from Mari. The body is inscribed with the name of Puzur-Ishtar, the governor (*sakannak*) of Mari, while the head is here described as that of a 'deity'. André Parrot, the excavator of Mari, considers that the statue could be either one of the god Dagan presented to the temple by the governor, or of the governor himself represented, by the horned cap he wears, as deified (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* vii, 2/3, p. 66).

The whole field of Akkadian art is viewed chronologically as follows: (i) *The Old Babylonian Period*. In addition to the Mari head a fragmentary relief is interpreted by reference to the Epic of Gilgamesh. (ii) *The Cassite Period*. The curious brick wall built by Karaindash II round the Innin-Ishtar temple (Eanna) at Uruk-Warka. This is of special interest in that it is unfortunately the only object in this book illustrating the important excavations carried out by the Germans under Jordan at Warka in 1928-39. Moreover, it depicts the symbol of the 'flowing vase', which, with the sacred tree, recurs on several of the illustrated objects (a cylinder seal, some ivory fragments, and the bas-relief on Sennacherib's water-trough) all found at Assur. A cult relief, also from Assur and dated in the Cassite period, shows two figures beside an unknown god. Each grasps two vases from which the waters flow. The arrangement of this crowded plaque and the full-face presentation of the figures may be the forerunner of a Parthian (?) relief of a goddess holding snakes found in May 1951 by the Iraq Expedition to Hatra (Al Hathr), which lies west of Assur. (iii) *Illustration of the Early Assyrian Art* is limited to the throne cut in stone to the shape of the symbol of the fire-god Nusku and dedicated to that god at Assur by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1255-1215 B.C.). A few worked ivories stated to be from the same reign are shown. The 'wheel' pattern on these furniture decorations is similar to that on ivories found at Nimrud (Calah) during the excavations by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq

and dated in the reign of Assurnasirpal II (884-859 B.C.). (iv) *The Neo-Assyrian period* is represented by a few objects from the Germans' own excavations at Assur such as the broken basalt sarcophagus of Shamshi-Adad V, while a broken stone hawk's head, some bronze bowls and bells and a painted vase serve to remind us of the advances over Sumerian technique in these fields made by their successors. This period of art is the easiest to study owing to the abundance of material provided by the sculptures from the royal palaces at Nineveh and Calah. These reliefs have been well published by C. J. Gadd in *The Stones of Assyria*, where he also gives their archaeological and historical context. The fashion of sculptured and inscribed palace walls was reintroduced by Assurnasirpal II, who tells us that on the walls of his new palace at Nimrud, 'which incorporated all the skill available. . . I depicted my glory and my might in all the lands, mountains, and seas where I had marched. I drew on the walls in relief (?) the spoil of all their lands' (an unpublished inscription). Of this rich treasure Wetzel republishes some pieces purchased by the Berlin Museum. One slab shows a masked figure standing beside the stylised 'tree of life', from which it draws 'the strength for growth and wisdom'. Since other sculptures show the king in this same attitude, Wetzel rightly concludes that each of these figures represents the king in his rôle of intermediary between the gods and men. It is not easy, however, to accept his view that at this late period the people would naturally interpret this scene as a picture of Tammuz, the vegetation god whose annual death and resurrection is reflected in the winter and spring seasons. It is a pity that this useful guide book is dominated by a theory of Moortgat which seems to have been accepted unquestioned. There are no references to the god Tammuz (cf. the W. Semitic Adonis-cult) either in the inscriptions which accompany these sculptures or in any of the many texts found in the palaces which housed these fine monuments.

(v) *The Neo-Babylonian art* is carefully and well illustrated from the finds made in Babylon itself. Several of the best reconstructions are grouped together with a map to show their location in the city. The model of the temple-tower (ziggurat) area, the reconstructed procession way with its one hundred and twenty lions in coloured glaze on the walls, the Ishtar gateway and the decorated wall of Nebuchadnezzar's throne-room combine to give a vivid idea of the scale and magnificence of art as applied in the city which though once 'the centre of the world' is now (apart from the small museum on the site) 'the habitation of foxes and jackals'.

D. J. WISEMAN.

Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant. By F. H. STUBBINGS. Pp. xvi + 111, with 18 plates, 3 maps and 37 text figures. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 25s.

This book is a straightforward and concise account of the Mycenaean wares to be found in Rhodes and in the East Mediterranean as a whole.

The pieces found in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt are treated as the foundation stone, as it were, of Dr. Stubbings's study, and consequently these sections in his book have the nature of a catalogue, the value of which lies not only in its presumed completeness (a matter on which I am not competent to judge), but in its setting out, as the vases and sherds are, wherever possible, attributed to one or other of the stylistic subdivisions in Mycenaean pottery recently formulated by Furumark, to whose work Dr. Stubbings pays a well-deserved tribute.

Mycenaean pottery can, however, also be divided, at least after its initial stages, into a number of local styles which become increasingly independent of the cultural centre at Mycenae. In his search for the origin of the Mycenaean wares found in the Levant, S. makes full use of his knowledge of these local variations, and enlightens the reader in two admirably written chapters dealing with Mycenaean pottery in Rhodes and Cyprus, that on Rhodes including a description of the Minoan settlement of Trianda, which accepted a Mycenaean colony before the fall of Knossos. The style as it is known in the Argolid is treated only for purposes of comparison.

Finally, the fact that S. has based himself on the material from the Levant permits him to test and support the chronology of Mycenaean pottery already in use, and to derive certain conclusions which have a bearing on the history of the Mycenaean empire, and indeed on that of the Near East, between 1400 and 1200 B.C.

S.'s main conclusions are that the Mycenaean wares found in the Levant originate rather from Rhodes and Cyprus during the L.H. IIIA phase, and specifically from Cyprus during the L.H. IIIB phase. The arguments from stylistic analysis I am not really competent to criticise. It is obvious that his case is clearly and reasonably argued, and he also displays an admirable

caution in the consideration of the possible modification of his views as a result of further discoveries. I have only one comment, of a general nature, to make. In his chapter on Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus, S. emphasises the differences between this local style and the mainland Greek one; but he rather leaves me wondering about the similarities, which are presumably numerous, or else one would not be able to call this a Mycenaean style. He shows that the divergence between the Cypriot and Mainland styles becomes very pronounced with the inception of L.H. IIIB. Now this stage, in mainland Greece, is presumably clearly distinguishable from the preceding L.H. IIIA; to what extent is this paralleled in Cyprus? Is Cypriot L.H. IIIB purely a development out of Cypriot L.H. IIIA, contemporary with L.H. IIIB in mainland Greece, or does it in any way reflect the L.H. IIIB development as apparent in mainland Greece—or vice versa? That is the question I feel I would like to have had a clearer answer to, though it is perhaps beyond the main purpose of S.'s book.

S., if I interpret him rightly, does draw some conclusions from cultural homogeneity or independence to political homogeneity or independence. He says, for instance (p. 108): 'The very fact that we can in that period (thirteenth century B.C. = L.H. IIIB) so much more readily distinguish a regional variety of Mycenaean pottery is itself proof of a loosening of the close unity of the Mycenaean world.' Does he here mean the close *political* unity? I am not sure, but if so, then I would be inclined to say that, although a close cultural homogeneity seems to me good evidence for close political unity, I doubt whether it is safe to argue that the gradual disappearance of a cultural homogeneity need necessarily presuppose a lessening of the close political unity. S. does not neglect other evidence, by any means, as he makes good use of the Hittite and Egyptian records to show that the central control of the Mycenaean empire had slackened at least by the third quarter of the thirteenth century B.C. But I think that, for the first half of this century (in other words, during the greater part of the duration of L.H. IIIB) the Hittite records are evidence that the central control was still very strong—presuming always that the Ahhiyawa were the Achaeae-Mycenaean power.

S.'s conclusion that the majority of the Mycenaean vases in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt are imports of Cypriot manufacture at least from L.H. IIIB onwards seems to be clearly shown. On one point of chronology, however, it appears to me possible that S.'s researches may modify Furumark's scheme. S. speaks, on p. 106, of imported Mycenaean pottery at Beth Shan as attributable to the period after the expedition of Seti I in 1315 B.C. He classifies as L.H. IIIB, however, two pieces published by Fitzgerald, which the excavator found in a level preceding the Seti I level (pp. 82-3). If then these pieces are to be placed before Seti I, is there not perhaps reason for placing the introduction of L.H. IIIB before 1315 B.C.?

So much for the main part of the book: S. also includes three appendices, attached respectively to chapters II, III, and V.

Appendix A is a welcome excursus on Mycenaean pottery in the islands of the south-east Aegean other than Rhodes, and in western Asia Minor. It is a most useful account of all that has been found in that area, and I have only the following comments to make. In his reference to Kos, I rather think that S. is fortunately incorrect in his statement that 'nearly all the pottery from this important site was lost': on the contrary, I believe that hardly any has disappeared. And so far as concerns the Heraeum on Samos, I can vouch from personal knowledge that more Mycenaean material has been found here than was recorded; but whether it is sufficient to invalidate S.'s statement that there is no question of a Mycenaean settlement on Samos is quite another matter.

Appendix B is a valuable catalogue of vases and sherds on which painted potters' marks have been identified, and S. has done a service in the care which he has taken to give an accurate reproduction of these marks. His suggestion that they might be evidence of Cypriot manufacture, when found on vases elsewhere than in Cyprus, is a plausible one, though his arguments for it are not strong—as he admits. I think the reader may be more favourably inclined towards his suggestion if he considers the conclusions reached by the book as a whole. In any case, it seems clear enough that these potters' marks were virtually restricted to the East Mediterranean.

Appendix C offers a few comments on Mycenaean pottery in Cilicia. Further investigation in this area would certainly seem desirable.

In general, it is my impression that this book is of value to the non-specialist as well as to the specialist and to the historian as well as to the archaeologist. It has been excellently produced by the Cambridge University Press, and the layout is such that S. has been able to dispense with an index. I came across only one misprint.

V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH.

Mission de Ras Shamra, V. Ugaritica II. Nouvelles études relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra. By C. F. A. SCHAEFFER. Pp. xv + 320, with 45 plates and 131 text figures. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1949. 3000 francs.

This is Vol. V in the series published by the Ras Shamra Mission. Chapter I is a study of the repoussé gold cup and patera found in 1933 in a building destroyed in the mid fourteenth century. Schaeffer claims that these represent an independent, Syrian, school of art: the animal frieze he admits may be Mesopotamian in origin; but in recognising similarities with objects from Tutankhamen's tomb or with the 'flying gallop' of the Aegean he would regard the Syrian artists as originators rather than copyists. The subjects of the decoration are tentatively explained in terms of Ugaritic mythology. In any case it seems fair to regard the vessels as local work, the first, as Schaeffer claims, of many objects of 'Phoenician' metalwork such as were among the media of diffusion of Oriental art to the west. Their date in the fourteenth century shows that the Phoenician metalwork in Homer may be yet another feature due to Bronze Age epic tradition, and not, as some have thought, to the anachronistic pen (or lips) of an eighth-century poet.

Chapter II discusses at some length the 'torque-bearers' who appear at Ugarit about the beginning of the second millennium (Middle Ugarit I), heralding a rapid increase in local bronze-working, and whose grave-goods are characterised by bronze torques with curled flattened ends, knobbed toggle-pins, spring-like spirals of bronze wire, triangular daggers, and pierced bronze axes. Schaeffer adduces parallels for these associated types, some of them quite startling, from Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, Germany, and his own Alsace; and there seems good reason to believe the western examples derive ultimately from the eastern (though the pierced axe does not seem to have spread like the simpler types); but there is less of a case for assuming a 'prodigious peregrination' of the Syrian torque-bearers themselves into western Europe. To the time of the torque-bearers at Ugarit belong the two cast silver statuettes found in 1932 and here discussed in connexion with the contemporary carved stelai with representations of deities which Schaeffer identifies with the chief gods of the later mythological texts of Ugarit.

Chapter III is a study of the great stele of Ba'al, now dated, on stratigraphic evidence not originally apparent, to Middle Ugarit II (c. 1800-1750), which is consonant with the sculpture's affinity with Egyptian statuary of the Middle Kingdom.

Chapter IV is a first instalment of the *Corpus* of pottery originally planned as a separate volume. Of the eighty pages of line drawings the first sixty present typical examples of pottery arranged mainly by find-groups in roughly chronological order. Pottery datable only by style is excluded; and the enormous mass of finds in any case made total presentation of the material impossible. The drawings give a fair idea of the range of pottery of any particular ware or period, but one often feels the need for that fuller systematic discussion which is reserved for a later publication. The remaining twenty pages of comparative tables are designed to show the range of variations in particular types; but they cover only some types, and even for these do not give all varieties. For the classical archaeologist the Mycenaean pottery at Ras Shamra is of supreme interest; a good deal of it has, of course, been illustrated in earlier reports, so that the present *Corpus* can add few new types, but it indicates an even greater plenty of this ware than one could guess before. The zoomorphic rhytons seem more astonishing than ever. Much of this Mycenaean is of Cypriot character (cf. the reviewer's *Myc. Pottery from the Levant*), but some very rare or even unique forms (e.g. fig. 72, 23, and pl. XXXIX) suggest local production—a hypothesis supported by the plausible identification of certain pierced sherds (fig. 98) as potters' tools (*stiques*, 'ribs' or 'profiles'), and by other evidence reserved (tantalisingly) for later publication. Some say the essence of good eating is to leave the table with an appetite for more.

F. H. STUBBINGS.

Enkomi-Alasia. Nouvelles Missions en Chypre 1946-50. (French Archaeological Mission and Cyprus Government Joint Expedition to Enkomi, I.) By C. F. A. SCHAEFFER. Pp. ix + 448, with 116 plates, 4 plates in colour and 140 text figures. Paris: Klincksieck, 1952. £10 8s.

It is always a pleasure to read yet another excavation report by Professor Schaeffer. He always finds such a lot, and publishes it in extraordinarily full detail. Both in these ways, and also because of his astonishing vitality and enthusiasm for his finds, he continually reminds us of Sir Arthur Evans. They have much in common, these two great figures, including a

tendency to become so excited by the matter in hand for consideration that the planning of their books is not always very logical.

This book describes some excavations carried out in the neighbourhood of the site of Enkomi in Cyprus. Professor Schaeffer has excavated there both some tombs, and part of a town-site, of before and after the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, an event which can be dated to about 1550 B.C. There is an enormous amount of material, most of it of types familiar from the excavations of the British Museum and the Swedish Expedition to Cyprus of the 1930s. He has also found some nice little bronzes and a marvellous silver cup with inlaid decoration. And he has very greatly increased the value of his book by his helpful descriptions and discussions of comparative material from other lands.

Two periods are fairly fully represented by his excavations; an epoch from about 1350 to 1225 B.C., when the ruling classes were 'Achaean', in his view, and an epoch from about 1200 to 1100 B.C., when the rulers were the 'Sea Peoples' of Early Iron Age. Of the earlier time is a splendid building with ashlar walls in which enormous blocks appear. Between the two epochs was a short interval, when the 'Achaean' were dispossessed, so Professor Schaeffer says, by some Mycenaean people who may have come from Rhodes, bringing Close Style wares similar to those of Ialysos.

Professor Schaeffer describes a great quantity of material which he dates to the twelfth and eleventh centuries, the epoch of the 'Sea Peoples' of whom we know something from the Egyptian records. He illustrates some dome-shaped seals with this material, saying that these seals cannot be from Egypt, Crete, or Greece, but may be from some part of the Near East not yet recognised. He also illustrates interesting cylinder seals. In his view the Early Iron Age invaders occupied Enkomi by force at about 1200 B.C., after the time when Close Style pottery was in use at that site, but before the time of the introduction of Granary Style ware. This Granary ware was, so Professor Schaeffer believes, at first imported, and later imitated locally, the original impulse to importation being due to the destruction of Mycenae.

For our author, all the important movements which brought peoples from one part of the eastern Mediterranean world to another at this critical time in the world's history were from west to east. He could, I think, only propose such an outline of those events if he focused his attention on the very small world of the region from Syria to Greece, and refused to look outside it. As an excavator he is entirely right to concentrate his attention on the matter in hand, which is his material. But when, without widening his gaze, he tries to write history, he is less likely to command our close attention. As an excavator, with a sense of responsibility, and as a man of enterprise Professor Schaeffer is supreme. He is almost as fast in describing his finds as was Sir Flinders Petrie. What an object lesson for ourselves, whose great excavator found at Ur a vast quantity of material nearly thirty years ago, material which would help us in understanding western Asiatic history, but who have never insisted on the publication of more than part of it. And though we are the most dilatory of all, we are not alone in our failure to communicate results even reasonably fully. What is the use of excavation if it is not published quickly, and in greater detail than is possible in preliminary reports? We owe to Professor Schaeffer a most profound debt of gratitude for having set a high standard in this matter.

T. BURTON BROWN.

Essai de classification de la céramique mycénienne d'Enkomi (Campagnes 1946 et 1947). By É. COCHE DE LA FERTÉ. Avec un préface de C. F. A. SCHAEFFER. (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, LIV). Pp. 66, with 11 plates and 2 text figures. Paris: Geuthner, 1951. 1000 fr.

It would be unfair to expect from this book more than a foretaste of the light which the excavations at Enkomi may be expected to shed. What every Mycenaean archaeologist, sated with tombs and bemused with typology, hankers, or ought to hanker after, is some good plain stratigraphy on a settlement site. But Professor Schaeffer's foreword dispels any hope of finding that in this book, by warning us that the material from the 1946-47 campaigns at Enkomi, with which we are here concerned, was for the most part from areas and levels badly disturbed by cultivation or other digging not truly archaeological. M. Coche de la Ferté is accordingly careful and modest in his claims, and emphasises the provisional nature of his results. This, then, is the *hors d'œuvre*; we can still look for the main repast in the definitive publication of the better preserved parts of the site.

Nevertheless, the 1946-47 material, classified by the writer mainly on Furumark's scheme, tells us a good deal. Mycenaean

pottery, of L.H. II style, begins to appear in the first Late Bronze Age town (Level VII), and there is a continued sequence of development through IIIA and IIIB to the IIIC and sub-Mycenaean styles. The finds correspond pretty closely with the Mycenaean pottery already known from tombs in Cyprus, except for the IIIC phase. Apart from two pots found by J. F. Daniel in a tomb at Kourion, Mycenaean IIIC has only turned up in Cyprus here at Enkomi and at Sinda. At Sinda Furumark regards its appearance as due to a new wave of settlers and influence from Greece; but at Enkomi, the writer tells us, there is no evidence of such a break, but rather a continuous sequence of development. The sub-Mycenaean ware (what Furumark has called 'Decorated Late Cypriot III ware') is divided, with some stratigraphic support, into Lower and Upper, and the close similarity of some of it to Philistine pottery is noted. Finally, the tradition of Mycenaean decoration is followed through to its rough imitations in the relief-decorated 'bucchero' pottery which succeeds the sub-Mycenaean.

It may be regretted that the author has not given a fuller account of the generality of pottery in successive phases, but chosen rather to illustrate each by samples, which, however characteristic, can give only a partial picture. Nor are we told whether any non-Mycenaean wares occur in the same contexts as the Mycenaean. The account of shapes represented surely deserves a more prominent place in the discussion, and might have been more detailed: what sort of cup or kylix, for example, is intended by *coupes à pied*?—an important question, since ordinary Mycenaean kylix types are so rare in Cyprus; and what were the stirrup-jars like? Shape and decoration need to be studied together—as the writer has recognised in his treatment of the bowls with horizontal handles which are characteristic of IIIB and IIIC. One can easily be too analytical in the study of Mycenaean pottery, as in the comparison (p. 14) of the concentric circles on a pilgrim flask from Amarna with those on a cup from Enkomi.

The author has clearly studied and profited by the earlier literature on Mycenaean pottery; but a few odd misunderstandings are apparent. On p. 12, for example, the reference to Stubbings is sadly muddled as well as irrelevant; the fragments in pl. IV, 1-7, cannot strictly be described as of the Close Style, though probably rightly assigned to the period of the Close Style and related to it in decoration (it is worth noting here, perhaps, how near they are to some of the sherds from the Athenian Acropolis, Graef Pl. 6, nos. 191, 212, 213, etc.); more serious, since it leads to dire chronological difficulties, is the confusion (p. 23) between pottery from the Granary at Mycenae and pottery of the Granary Class or Style. The writer is careful to state that, on the evidence of the material under discussion, conclusions as to absolute chronology are at best tentative. Even so, it is alarming to read that *beaucoup d'auteurs continuent à situer vers 1200 the final sack of Mycenae*; and to find a date near 1200 for the Trojan War described as a hypothesis. The former has recently been put forward by one or two scholars; the latter is supported by the voice of nearly all antiquity, and by the excavators of Troy.

But if he is sometimes too prompt to give absolute dates, the writer recognises, at least in discussing the latter phases, that sequence dating must precede 'absolute' chronology. Indeed, it will be time to go into this when we have fuller evidence from the better stratified parts of the settlement. Excavation continues.

F. H. STUBBINGS.

Die Anfänge der griechischen Grossplastik. By E. HOMANN-WEDEKING. Pp. 164, with 65 text figs. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950. DM. 15.

Dr. Wedeking has written an interesting though not easy book on the beginnings of Greek monumental sculpture. In general, he accepts the conclusions of R. J. H. Jenkins (*Daedalia*) with F. Matz's modifications (*Gnomon* 1937, 401 ff.), but observes that the Daedalic style—to retain a term against which he protests—is at home not only in Doric-speaking lands, but also in the Cyclades, Samos, and even Attica (pp. 65-7, 71-2). From the date and number of the examples he argues that it was in the Cyclades and probably in Naxos that the life-size marble statue was created (esp. pp. 65-71), though the N.E. Peloponnese strongly influenced the form of the head (p. 94) and the *kouros* type was established by an independent Attic master, perhaps the one who has left us the Dipylon head and the New York *kouros* (p. 95). Crete, facile in adapting but uncreative, had no effect on the Daedalic style; the Dreros figures are overrated, and the Auxerre goddess is doubtfully Cretan (pp. 98-115). During the sixth century the direct influence of the Dipylon master and his school, interrupted in Attica, persisted though enfeebled in the Cyclades (pp. 86-91); but leadership had passed to the Greek mainland. W. supports

his claims by some excellent analyses of particular statues and other works, by uncertain historical and literary generalities (e.g. pp. 96, 143-4), and by comparisons with the character of the relevant schools of vase-painting (pp. 110-13, 134-9), and concludes that it was only in the Cyclades in the seventh century that the conditions were favourable for the emergence of monumental sculpture.

Much of this is sound, but much is speculative. W. does well to insist that the origins of Greek sculpture are complex, that the Cyclades have been unduly neglected—though since W. wrote his text G. Karo (*Greek Personality*, 180 ff.) and G. M. A. Richter (*Kouroi*, 42 ff.) have championed them—and that Crete was outside the main stream. But his estimate and division of the Sunium group seems to go beyond the evidence (pp. 75-84)—incidentally I should like to know how far the resemblance in the head of the big kouroi from Sunium to the Cleobis is the result of deliberate restoration. On the general comparisons with vase-painting also there may be doubt, and not only because the arts do not necessarily march in step. W. remarks that Protocorinthian is a miniature style, and argues that there could then have been no monumental style in Corinth: but what of Corinthian free painting, which presumably is reflected in the Chigi group as well as in the metopes from Thermon? Cycladic vase-painting admittedly is little known, but seems to me more mannered and provincial than W. asserts. But his characterisation of Cretan is shrewd, though in part mistaken (I follow J. K. Brock, whose important study is soon to be published).

The two introductory chapters deserve mention. The first gives a fair account of the preliminaries and of the development of monumental traits in the century before the Nikandre, and here W.'s acquaintance with the terracotta figurines from Samos is valuable. The second chapter on the written tradition is prudently inconclusive about Daedalus, and then discusses the earliest inscriptions of statues and statuettes: W. points out that the epigraphic evidence does not coincide with the literary, and in particular restores the importance of Naxos.

Altogether this is a provocative, if not significant, essay. The style, which tends to abstraction, and the arrangement are not too lucid. The illustrations are good and apt, and include the first publication of a small wooden head from Samos (figs. 60-1). The printing and appearance of the book are excellent. The price is reasonable.

R. M. COOK.

Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture. By G. M. A. Richter. Pp. ix + 79, 142 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 25s.

In this book, based on lectures delivered at Dumbarton Oaks in 1949, Miss Richter discusses three epochs which seem to her to be of especial significance in the history of classical sculpture—the years 480-445 B.C., the last decades of the fourth century B.C., and the first century B.C., characterised by her as the age of Graeco-Roman art.

The first chapter opens with a vivid account of the outburst of naturalism which marked the transition from archaic to 'classical' art after the Persian War. It is described as sudden; but there had, after all, been some earlier experiments in varied and agitated poses, as in the case of the Heracles-and-Hind metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, assigned by the author to about 510-500 (*The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 1950, p. 126, n. 45, fig. 406). In particular, it is claimed that the new interest in facial expression after c. 480 acted as a stimulus to portraiture; and the now famous Themistocles at Ostia is placed beside the Vatican Aristogiton and dated to c. 460. At this point a number of questions present themselves. Is there not a fundamental difference between the naturalistic rendering of typical instances of emotion, exertion, old age, and so forth, on the one hand, and portraiture, the capturing of a specific individual likeness, on the other? Granted that the Vatican Aristogiton head is a faithful copy of the 477-6 original, in what sense can it be called a true portrait of the Tryannicide? What are its individual traits? And how does it differ from the unindividualised and typical blind Homer at Munich (fig. 46), contrasted by the author (p. 35) with portraits proper? We may concede that the hair and beard of the Themistocles come very close in treatment to those of the Aristogiton and that the overlapping of the lower by the upper eye-lids and the shadow-effect of the wrinkle at the outer corner of each eye may be due in the former, as in the latter, to the Roman-age copyist. But what evidence have we for the existence of a fifth-century genuine portrait-type of Themistocles, from which the Ostia herm could have been derived? As G. Becatti has pointed out (*La Critica d'Arte*, 1942), the Magnesia statue, so far as it is known to us from coin-types, was beardless, heroic, and purely ideal; and it does not

seem probable that the picture containing a representation of Themistocles, which, according to Pausanias (I, i, 2), his sons set up in the Parthenon on their return from exile, was a realistic likeness and established a sculptural portrait-tradition. In fact, a passage in Demosthenes (c. *Aristocr.*, 196) strongly suggests that before, and in, the mid-fourth century no honorary portrait-statues of Themistocles and Miltiades existed in Athens. We cannot lightly brush aside Becatti's suggestion that the small statue (*skionion*) of Themistocles to be seen in Plutarch's day in the temple of Artemis Aristobola in Athens (*Them.* xxii, 2), the statues of Themistocles and Miltiades which Pausanias saw in the Prytaneum at Athens (I, xviii, 3), and the statues of Themistocles and Miltiades in the theatre at Athens mentioned by a scholiast on Aristides (161, 13) were all late-Hellenistic, classicising 'reconstructions', part of a 'programme' for advertising the glories of Athens' past, and, as such, peculiarly suited to the taste of Roman copyists. I am not personally convinced by F. Miltner's argument (*ÖJh* XXXIX, 1952, 70 ff.) that the portrait in the temple of Artemis Aristobola, described by Plutarch (*loc. cit.*) as showing Themistocles as *οὗ τῆς ψυχῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἡρώδης γυναικὸς*, was a contemporary portrait dedicated in 472/1 either by Themistocles himself or by one of his relatives and that the Ostia herm must be accounted a copy of this presumed early fifth-century original, faithfully reflecting his likeness. Plutarch's words would aptly characterise a late, idealising, and imaginative 'reconstruction'. The Ostia Themistocles is neither typical, like the Aristogiton, nor, in spite of the comparatively subtle modelling of eyes and brows, convincingly realistic. The features—the cubic structure of the head, the bulging forehead, the large, wide-open eyes, the broad face, and the somewhat enigmatic mouth—are, up to a point, individualistic. But they suggest an individual imagined, rather than authentic, a late-Hellenistic artist's conception of an astute, forceful, and resourceful, half-Athenian, reputedly half-Thracian (?), early fifth-century man-of-action and statesman.

The naturalistic trends of this transition period were cut short, so Miss Richter argues, by a new idealising fashion, 'what we call the Greek classical style', of which Phidias himself is claimed as 'prime initiator'. We have, of course, apart from the great cut-statues themselves, which were obviously executed in a hieratic manner, all too little direct evidence on which to judge the development of Phidias' personal style. All we can say is that, so far as we are justified in seeing faithful reflections of it in such works as the Strangford shield (figs. 10-13), the Piraeus Greek-and-Amazon relief (fig. 14), and the Leningrad Niobids relief (fig. 24), the naturalistic, 'energetic' tendency was characteristic of him throughout his career. This would be especially evident if we accept the author's view that the Zeus at Olympia was among the latest of his works and that the Leningrad relief reflects one of the reliefs which adorned the god's throne. Nothing could be more naturalistic than the way in which the youth collapses, a dead weight, into the arms of the maiden, thrusting back the upper part of her body as though to throw her almost off her balance. Again, Miss Richter herself points out that, as director of the Parthenon metope-sculptures, Phidias patronised fierce and emotional facial expressions no less than 'self-contained' ones (figs. 17-20). The 'new serenity and regal grandeur' of the figures in frieze and pediments were surely conditioned more by their content than by a deliberate change in style. And how do we know that Phidias really influenced the 'quiet stance and detached expression' of the Polyclitan statuesque athletic figures? Might not Polyclitus have evolved for himself this taste for serenity?

In the second chapter Lysippus is presented to us as the initiator of a 'realism' which had been retarded for over a century' and as the forerunner of the so-called 'schools' of Hellenistic art. We cannot but be convinced by the author's belief that the sculpture produced during the Hellenistic era at Pergamon, Rhodes, Alexandria, Athens, and other Greek mainland cities was the work of cosmopolitan centres rather than of local schools; and all will accept her statement that this period witnessed a tremendous widening and humanising of the artists' range of subjects. Nor would anyone deny that many of the elements especially characteristic of Greek art in the three centuries after Alexander were adumbrated in Lysippus' work, so far as we know it from literary references and from later copies. But once again we wonder whether in his case, as in that of Phidias, too much credit as an innovator has not been assigned to the individual sculptor. That realism, interpreted as the portrayal of emotional expressions, restless poses, and agitated drapery, was by no means unknown to sculpture during the first half of the fourth century is clear both from the Nereid figures and from the hunting-frieze of the Nereid monument, dated to c. 400 (the frieze includes at least one figure with head, trunk, and legs all facing in different

directions: cf. the Hellenistic Florence Niobid, fig. 49), from the foreshortening of the fallen warrior on the Dexileus stele of 394, and from the 'Scopasian' heads of the Tegean temple (370-350), to name a few famous examples. And it might be argued that Lysippos' maxim 'naturam ipsam imitandum esse' was the logical fulfilment of an uninterrupted realistic strand in Greek art stretching back to the early decades of the fifth century, rather than an 'epoch-making' break with the past. Meanwhile there are certain aspects of Hellenistic art which it is difficult to trace to Lysippos' direct inspiration. We have, for instance, no evidence that the portraits attributed to him, or to his influence (pp. 23, 24, figs. 41-5, 47), showed any of that ruthless realism, or 'verism', found in a long series of coin-portraits of the Hellenistic kings, on such a head as the Torlonia Euthydemus, and in the unflinchingly faithful likenesses of officials, priests, and private citizens from Athens, Delos, Egypt, etc., dating from the late second and early first centuries. 'Veristic' portraiture would seem to have been an independent, post-Lysippan, Hellenistic development.

A few points of detail in this chapter may be noted. On p. 18 Miss Richter translates Pliny's 'faciendo . . . corpora . . . sicciora' as 'making the body drier', a rendering which suggests that the reference is to artistic style. But does not 'siccus' in this context allude rather to physique, in the same sense as *ἥκτος* does, meaning 'taut', 'tense', or 'wiry'? On p. 19, n. 4, the resemblance of the head of the seated bronze Hermes from Herculaneum to certain idealised portraits of Augustus might have been noted apropos of the mention of its portrait-like quality. And ought not the significance of the Telephus frieze, as the first example of the use of the 'continuous' style proper in ancient narrative art, to have been emphasised on p. 29? Finally, are we really justified in describing the silver vessels from the Boscoreale and Hildesheim treasures as Roman copies of Hellenistic metal-ware (p. 33)? Are they not rather Augustan creations, distinct, in most cases, in their shapes and often in the content of their decoration from the late-Hellenistic so-called 'Megarian' bowls imitating in clay or faience contemporary objects of precious metal?

The third chapter is by far the most interesting, important, and convincing section of the book. Miss Richter's thesis is that the immense artistic output of the Roman world during the first century before our era was predominantly in the hands of Greeks, or at least of east-Mediterranean nationals; and the evidence which she marshals in support of this thesis is overwhelming. The evidence is drawn partly from literary sources, but much more cogently from the signatures of Greek artists on sculptures of all kinds—direct copies of famous 'classical' masterpieces, reproductions, or adaptations, of works in earlier styles, realistic and 'veristic' portrait-busts, cameos, intaglios, and portrait-statues in which conventional, idealising, or 'heroic' bodies are united with vividly individualised heads of Greek or Roman subjects. Between the late-Hellenistic realistic 'veristic' portrait and the corresponding Roman republican portrait there is absolute continuity: different physiognomic characteristics, not differences in style or in the nationality of the portraitists, explain the distinction between the likenesses of Greek and Roman sitters. More stress might, perhaps, have been laid on Rome's part in providing Greek portraitists with a new outlet for originality. Here the ancient Roman aristocratic practice of preserving funerary 'imagines' (not death-masks, as stated on p. 61) of ancestors played an important role. But it was also the sense of history and the factualism rooted in the Roman mentality which stimulated 'veristic' iconography by demanding of a portrait that it should analyse, map, and chronicle the features of an individual in his own particular social and historical setting. Similarly, it was the Roman taste for literal, documentary renderings of contemporary public events, as on the Ara Pacis Augustae, which challenged Greek artists afresh to grapple with new themes, new problems, and new purposes.

No one can doubt, after reading this chapter, that the mechanical copying of statues and reliefs by the pointing-process was known and practised among sculptors of the first century B.C. That many 'classical', and even some archaic, Greek masterpieces were reproduced in this way is certain. But the author's attempt to reduce all the work of the so-called 'Neo-Attic' artists to mechanical copies of earlier Greek works is much less compelling. Why should not some of the 'Neo-Attic' relief-motifs have been original creations by leading first-century artists, in the classicising manner favoured by contemporary taste, creations which could be themselves either mechanically reproduced for the market or disseminated, with variations and in diverse combinations, by means of copy-books, a medium of diffusion not mentioned in this section? Granted that the clay models made for their statues, etc., by Pasiteles and Arcesilaus could have been copied by the pointing-process, was not the great store set by these models in artistic circles of

the time perhaps due to their being new, individual creations by these masters? And have not A. Rumpf ('Der Idolino' in *La Critica d'Arte*, 1939) and T. Dohrn ('Neues zu den Lych-nouchoi' in *Festschrift Andreas Rumpf*, 1952) argued cogently that certain statues emanating from the South Italian Pasitelean group are no mere classicising copies of the work of fifth-century sculptors, but original experiments in new pictorial poses and stances, marking a real advance in the understanding of space, depth, and perspective? Again, why must the 'beautiful and much admired Arretine stamps' have been made mechanically from earlier Greek silver-ware? Why not from contemporary silver-ware? Zenodorus' reproductions of two cups by Calamis would seem to have been a 'special order' (p. 41). Such considerations may suggest that Greek artists of the first century B.C. were, after all, not just 'content to copy again and again what their forefathers had produced'.

For an interpretation somewhat different from Miss Richter's of the passage on art as a career in Lucian's *Dream* see J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World' (*Collections Latomus* vi, 1951), pp. 17, 18. Similarly, the Plutarch passage (*Peric.* ii, 1), quoted on p. 40, must be read in its context, where the writer is contrasting with artists (men not necessarily renowned for moral achievement) famous men-of-action, whose lives stir in succeeding generations the desire to emulate their deeds and virtues. Such an order of values is by no means confined to the Roman period.

In an appendix Miss Richter sets out persuasive reasons for regarding the Laocoon as a 'high-baroque' original work of about the middle of the second century B.C.

We are indeed most grateful to Miss Richter for giving us a beautifully produced book which will undoubtedly stimulate much thought and much lively discussion among all lovers of classical sculpture.

J. M. C. TOYNEBE.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Deutschland 7, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1. By GERMAN HAFNER. Pp. 54, 42 pl. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. DM. 36.

This contains the Mycenaean, Attic, Boeotian, and Corinthian vases. Good plates, good text.

Attic geometric. Pl. 3, 4: the fellow of this is Oxford 1894. 13. It has a lid very like Pl. 4, 1, which seems to have been acquired together with Pl. 3, 4, but is said not to belong. The Oxford lid is not a very good fit either, but cannot be definitely called alien.

Attic b.f. Pl. 7: Cook *Zeur* 3 pl. 51. Pl. 10, 2 and 4 and Pl. 11, 1: cited in *JHS* LII, 180 not as 'by Xenokles' but only as a lip-cup decorated both inside and out. Similarly, Pl. 10, 8 is mentioned in *V. Pol.* 3 n. 6 not as 'by Hermogenes' but as of the same shape as the Hermogenes skyphos in Würzburg. Pl. 11, 4: CHC Group (*Cypr.* 22). The oinochoe London B493 is by the same hand as this skyphos and its replicas, and connects them with the Red-line Painter. Pl. 14: Hafner gives good parallels for the seven lekythoi Pl. 14, 1-2 and 5-11; I count them all as in the manner of the Haimon Painter.

Attic r.f. Pl. 18 recalls the later work of the Geras Painter, and his volute-krater in Munich, 2382 (*ARV* 175, no. 21). Pl. 21: this stamnos was found in 'the Brygos Tomb' at Capua together with a stamnos by the same painter now in New York (Richter and Hall, pl. 87 and 173, 83; *ARV* 157, no. 2): see *AJA* 1945, 157. Pl. 22: it appears that the stand Pl. 22, 3 does not belong to the hydria Pl. 22, 1-2; they are both, however, by the Naples Painter. Pl. 24, 6: the donkey-bird is a real pantomime-animal, and should be a reminiscence of a dramatic performance. Pl. 26, 2: tradition of the Euaion Painter. Pl. 26, 6, the genuine part of it: this is by the Karlsruhe Painter, as Hafner says, but is not no. 45 in my list *ARV* 510, where I am sorry to say that 'Karlsruhe AM. 1066' is a mistake for 'Louvre AM. 1066'. Pl. 27, 6: well compared by Hafner with *CV* Vienna University, pl. 11, 7; other similar squat lekythoi are Cairo 26209 (Edgar, pl. 12) and two in Mr. Louis Benachi's collection, Alexandria. Compare also the pelike Munich 2354 a (*CV*, pl. 79, 5) and the Bonn pelike associated with it by Lullies. In the Karlsruhe vase the woman seems to be holding out a necklace, rather than spinning.

White lekythoi. I did not say in *AWL*, 23, that Pl. 30, 5-7 was one of the Triglyph Painter's best, but that it might serve as an example of his work.

'Pattern-vases'. Pl. 33, 6 and 33, 8 seem Italiote. With Pl. 33, 8 compare Oxford 1944. 12.

Corinthian. Pl. 38, 7-8: 'a bull, with senseless ornaments incised on the silhouette': are not these the upper parts of plants, the stems of which are given in black, now damaged?

J. D. BEAZLEY.

Aegina: Die Vasen des 10 bis 7 Jahrhunderts. By W. KRAIKER. Pp. 94, 47 pl. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1951. DM. 56.

This catalogue covers all the pottery of Corinthian origin and direct copies thereof, Proto-geometric and Geometric from all centres, and Attic to the end of the seventh century: that is, by far the largest and most important part of the Greek pottery in the Aegina museum. Of Protocorinthian this is one of the most important collections existing. Some of the best pieces have been published and republished, but by no means all even of these, and a comprehensive catalogue has long been desired and is here to hand. In a foreword K. explains how, like so much else, this work was interrupted at an advanced stage by the outbreak of war in 1939, and how in consequence it has not been possible in all cases to check and correct descriptions, complete the photography, and so on. This no doubt also accounts for the omission of certain pieces, e.g. two of which drawings by Payne have recently been published by Dunbabin, *JHS* LXXI, pl. XXVIII, d (F 50: unless this is conceivably K.'s no. 464, unillustrated, but I hardly think it can be) and g (F 113). K. explains that the F numbers by which Payne referred to many Aegina sherds were pencilled on them at the time of Furtwängler's excavations and in most instances are no longer legible, so that it is sometimes impossible to identify the pieces referred to. It is, however, a pity, I think, that he has therefore omitted these numbers entirely. Nevertheless, this is an admirable catalogue with a short account of every piece listed and a beautiful photograph, beautifully reproduced, of most. There are also some drawings, including useful reconstructions, but the reproduction of these is not quite so satisfactory: fine incision is obscured and sometimes quite lost, e.g. the dots on the lion's muzzle, Pl. B, no. 341 (cf. Payne's drawing, *JHS* LXXI, pl. XXVIII, b). The catalogue is divided into Proto-geometric (by fabrics); Geometric (by fabrics, ending with Corinthian); Corinthian of the late eighth and seventh centuries (Early Protocorinthian, Middle Protocorinthian, Late Protocorinthian, Transitional); Early Corinthian; Middle Corinthian; Protoattic; the whole preceded by an excellent brief introduction. The placing of fr. is often difficult; there are cases where I disagree with K.'s allotment between EPC and MPC, MPC and LPC, and particularly between Tr. and on the one hand LPC, and on the other EC. However, the important thing is that the pieces are so presented that one can form one's own opinion. Similarly, K. is cautious in his attributions to hands, but he gives others the chance to be less so. In his introduction he presents the Proto-geometric and Geometric most interestingly as evidence for the early history of the island and especially for its changing relations with Attica and the Peloponnese, but he concentrates inevitably on the Protocorinthian. The book is dedicated to the memory of Humfrey Payne, and K. emphasises the importance and rightness of the stress laid by Payne on the big vases with big animals as the key to the development of Protocorinthian, too often regarded as mainly a miniature style. Aegina, as K. says, remains the most important collection of these big vases. They are mostly very fragmentary, but seeing them together one realises more forcibly how fine and how significant they are. The collection also includes some fine Attic of the seventh century, including two masterpieces: the Ram jug from the middle and the Chimaera amphora from the end. Beazley has lately remarked that the painters of the Nessos and Chimaera circle represent a 'classic' phase of vase-painting, the first in Attica since high Geometric. Beside the Chimaera vase the Ram jug, for all its charm, looks naive and uneasy; but contemporary Protocorinthian, like the animal oenochoe 273 or the Bellerophon kylix, is sure and strong and beautiful—already 'classical'. The troubled adolescence of seventh-century Attic presaged a greater future, but the greater achievement at the time is unquestionably Corinth's.

Notes on individual pieces: p. 33, no. 101: Cycladic kotylai of this type are, of course, direct copies of Corinthian. 33 ff. no. 103: bird-bowls are post-Geometric. *Corinthian Geometric*: 35, no. 121: rare pattern in this fabric, but cf. fr. from Ithaca (*BSA* XLIII, pl. 4, 59) as well as 125 here. 36, no. 127: 'unerkürlte Darstellung'—legs and tail of bird to left. 38, no. 132: post-Geometric (so also no. 166). 39, no. 164: unusual composition for bird-kotyle; banded interior suggests kotyle-pyxis. EPC: 42, no. 197: central bottom feature of design in restoration on pl. D comes from no. 199—it was different on 197. MPC: 47, no. 249: subject, cf. kotylai from Ithaca (*BSA* XLIII, 15, fig. 5). 51, no. 273: loving attempt to extract every ounce of information about this vase from the wonderful fr. Three points: the foot above the principal lion's head could be a bull's as well as a boar's, so could perhaps belong to the bull backed on the sphinx; the animal followed by the lion in the shoulder-frieze was a goat or ram rather than a deer (tail turned up—so also on 322 and 332); finally, is it possible that

the splendid neck 339 might belong to this vase? 53, no. 287: queer style, not so early as Payne supposed? (cf. LPC or Tr. pyxis in London, Johansen, pl. XLII, 6). LPC: 54, no. 296: 'circle' surely not filling ornament but tail of feline walking to right; lowest frieze, lion not boar (ear-form; for bristly mane cf. same painter's 341—a boar's bristles are normally drawn longer); humped effect perhaps because lion was attacking an animal. 58, no. 329: surely already Tr. 59, no. 336: 'Rest eines Tieres(?)'—I see a huge feline paw raised up, on a curved floral stem(?), to the level of the Potnia Theron's thigh. No. 340: a pity about the lost fr.; the attribution to one hand of this, 296 and 341, all masterpieces and linking the b.f. animal style to the polychrome figure style, is entirely convincing, and is perhaps K.'s most important contribution to this aspect of the study of Protocorinthian vase-painting (see Dunbabin, *JHS* LXXI, 64, and his forthcoming *Perachora* II). No. 342: interesting subject, unusual style; unusual bird, too. 65, nos. 373/4: these look to me earlier. 67, no. 391: is this really archaic? Transitional: 68, no. 403: the filling ornament is not enough to make this Tr.; something like it is found on the Syracuse oenochoe, *Nacr.* fig. 6, and I judge this to belong near that time (EPC-MPC). No. 404: called 'MPC II, towards 650' by Dunbabin (*JHS* LXXI, 65, pl. XXVIII f), and ascribed to the same hand as fr. from Perachora; I suspect them all of being early and outstanding works of the Head-in-Air Painter (*BSA* XLIII, 45). No. 407: lower frieze, not boar but goat or ram. 69, no. 410: surely animals on both fr. are feline? No. 418: isn't this earlier? and 419 later? No. 423: highly interesting representation in excellent style close to LPC. 72, no. 433: extraordinary style, I suppose really Corinthian? No. 440: lively slapdash style with more character than most Tr.—like style (?same vase) no. 431. No. 441: Painter of Vatican 73 (*Nacr.* 277, *olpai*); continuity of tradition—the stylisations of the lion's head on this painter's vases derive directly from forms created by the great MPC painter of no. 273. 74, no. 455: by the Sphinx Painter (*Nacr.* 31). 75, no. 466: hare, not lion. 77, no. 483: surely earlier. *Imitations*: no. 484: the statement that these fr. are technically distinguishable from certainly Corinthian pieces seems to contradict a remark on p. 20 of the introduction; however, as K. says, the style, in which he notes Attic influence, renders a Corinthian origin highly improbable; K.'s comparisons suggest that he would date it in the second quarter of the century, but the stylisation of the lion's head includes forms (palmette muzzle, 'ruff') which first appear in LPC and in Attica even later, so 484, hardly pioneer work, should be well after the mid-century. EC: 79, no. 497 (with no. 500): very queer style—certainly Corinthian? Incisions on breast of 497 not breasts but large loose scale-pattern (feathers). 81 f., nos. 516, 517: same hand. No. 529: LPC/Tr.? Stylisation of lion's flank as in no. 405 and *Nacr.* refs. there given. A high proportion of EC seems early and close to Tr. Protoattic: 85, no. 551: the crater from Thebes is Attic too (cf. Cook, *BSA* XXXV, 174). 86, no. 557: sixth century? 87, no. 565: restoration not certain: lion's head could be from another chimaera and/or from the other side of vase, leaving room for a Bellerophon on this. No. 566: nice to have photographs of the whole vase; Payne in the *Nacr.* ref. given connected the vase with Crete—its recognition as Attic is due to J. M. Cook, rightly credited by K. with isolating the painter. 89, nos. 577, 578: surely near if not by the Ram Jug painter. No. 582: interesting *pentimento*. 90, no. 584: curious representation—Troilos?; K. seems over-cautious to doubt the attribution of this group to the Ram Jug painter. 91, no. 586: K. remarks that this is part of the vase *CVA* Berlin, I pl. 17, 1, 2. That fascicle is an essential adjunct to the Protoattic part of this catalogue. K. also refers to Protocorinthian fr. in the same collection (e.g. on nos. 263, 282); is there hope of a *CVA* fascicle to include that rich material?

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part XIII. Vases found in 1934 and 1938. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. xix + 463; 267 pl. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950. \$25.

The thirteenth volume of *Excavations at Olynthus* deals with the vases found in 1934 and 1938 in the town of Olynthus, its cemeteries and its port of Mecyberna. Those found in earlier years have already been published in Part V. The amount of pottery from the site is considerable. It includes little fine work, but there are quantities of the cheaper sort of painted vases and of plain ware, and the special value of this book lies in the 267 plates in which the great majority of the vases, including the humblest, are illustrated by photographs and profile drawings. The text consists of an introductory chapter and a list of over eleven hundred vases and sherds arranged according to types and shapes. For each vase we are given the place of finding, measurements, description, and date. The

descriptions are generally full, but one could wish that the underside of vases had been more systematically noticed, especially in the case of skyphoi and stemless kylikes. Attic Black Figure is comparatively scarce, and is represented mainly by cups by followers of the Haimon painter, some of which are rather oddly described on pl. 12 as 'Early Attic Cylikes', and by numerous fragments of Panathenaic amphorae. There is an abundance of Red Figure, most of it of the fourth century. The destruction of the town in 348 provides a *terminus ante quem* valuable for the later Red Figure and still more for the simpler kinds of pottery, the dating of which depends largely on external evidence. Palmette lekythoi, net lekythoi, and other small fry are liberally illustrated, and there is considerable material for the study of shapes such as the lagynos or the feeding-cup. As to this last, Professor Robinson on p. 264 inclines to the view that its function may have been to fill lamps rather than feed infants, on the ground that none were found in houses. A few pages later we find one (no. 483) recorded as coming from a house north of Street VII. It is, however, true, as is pointed out in Part XI, p. 191, that they are generally found in graves of children, and that surely tells in favour of the feeder, not the lamp filler.

It is a pity that in this publication of the vases little attention is paid to grave contexts and the evidence for relative dating afforded by single-interment graves. There are no illustrations of tomb groups, and to find the objects associated with any vase from a grave one has to refer to Part XI, where the interments are described separately and most of the grave furniture mentioned, and then refer back to Part XIII for photographs and descriptions of the remaining objects. There is a concordance, but the reconstruction of a tomb group in this way is somewhat laborious. The divorce of the vases from the graves would matter more if the graves were richer. The Olynthians, however, like the Athenians, were very economical in the provision of equipment for their dead. Few of the graves contain even as many as ten vases, and 'only a little more than 60 per cent contained any objects at all' (XI p. 174). The bulk of the pottery came from the town. Even so, some account of the relative chronology of the graves, based on the scanty material available, might be more informative than the attempted dating of each individual vase.

The war interrupted work on the finds from Olynthus, and after it Professor Robinson had to assemble and reconstruct many of his vases a second time. In spite of these difficulties and the loss of a number of records, he has earned our gratitude by producing with the minimum of delay this comprehensive account of the large and instructive mass of pottery from the site.

A. D. URE.

Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle. By HENRI METZGER. (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, no. 172). Pp. 471, 48 pll. Paris: de Boccard, 1951. Price not stated.

Professor Metzger has produced a most useful book on the subjects of fourth-century Attic vase-painting. He deals with about 460 scenes, and has illustrated a large number of them (including several unpublished vases) on plates which are beautifully reproduced and include many photographs as well as drawings. The documentation all through and the indices of museum numbers, references to ancient authors and *res notabiles* make it easy to use. It is extremely helpful to have together in a single volume the earlier vases down to 380 B.C. attributed by Sir John Beazley in *ARV* and the later Kertch vases discussed earlier by Schefold. Possibly it would have been useful to have a more precise indication of date for the Kertch vases; their dating is difficult, but 'second quarter, third quarter, fourth quarter' might have been risked to balance the frequent 'Beazley: début du IV^e siècle'. Very wisely, an introductory chapter covers the second half of the fifth century, and relevant vases from the late fifth century are also included in the chapters on particular subjects; the boundary between late fifth and early fourth century is difficult to draw precisely, and in a study of this kind should not be drawn precisely, since the artists themselves were not aware of it. The main chapters deal with Eros, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Apollo, Herakles, Eleusis, Trojan cycle, minor legendary themes, and themes of religious and private life. Two general chapters sum up the whole. Professor Metzger shows throughout such a wide knowledge of ancient literature as well as ancient art that little can be added to his references.

The drawing on many vases is extremely accomplished, but vase painting is a minor art which may reflect metal-work, sculpture, big painting, and directly or indirectly literature. The style of the vases can be shown to have some relation to successive phases and different trends in big painting, and echoes

have been found of Zeuxis, Parrhasios, the Sikyonian school, Nikias, Euphranor, etc.; but it is often impossible to determine in which major art a new theme started or an old theme was rejuvenated. Once popular in the grand manner of painting, tragedy, or choral lyric, a theme was likely to be represented also in the other major arts, to be reflected in vase-painting and to be translated into the terminology of comedy and even of caricature: the apotheosis of Herakles, Phaon, Adonis (the ladder scenes are well interpreted as illustrations of the ritual commenced after the gardens have been placed on the roof), and the birth of Helen we know in both high and low versions in art or literature or both. The connexion between vases and literature is particularly obvious in the Euripidean pictures (*Telephos*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Andromeda*, *Meleager*), the Pronomos vase, the Würzburg fragments with the tragic chorus (not quoted by M.) and the Barcelona pelike, on which maenads are named Tragedy (?) and Comedy. These are all early in the period. On the back of the Pronomos vase Dionysos and Ariadne move amid satyrs and maenads. Was there also for this pair a source in high literature as well as the painting in the precinct of Dionysos (incidentally, there is surely no evidence for ascribing this to Parrhasios)? Certainly the love of Dionysos and Ariadne is a favourite story now, in which M. distinguishes stages from meeting to symplegma. (I cannot believe that the nearly naked sleeper attacked by satyrs on the London pelike (1901.7-10.5) is Ariadne rather than a maenad; the 'Echo' on the London hydria (E 228) is better explained as 'Night' as on the Pan painter's lekythos in Taranto (*Jahreshefte*, xxxviii, 1); add to the symplegmata a fine pelike in the Harrow School Museum.)

Other favourite themes are Eros, Epiphanies of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Dionysos, Herakles and the Hesperides, and Herakles' apotheosis, Eleusis, and 'Arimaspians'. Eros, according to M., takes over the role of Aphrodite as an intermediary between men and women in love. He also appears, according to M., as an 'enfant du type poutin qui annonce déjà les "Amours" de l'époque hellénistique'; he may appear in baby contexts, but he seems never on Attic vases to be a chubby baby with short wings, and the date for introducing this type is difficult to determine (cf. *JHS* LXXI, 228). Epiphanies of Aphrodite on sea and land are common now, and M. steers a skilful course in interpreting these difficult scenes and their relation to satyric drama. M. notes that the success of the Delphic repertoire on Attic vases from 425 to 380 is comparable with the success of the Eleusinian repertoire in the succeeding period. Epiphanies in themselves are popular, and seem to me one side of the general tendency in this period to stress the distance between god and men, whereas in the succeeding periods artists, though increasing the majesty of the gods, yet relate them to men. Another element in these pictures is the association of pairs of gods in symposium or thiasos, Apollo and Dionysos, Apollo and Herakles, etc.: here I should like to see a divine example for the *homonoia* so much desired in human affairs.

But this is a symbolic interpretation, and caution is needed; many in any case would not trouble about the symbolism, and it is wisest only to accept symbolism with a literary text to support it. M. finds in symbolism the key to many of the pictures, and undoubtedly it is a possible explanation for the confusion and fusion of Dionysos with Ploutos in the Eleusis scenes. The Herakles story is virtually restricted to his adventure with the Hesperides and his apotheosis, and both are obviously capable of symbolical interpretation: 'Prodikos' myth is well known, and Herodotos allegorised the snake, the club, and the three apples: Plato combined the apotheosis and the Garden in the imagery of the charioteer of the soul in the *Phaedrus*. It is much less clear that M. is justified in interpreting the Europa scenes, the Dionysiac scenes, and the 'Arimaspians' as symbolic of death and the after life. For M. the 'Arimaspians' have a symbolic value as well as being destined for the South Russian market. I am not yet convinced of either point, though M. has interesting suggestions about designing for export. The 'Arimaspians' (inverted commas because Greeks often did not distinguish between the clothing of Arimaspians, Amazons, Ethiopians, Persians, and Scythians, e.g. the Xenophantos aryballos) I take to be purely decorative and derived from the richly decorated textiles which were fashionable for clothes in the late fifth and early fourth centuries; later the comic poet Hipparchos (IK) speaks of a rug with Persians and griffins, and Theophrastos' affable man has a curtain with Persians woven in it. They meant as little as imitated Persian carpets mean to us. But M. is right to emphasise the restriction of fourth-century subjects and to seek an interpretation, and we have every reason to be grateful for a thoughtful, comprehensive, well-documented, and well-illustrated book.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

*Ἀρχαῖαι ἐπιγραφαὶ Βεροίας. By M. ANDRONIKOS. Pp. 32, 4 pll. Thessaloniki; Γενικὴ Διοίκησης Μακεδονίας. 1950. Price not stated.

Beroea continues to yield a rich harvest of epigraphical material, mostly, it is true, of Roman times, and often only the despised, but nevertheless very useful, sepulchral monument; but, occasionally, a rare treasure comes to light, like the royal letters of Demetrius to Harpalus, found by Wace in 1911-12 in a Jewish butcher's shop, and the exciting manumission document which Mr. Andronikos has had the good fortune to unearth from its hiding-place, where, though it was found more than thirty years ago, it has successfully eluded the many epigraphists who have visited Beroea.

This third-century document, a valuable addition to Calderini's collection, contains some arresting new formulae and a chronological problem neatly and convincingly solved by the editor. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Demetrius, ἐπὶ (sic) ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πλευσίου. The editor is inclined to think that this is the priest of Heracles Kynagidas, but it is more probably an eponymous priest of Beroea. Of the two possible Demetrii, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Demetrius II, son of Antigonos Gonatas, he argues that it must refer to the latter. The difficulty is that Demetrius II reigned only ten years from 239 to 229 B.C. But the royal letters addressed by Demetrius to Harpalus in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Antigonos have already shown Demetrius taking decisions as regent during his father's absence, and Andronikos, arguing that his reign was counted as beginning in his regency, equates the twenty-eighth year of his reign with 235 B.C.

Unfortunately the last seven lines of this thirty-three line inscription, inscribed on a friable, coarse-grained marble, are badly weathered owing to exposure, but the excellent photograph gives good hope, as the editor himself hints, that more letters may still be deciphered on the stone: at any rate, it will not suffer further deterioration, as Mr. Andronikos has found temporary shelter for it in the church of Panagia Kyriotissa until, as is greatly to be hoped, the considerable epigraphic material of Beroea is housed in a permanent museum.

This finely produced booklet, complete with full commentary and excellent photographs, contains, in addition to the manumission, a fragment of a Hellenistic dedication, and seven funerary inscriptions with interesting Macedonian names, mostly already known, like Ἀδύπος, including a metrical epitaph to Κλυτὸς Ἀμαρτυριᾶς, husband of Bassila, a harpist, who takes his place in the history of entertainment in Beroea in Imperial times alongside the πωδὸς Cyrilla (*Hyperia* XIII, 24-6), and the Ἀποκρίτωρ, Μουσάδων θεράπων in the inscription to be published by B. Kallipolitis in the D. M. Robinson *Festschrift*.

J. M. R. CORMACK.

Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian.

By C. BONNER. Pp. xxiv + 334, with 25 pll. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1950. £5.

The magical amulets dealt with in this book belong to a circumscribed and readily recognisable class which was current in Egypt and neighbouring lands from c. A.D. 100 to 500 or a little later. Most are flat, oval stones for setting in rings or pendants, but a few are stones of other shapes or are pendant bronzes. They have had a singularly poor 'press' hitherto, and have usually been discussed only incidentally and without much real knowledge and interest by writers dealing with engraved gems or in books on ancient magic. Most of them belong to the class known as 'Gnostic' amulets, but, as Dr. Bonner indicates in his introduction, it now seems clear that they were a general phenomenon of the later Roman and early Byzantine epoch in the Eastern Empire (and specially in Egypt), and there is no particular reason why they should be attributed to Gnosticism rather than to any of the other religious faiths current at the time. They are, in fact, just amulets made for and used by ordinary people, and their prevalence (for they were very common, if we may judge from the number of extant examples) is an indication that the easterner of those days was certainly no less superstitious than his counterparts of earlier days and of modern times.

In this work, which is the fruit of many years of careful and devoted study, Dr. Bonner has deservedly rescued these amulets from the neglect into which they had fallen. To some, especially to those not already interested in the glyptic arts, or in the lesser manifestations of late Roman archaeology, the study of these 'Gnostic' amulets may seem to be potentially unrewarding. It is indubitably not so in Dr. Bonner's hands. He writes in a simple, clear, and unassuming English style, and one which is at times even anecdotal and full of interesting sidelights into the history of his own and other scholars' researches. Where

others would have produced a ponderous dissertation with multiplication of footnotes and unnecessary detail, Dr. Bonner gives us a readable and, in places, even absorbing account of these objects, many of which, as he would himself be the first to admit, represent the very nadir of Roman art and workmanship.

The book is divided into two parts, narrative and catalogue. Out of the mass of amulets in public and private collections (including his own) which he has studied, he has chosen 397 pieces as representative of the main types and sub-types which he has identified. Each one of these is catalogued fully and illustrated in collotype. In cataloguing these chosen specimens he has divided them into groups on the basis of their designs and epigraphy, and the characteristics of the series as a whole and of each group are fully discussed in his series of narrative chapters. We can see but one fault in this arrangement and that a minor one, which might have been rectified. The student, until he becomes fully familiar with its lay-out, may find it difficult, in the absence of cross-references from the catalogue to the descriptive text, to discover whether and where any individual type in which he is interested is discussed. A fuller index would have helped in this regard, and indeed in other ways too. There is no type of book that so demands the fullest possible index as one like this, which deals with so many by-ways and details of the obscurer sections of ancient custom, religion, and mythology.

In analysing the amulets Dr. Bonner recognises four main national influences that are involved—Egyptian, Jewish, Persian, and Greek—each being manifested both in the designs and in the inscriptions. In the designs Egyptian influence is most usual, yet there are also designs taken from Greek mythology, the script is always Greek, the language (where any rational language is recognisable at all) is usually Greek, and so, for what the fact is worth, is the oval intaglio shape of the majority of the pieces. Jewish and Persian influences are less dominant, though Old Testament religion and Mithraism have provided not a few of the designs.

Dr. Bonner has no illusions about the value of these amulets for elucidating the culture and beliefs of the time. He recognises that little reliance can be placed on objects of this sort as monuments illustrating ancient religion or cults: they can be used solely as illustrative of ancient magic, and even there the obscurity which shrouds all magic from the uninitiated tends to cloud the issue so much that the modern investigator is left in darkness. We must, therefore, take these objects at their face value and not expect too much. It is, indeed, fortunate that this book has been written by a scholar with no axe in his hand that he wishes to grind—a scholar withal so sober-minded that he refuses to be led into speculations, however mild, for which he cannot adduce incontrovertible evidence from the monuments themselves. The result is a book which can be implicitly trusted as giving a thoroughly objective and unbiased view of this obscure class of monuments, which has so long puzzled collectors and museum officials. With Bonner in his hand the collector and the official can now proceed to classify, and at least partially to understand, such examples of the group as they may have in their cabinets.

D. B. HARDEN.

American University of Beirut: A Guide to the Archaeological Collections in the University Museum. By DOROTHY MACKAY. Pp. 105, 16 pll. Beirut: 1951. P.L. 250.

This Guide of Mrs. Mackay's is based on a reorganisation of the Museum's archaeological material carried out by herself from 1948 onwards. The reorganisation was greatly needed, especially after the confusion introduced by the evacuation of the Museum during the 1939-45 war; the last arrangement dated from 1921, when Mr. (now Sir Leonard) Woolley wrote a short guide to the collections which is, of course, rendered completely out of date to-day by the advances in our knowledge of W. Asia during the last thirty years.

After a Preface briefly recounting the origin and history of the Museum and explaining the system of display, the main text consists of a series of 'Introductory Notes on Periods' followed by short descriptions of some of the principal objects in each group. The first six of these Notes cover the period from 'Stone Age Cultures' to the 'Hellenistic Period'; the last five deal either with particular collections, e.g. 'Cesnola Collection of Pottery from Cyprus', or special topics, e.g. 'History of Lamps', 'Glass', etc. An Index concludes the text.

It is inevitable that a Guide to such a miscellaneous and old-fashioned collection should seem to leave a somewhat incoherent impression. In addition to material from Lebanon and Syria, the Museum has objects from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Greece, Cyrenaica, and Carthage, but insufficient to

give a picture of the culture of any one of these countries. Moreover, few objects or groups come from known sources: objects are arranged by analogy. The comment 'No provenance' recurs with monotonous insistence (e.g. pp. 71-2). Most of the material appears to have been bought from dealers; the Cesnola, Merrill, and Ford Collections ('never sufficiently annotated', etc., p. x) form the nucleus of the Museum, which is consequently in a different class from, e.g. the Beirut (National), Aleppo, or Jerusalem Museums, which are based on modern collections of excavated material. Signs of a more scientific attitude to collecting appear in the finds from a rock-tomb at Sarafend and a cave near the mouth of the Dog River (pp. 33-4, Pl. III).

Mrs. Mackay has courageously attacked this rather unpropitious material and laid the foundations for its further study and arrangement. In the nature of things she could not be equally familiar with all periods and cultures extending over such an immense range. Thus she is obviously more at home with orientalist seals than with classical sculpture or pottery: contrast the treatment of the former (pp. 22-5) with the somewhat naive description of terra sigillata (p. 36). And is not the 'head of a child made up of two fragments, the face marble and back of head limestone' (p. 75) an example of the familiar acrolithic technique?

It is evident from Mrs. Mackay's own words in more than one context that a great deal of preparatory spade work needs to be devoted to this collection to enable an entirely satisfactory Handbook to be written (e.g. p. 60, where Section 2 treats of 'Objects from Asia Minor from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period'). In such a Handbook one might hope to see, e.g. an approximate dating or classification of the considerable number of Mycenaean or 'sub-Mycenaean' vases in the collection (e.g., pp. 32-3). Until this has been done, Mrs. Mackay's valuable pioneer effort will provide a welcome picture of the contents of a museum which, hitherto little known outside its own immediate neighbourhood, deserves to be rescued from obscurity and neglect.

Many of the half-tones which constitute the plates are too poor to be of any real use, and in a few (e.g. Pl. III, 4, 5, and 12) no useful detail at all is visible. The Hellenistic two-handled amphora of West Slope (or 'Gnathia') ware (Pl. VI, 7) is described in the text (p. 57) as 'terra sigillata'.

J. H. ILIFFE.

Catalogue illustré du Département des antiquités Greco-romaines au Musée de Damas, I. By S. ABDUL-HAK and A. ABDUL-HAK. Pp. 180, 60 pl. and 1 plan. Damascus: Direction générale des antiquités de Syrie, 1951. Price not stated.

No one who travels in Syria should miss seeing the National Museum at Damascus. It is one of the most charming of museums, with a full complement of valuable antiquities, the smaller ones set out in good cases with concealed lighting. Three features of outstanding interest are part of the Tomb of Jarhai, brought from Palmyra, with its loculi each shut off by a funerary stela bearing a portrait bust of the deceased with his or her name and genealogy; the original wall paintings of the Jewish Synagogue from Dura-Europos, set up in a reconstruction of the Synagogue; and a replica of part of the Ommayyad palace of Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi between Qaryatayn and Palmyra with the original mouldings which had been shaken down by an earthquake replaced in position. This last is seen from the road from the Damascus airport and from Beirut and the West, across the gardens of the Museum beyond the Barada river. Beside the Museum are the domes and minarets of the Tekkiyyeh built by Sultan Selim in 1516, the whole forming a very pleasing picture.

Since 1936, when the present Museum was built, Syrian antiquities dating from before 500 B.C. have gone to the National Museum at Aleppo, those from Achaemenid Persian days onwards being placed in the Museum at Damascus. This, Part I of the Catalogue, dealing with the Graeco-Roman antiquities, is eventually to be followed by Parts II and III, cataloguing the Byzantine and Arab Sections.

One of the three main purposes of a museum guide-book is admirably fulfilled by this catalogue; it places before archaeologists abroad a full and factual list of what is available for specialist study. The museum has, for instance, a remarkably rich collection of glass, both on show and in reserve, which would clearly repay methodical examination by a specialist in ancient glass. A second purpose of a museum catalogue, to explain to visitors what they see before them in the cases, would be better served by labels in the cases with some re-arrangement to secure chronological and developmental sequence; to find the information sought from so large a book while standing before the cases would take too long, and would obstruct other

visitors. The third purpose of a guide-book, to be a memento of an enjoyable and instructive visit, is, unhappily, marred by the inartistic and undetailed quality of the photographs; the arts of photography and of the reproduction of photographs in books have not as yet been adequately studied in the East.

With these improvements made and the addition of a map to show the whereabouts of excavated and other sites of antiquity, Parts II and III of this catalogue will be eagerly welcomed.

DOROTHY MACKAY.

Oxford: Ashmolean Museum. Summary Guide to the Department of Antiquities. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1951. Pp. 86, with 73 pl. 5s.

This 'Summary Guide' to the Department of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum is intended for the layman who wishes to obtain a comprehensive view of the contents of the Department. It does not mention all the objects on show, but treats of the various groups with a sentence or two for each to place them in proper historical and archaeological perspective. This result is amply achieved. Dr. Harden's text, as he says, is not too long to be read by a visitor during a day's visit to the galleries. After six pages devoted to an interesting History of the Collections and of the Building, the description commences with the Founder's and John Evans Rooms, sounding a note which runs through the Museum, i.e. the emphasis laid on the many famous individuals, often *keepers*, who have so handsomely contributed to the building up of the Collections. In this connexion it is perhaps fanciful to detect in the remark on page 24, *a propos* of the Minoan Room and the late Sir Arthur Evans, 'The present arrangement . . . forms a fitting memorial to his life's work', an undertone of suggestion that Sir Arthur's arrangement remain stereotyped for ever. Any such inference, however, would at once be demolished by the re-arrangement which has taken place there even since this Guide was written. It is, of course, the developing picture of Minoan civilisation, which has lately received some striking additions, that will form the best memorial to Sir Arthur.

The arrangement of the Guide follows that of the galleries, for the convenience of the visitor. The First Floor is treated first, and the Ground Floor later. The plates are of the standard expected of the Oxford University Press. An unusual feature of the Guide is that it may be purchased either with or without the plates, the former at 5s., the latter at 2s. The plates, moreover, are selected so as not to repeat those objects already available on Museum post-cards, of which a list is included as Appendix I. This, and the list of the Department's publications in Appendix II, are extremely useful additions for the student, not always found in a 'Summary Guide'. In short, one could hardly wish for a better or a more workmanlike introduction for the stranger paying his first visit to this famous and historic Collection.

A few particular observations. The collection of mediaeval pottery from Oxford (pp. 20-1) is particularly fine and a credit to the City. It illustrates what can be done by the systematic observation of building sites in a given area. The Heberden Coin Room is given the extended notice it well deserves, as probably the most welcoming and best-known coin room for the student in the country at the present time. As the individual primarily responsible for its popularity and usefulness, perhaps room might have been found for a mention of the late J. G. Milne. Possession of the Crondall hoard alone (p. 66) gives the Coin Room a unique importance for the study of Saxon England. This is but one of the instances in which the Guide reminds us of the many priceless monuments in the Museum's possession. In contrast with the Coin Room, it is no doubt right that Inscriptions should be given a mere mention, and none illustrated, either in the Guide or among the post-cards (except three clay tablets in Linear Script from Knossos and a cuneiform prism from Larsa). The general standard of material, however, in the Museum is so high that one inevitably asks to see at least a specimen of one of the altars or tombstones found in this country, all too often neglected. May not research, too, into the obscurity surrounding donations which go back to the seventeenth century yield an occasional odd fish, such as an inscription in the Cypriot Syllabary?

No reference to the Ashmolean would be complete without a mention of what is without doubt the strongest feature, the collection of Greek Vases, especially as built up, arranged, and studied by Sir John Beazley. A compact résumé of the Collection forms a useful section of the Guide.

Although the intended use of the book may not seem to make an Index necessary, this would have added to the convenience of readers.

J. H. ILIFFE.

Corinth. American School Excavations. Vol. I, part iii. Monuments in the lower Agora and north of the archaic Temple. By R. L. SCRANTON. Pp. xi + 200, with 76 pl., 15 folding pl., and 83 text figures. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. \$10.

This volume deals with the buildings along the west terrace of the agora, the central terrace, the monuments of the lower agora, and the buildings north of the archaic temple. By his excellent descriptions and discussions of these monuments Scranton brings the publication of the architectural remains of central Corinth a good deal nearer to completion; and he finds occasion to introduce several interesting sections on the general planning of the area. I hope to deal more fully with this subject elsewhere; for the moment two points may be emphasised. Scranton goes down to bedrock and shows clearly (p. 133) how the peculiar contours of the site, with the hollow east of the temple hill, the 'valley' running S.W. from it, and the rising ground to the south, determined the development of the agora as it expanded to S. and W. from a site near the spring of Peirene. To make everything still clearer one would welcome a map of the whole site. Scranton also shows how the area was ultimately defined and articulated by stoas and other buildings; and in particular he brings out the importance of the buildings running E.-W. along the central terrace, the successors of a simple stoa of Greek times, in the plan of Roman agora. They divided the agora into two parts at different levels, but they were closely linked with both and also held them together, so that the agora did not lose its unity (p. 152).

One can accept Scranton's tentative dating of the temples erected on the western terrace of the Roman agora, and his identification of them (from south to north, Aphrodite-Tyche, Pantheon, Herakles, Poseidon—these last two on the site of an earlier fountain—the Babbios monument, Hermes); but his suggested installation of Apollo in K, the little temple facing southwards behind the main row, is less convincing. The Babbios monument remains mysterious; in the restoration in the frontispiece it is left empty. The curious structures at the ends of the central buildings are puzzling too, especially the apsidal building at the west end which Scranton calls the shrine of Dionysos. One can well understand that Pausanias must sometimes be a source of exasperation to the excavator; but it is hardly fair to him to speak of his inadequate description (p. 151), when what he professes to give is not a full and detailed account but a careful selection.

There were no large buildings placed in the open area of the lower agora. As Scranton points out (p. 153), the architectural effects were obtained by the accumulation of smaller units around the agora rather than by dominant central features. One might draw a contrast with Athens, where the Odeion dominated the Augustan reconstruction of the agora, and the temple of Ares too was re-erected on a site in the middle of the open square. In this way, in spite of elements typical of Roman imperial architecture, Corinth retained something more of the character of an early Greek agora.

A curious and unexplained feature of the western part of the agora is what appears to be an emplacement for a long mast. I would like to suggest that it may have been used as a *συναγωγὴ* in connexion with public meetings, of the kind mentioned by Andocides, *de Mysteriorum*, 36.

The illustrations of this volume, both photos and drawings, are of the highest quality. The drawings are mainly by J. Travlos, E. Skroubelas, and V. von Peschke.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Volume I (Text and Plates bound separately). Edited by HETTY GOLDMAN. Contributions by DOROTHY HANNAH COX, HETTY GOLDMAN, VIRGINIA GRACE, FRANCES F. JONES, and ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHKE. Princeton: University Press, 1950 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). Pp. vi + 420, 276 pl. £11 15s.

This attractive, serviceable, and costly set of books contains the first instalment of a report on excavations carried out between 1935 and 1939 under the auspices of Bryn Mawr College, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Fogg Art Museum, and the Institute for Advanced Study.

The reader is frankly warned in the foreword against expecting a complete study of Tarsus of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. One will hear little of the great historical events that swept over and around this chief city of Cilicia, which was also for centuries one of the major traffic hubs on the highways of the Near East. The excavators, indeed, did not probe the heart of the great city, but confined their attentions to two small areas in a suburb that combined residence and light industry. Yet the results have been so abundant and have been presented

with so much care, skill, and sense of proportion as to invite and to command the interest of both archaeologists and historians.

The record begins towards the end of the fourth century B.C. (too late, alas, to advance our knowledge of the city as it was under Persian domination) and extends down with a fair degree of continuity into the Islamic period.

The structural remains are in themselves of little account, but they are important on two scores. Comprising as they do a confused medley of living-quarters and small shops for the making of bronze objects, lamps, and terracotta figurines, they confirm the picture of industrial life in the Greek city as recently illustrated by the publication of comparable districts in Athens and in Corinth. In the second place, they serve as a framework for a limited number of stratified deposits which the excavators have skilfully yet prudently employed in fixing both the relative and the absolute chronology of their material.

Miss Cox has presented some 345 coins, virtually all of bronze with but a sprinkling of silver; they range in date from Philip II of Macedon to Theodosius II. In this section alone do we catch echoes of the great names associated with the city: Alexander the Great, the Seleucid kings, Pompey, Augustus, and Hadrian. But the most original and valuable part of this section is Miss Cox's valiant effort to classify the autonomous issues of Tarsus which she has arranged in seven series extending from ca. 190 B.C. into imperial times. Her conclusions are based on a wide collation of museum specimens as well as on the limited number of coins from the excavation.

Much the longest section in the volume is Miss Jones' treatment of the pottery: truly a labour of love, for virtually all the pottery is fragmentary, and almost all is dull. The exception is the lead-glazed ware, chiefly skyphoi, with moulded plastic decoration for which a local origin is attested by the discovery of a mould, stilts, and unfinished vases. Apart from this brief efflorescence, the products of the local potteries in the Hellenistic and Roman periods are undistinguished. This means that the finer wares, or the inspiration for new developments, came from outside: from Athens in the early Hellenistic period, later and in larger measure from the side of Syria, occasionally from Egypt and perhaps South Russia, from Italy in the later phases of the Arretine industry, very occasionally from western Europe ('Thorn Ware', 'Sanded Ware'), and, in the late Roman period, perhaps from North Africa. It is as evidence for these wide commercial and cultural relations that the pottery from the excavation is chiefly valuable, and Miss Jones, by her careful segregation and description of the various fabrics, has made this evidence readily available. Yet the author has also produced an agreeable account of the changing fashions in ceramics as a whole, period by period. She has employed a simple and elastic system of classification and a natural nomenclature which accord well with the modest status of the subject and which do not confuse the reader with a multiplicity of numbered types and subclasses.

Two groups of pottery have been given special treatment: lamps by Miss Goldman and Miss Jones, the stamped amphora handles by Miss Grace. The lamps show much the same range as the pottery. Starting in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. with an occasional import from Athens, they followed the normal course of development in the Hellenistic period and then came under the strong influence of the admirable figured lamps of Augustan Italy. In the later Roman period the Tarsus makers kept largely to their own devices, producing a remarkably high proportion of pieces decorated with pleasant little pictures of beasts, birds, and divinities. The local industry is attested by the discovery of a number of moulds; the fact that they are of plaster will perhaps account for the dullness of the reliefs on most of the lamps.

The stamped wine-jar handles are predominantly Rhodian (83 or 84 out of a total of 101), thus bearing out the evidence from other eastern Mediterranean sites as to the dominant popularity of the island product among the imported wines drunk in that region throughout the Hellenistic period.

The chief glory of the site is its terracotta figurines, already well known from the specimens brought back to England and France by earlier explorers, and here represented by over 600 new examples. Remarkable in number and variety, they only occasionally achieve the technical and artistic excellence of the finest work of Tanagra or Athens, but on the whole they maintain a remarkably high standard of quality. Pleasing in themselves, they must also on this site fill the place of major sculpture of which not a single piece is recorded in the publication. The figurines, like the pottery, provide valuable evidence for the variety of influences, artistic and religious, to which Tarsus was subject. Alongside the statuettes inspired by major works of purely Greek origin (Aphrodite No. 3, Dionysos No. 45, Demosthenes No. 433 f.) are others that combine with the Greek age-old Near Eastern elements (Aphrodite in the arched niche No. 13) and some that probably echo the work done by immigrant

Greek artists for specifically local demands (Herakles-Sandon (?) No. 151). Elsewhere Miss Goldman detects influence from regions of Parthian domination (Mother and Child plaques Nos. 345-54, Mounted Warriors Nos. 435-9), actual imports from Mesopotamia (Nos. 452, 453), and a contamination of Egyptian popular mythology (Woman and Child No. 213; on this type cf. now J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *Rev. Arch.*, 1948, ii, 905-16). Among the most striking series is that of the realistic and grotesque figures Nos. 318-44, while among the individual pieces the large head of a city goddess (No. 42) and the naiskos with the bust of a girl in the pediment (No. 530) are works of great distinction and charm. In this section Miss Goldman has provided much of the material for a more comprehensive monograph on the coroplastic school of Tarsus.

Among the odds and ends of late inscriptions (A. E. Raubitschek) and miscellaneous objects the series of distinctive local loom weights is perhaps the most interesting.

On the technical side and in its organisation the volume gives evidence of great care and consideration for the reader on the part of an experienced scholar. The plans are clear and generous both in number and in scale. One might, however, wish that the architectural 'analyses' of the successive periods had been placed so as to face the corresponding plans of actual state. The scale of Plan 1 is presumably 1:1000 rather than 1:100 as given in the title. The photography is good, notably in the case of the notoriously difficult terracottas, and the photographs have fared well at the hands of the engraver, except in the case of the out-of-door pictures, where the colotype process inevitably imposes on everything the atmosphere of a dull November day. Reference from text to plates has been made easy by a simple system of numeration; the tiles beneath the plates of coins, however, might have been made a little more specific, and an indication of the types would have rendered the plates of lamps more immediately useful.

Scholars will once more be grateful to the Princeton University Press for producing a highly scholarly publication with excellent typography, an attractive format, and a binding that will endure the long, hard usage to which this volume will certainly be exposed.

HOMER A. THOMPSON.

Il 'Palazzo delle Colonne' in Tolemaide di Cirenaica.

By G. PESCE. Pp. 119, 17 pl. Rome: Bretschneider, 1950. Price not given.

This volume provides a full and impressive publication of one of the most interesting buildings of Cyrenaica. The excavation was interrupted by the war and remains incomplete, but fortunately the least satisfactory part is also the least important—the area to the south, more or less separate from the main palace, which may possibly have been 'il quartiere rustico della domus' (p. 94). A hasty but intensive re-examination of the site was made in 1947.

The remains are described carefully room by room, and a further chapter is devoted to painted and mosaic decoration, and Egyptian and Greek sculpture. Finally, P. gives his conclusions on the nature and chronology of the palace. About the character of the building there can be now no doubt. It was the residence of a Very Important Person, the functionary, P. thinks, representing the royal authority in the time of the Ptolemies, and his successor in Roman and Byzantine times.

The dominance of the great peristyle and the columnar hall to the north of it (a kind of private basilica) gives some appearance of unity to the plan, but in spite of this the form of the building is highly complicated and the rooms fall into a number of irregular groups. The palace was not the product of a single unified plan but of a long evolution in successive epochs, with various additions and changes. P. finds difficulty in fixing the date of the main structure; it falls, apparently, some time in the latter part of the second century A.C. or the first. There are traces of a predecessor, the nature of which does not emerge very clearly. The 'thermal quarter' is Roman in character, of the first or second century A.D., though perhaps on the site of a Hellenistic bath, and so are the tabernae added at the north end. But, P. rightly asserts, the building is essentially Hellenistic, with its predominance of peristyle over atrium (there is a comparatively unobtrusive example of the latter), of straight line over curved, of *areolae* over *ares*. It is not so easy to follow him when he continues, 'Greca è la chiara scansione e la metrica euritmica della partizione dello spazio, la solida plasticità' (p. 99). But in any case, as a splendid specimen of a partially Romanised Hellenistic palace the building is of special interest for the history of domestic architecture.

The photographs are plentiful and mostly fine and clear. There are careful restorations by C. Catanuso and photos of a model of the building in its present state. One would have welcomed the inclusion of a certain number of plans and drawings of details in the text. It is irritating when in order to

follow the description one has to look up ten or more figures and plates at the end of the book and not in sequence, in the course of a single page.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

Sidon: aménagements antiques du Port de Saïda; étude aérienne, au sol et sous-marine, 1946-50.

By A. POIDEBARD and J. LAUFFRAY. Aperçu historique sur les ports anciens de Méditerranée orientale par le R. P. R. MOUTERDE. Pp. viii + 103, 40 pl., 5 folding plans and 12 text figures. Beyrouth: Ministère des travaux publics, République libanaise, 1951. Price not stated.

No less urgent than protection from wind and wave for ships seeking anchorage in the havens of Phoenicia is protection of the harbours themselves from silting up. It is precisely the still water preferred by shipping which deposits the sand otherwise held in suspension by the swift northward currents of that coast.

This dilemma in 1946 impelled the Lebanese Government, whose Ministry of Public Works publishes this book, to enquire, after one unsuccessful application of modern theory, how in antiquity the Sidonians had contrived to keep their port open; and it was natural that Père Poidebard, whose researches at Tyre by aerial and underwater observation were well known through his earlier work *Un grand port disparu, Tyr*, should be invited to conduct the investigation.

Like most of the Phoenician harbours, the port of Sidon utilised one of those sandstone reefs which detach themselves obliquely from the coast and form, with the islands that prolong them, a natural breakwater. Here the reef, diverging at sixty degrees from the shore line, projects northwards for 200 yards, disappears for 700, then reappears on the same line as an island 500 yards long.

The gap in this natural breakwater gave access to a vast sheltered anchorage, the 'Outer Port' of Sidon, at the southern end of which a mole and jetty, built inwards from the attached portion of reef, enclosed an 'Inner Port', whose entrance, between the end of the jetty and the shore, was protected by an islet on which the Crusaders in the twelfth century built a castle.

A superb series of air photographs on Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX shows how the current entering through the gap in the reef would tend to drop its load of sand in the slack water at the very mouth of the inner port. The ancient Sidonians prevented this happening by allowing the current to pass under control through carefully planned channels in and out of the harbour itself, so that the water was kept moving at all important points.

These and other measures taken for protecting the harbour from storm and hostile assault, and for extending its facilities for shipping and lading, are described by M. J. Lauffray, who personally conducted the survey, and whose admirably lucid and detailed account, based on a minute examination of remains visible at sea-level or by diving, or in air photographs, forms the second part of the book, illustrated by an adequate series of photographs, some excellent air views, five plans, and a number of figures in the text.

For introduction the book starts with a short chapter by Père Mouterde resuming the evidence for the history and technique of harbour construction in the Mediterranean from the earliest of Roman imperial times; and with a second chapter by Père Poidebard describing in greater detail the Phoenician harbours from Seleucia in Pieria to Tyre. These put M. Lauffray's work in its historical setting and provide a useful summary of existing archaeological and historical evidence for an important aspect of Phoenician civilisation.

Nothing in the extant harbour works at Sidon can be dated earlier than the Roman period.

R. W. HAMILTON.

L'autel monumental de Baalbek. By PAUL COLLART and PIERRE COUPEL. (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth; Bibl. Arch. et. Hist., Vol. LII). Pp. vi + 153, 96 pl. Paris: Geuthner, 1951. 4,500 fr.

In this book MM. Paul Collart and Pierre Coupel describe a monument which is unique both architecturally and in its bearing on a widespread but archaeologically obscure ritual in Near Eastern religions.

The astonishing recovery of this monument, whose existence could not previously have been suspected, began in 1930 with a bold but well-justified decision by the French Service des Antiquités to demolish the remains of the Byzantine basilica in the great temple court at Baalbek, as a first step towards clearing the court; it was achieved by a conjunction of meticulous observation, acute reasoning, and fine draughtsmanship, for which the utmost credit must be given to the authors of the book.

The altar appears at first sight as a roughly cubical building

or tower, standing some seventeen metres high in the centre of the court, of which it must have been at once the architectural and the cultic focus. This discovery alone sets the great temenos complex of Baalbek in a new perspective.

Behind its façades of vertically accentuated pilasters, surmounting a monumental podium and crowned by a heavy cornice, the building comprised internally four storeys carrying a roof terrace, all threaded through by two symmetrically opposed pairs of staircases, disposed to north and south of a central nucleus, and interconnected at each stage by landings and corridors.

The terrace was a rectangular elevation above the main roof, reached by a double flight of open steps at each end.

The internal staircases were lighted by windows and by a lightshaft behind the west façade.

Of this extraordinary and intricate structure all that remained in situ was part of the podium and its plinths, standing nowhere higher than 190 cm., but showing the position of two corridors which traversed it from north to south and gave access to four transverse flights of stairs. Of the rest of the tower all that survived was some 600 fragments of stone blocks recovered from the demolished basilica and from some other secondary buildings about the temenos.

Two factors, both characteristic of native Syrian architecture, made it possible from these *disiecta membra* to arrive at a theoretical reconstruction of the whole building which is for the most part demonstrably correct. The first was an almost infinite variety of sculptured motifs decorating the ceilings of staircases and corridors at all levels; the second the gigantic size of the masonry.

The process of induction by which the whole synthesis was achieved is described by the authors with admirable lucidity and with a minuteness of detail which emboldens the reader to skip many an indigestible paragraph, confident that the facts are there, easy to find and to check if need be. No verbal account of so intricate a reconstruction could be followed without graphic illustrations at every stage; and this is lavishly supplied in sixty-six plates of finely executed line drawings and twenty-seven of photographs, in which the whole process of assembly is set forth with admirable clarity, from the smallest significant fragment to the completed structure.

Two points of particular historical interest are illuminated by the monument. The first is the existence in the first century A.D. of a school of native sculptors working, apparently, side by side with one of Italian origin. It is an interesting commentary on the vitality of Syrian artistic traditions, that the ceilings attributed to this school (grouped in the ground floor and northern staircases), exhibit substantially the same modes and methods of decoration as were to be applied seven centuries later to walls and balustrades worked in plaster for the Umayyad caliphs.

The second point concerns the ritual use of the altar. Connection had previously been suggested with the roof sacrifices attested in Semitic literature as early as the Ras Shamra epics. The authors believe, however, that the altar of sacrifice at Baalbek was probably the smaller stepped structure discovered by the German expedition immediately before the steps of the temple. The much larger building here described, with its four staircases and spacious roof terrace, is more plausibly interpreted as the ritual setting of that communal banquet which the same literary sources attest as the final act in the sacrificial rite.

It remains to congratulate MM. Collart and Coupel on an outstanding archaeological achievement, both for the interest of the monument it restores to existence and for the scholarly method of its presentation.

R. W. HAMILTON.

Παγκάρπεια, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*. Vol. II. (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, X.) Pp. lxxvii + 729; pll. 11. Brussels: Secrétariat des Editions, 1950. 600 Belgian fr.

For the first volume of this great commemorative collection, see *JHS* LXX (1950), 101. The second volume begins with the invaluable *Bibliographie de Henri Grégoire*, compiled by Marguerite Mathieu, which was promised in the first. All scholars owe a debt of gratitude to her industry and research.

The other contributions are as follows: Father Peeters discusses Vitalian's intrigues with Hypatius, nephew of Anastasius I. Baud-Bovy discusses the relation of music to metre in the 'kleftic' ballad. Blanken writes on the formation of the future in the Greek dialect of Corsica. Bonfante derives the Russian periphrastic future from Greek origins. Canard confirms from Arab documents the expedition of John I into Mesopotamia in the autumn of 972. Carnoy derives MGr. σμῖν, δσμῖν, from *hospitium*, a Roman military term for a billet. Chantaine discusses Greek verbs meaning 'to read'. Charanis gives a

sketch of piracy in the Aegean during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Charlier connects the *Chanson de Geste de 'Basin'* with an old 'tour Basin' at Huy. Cohen emphasises the importance of Grégoire's work on the origins of Byzantine and Western mediaeval epic. Dain summarises the history of the word τοῦλος (τοῦλος, τό τοῦλος), 'baggage-train', and suggests derivation from low Latin *ultus*. Delvoye discusses and illustrates a group of earlier and later Neolithic statuettes from Thessaly, which represent 'déeses dispensatrices de la fécondité'. Demougeot defends the prefect Rufinus against the accusations of Claudian. Der Nersessian suggests that the emperor's participation in the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross was discontinued at the time when Leo VI was denied access to the Sanctuary, in 906. De Strycker establishes the historicity of traditional incidents in the life of Socrates, and suggests criteria for the truth of such incidents. Dolley believes that the attempted assassination of Leo VI in the church of St. Mokios took place in 902. Dornseiff proves that *Iliad* X cannot be later than the *Odyssey*, and that parallel passages are reminiscences of the former in the latter. Falder-Feytmans and Hubaux discuss and illustrate two fourth century A.D. moulds for making silver bowls; the scenes illustrate Vergil's IVth *Georgic*. Ganshof claims that the title of *Patricius Romanorum*, assumed by Pippin III in 754, derived from that borne by the Exarchs of Ravenna; but that Pope Stephen conferred it on Pippin, not at the behest of Constantine V, but on his own initiative. Goubert throws doubt on the existence of the Caesar Germanicus, who is said to have married Charito, daughter of Tiberius II. Guillard shows that the δδραφ (corruption of δδραφ) was identical with the Tribunal of the XIX Couches, an open parade-ground to the west of the Consistory. Halkin analyses the new Bodleian *Synaxarium*, Mo, which hails from Trebizond and dates from c. 1300. Herrmann discusses Christian and pagan literary polemics of the time of Theodosius I and Eugenius. Jakobson and Ružičić trace to a common origin in Slav folk-lore the epics of the Russian Vseslav and the Serb Vuk Grgurović. Kallipolitis publishes an inscription which invokes the Pantokrator together with the Fortuna of the empire (Grégoire contributes a valuable note *ad calc.*). Lacombrade discusses a text of Synesius which suggests that Libanius was still alive in 404. Lacroix discusses coins which show the conical 'betyl' of Zeus Kasios. Lejeune studies the conjunction of the two names Roland and Oliver, and reaches the conclusions that 'aux environs de l'an mil déjà, existait un texte célébrant Roland et Olivier', and that 'C'est le Midi . . . méditerranéen et pyrénéen qui apparaît comme le premier berceau de cette histoire épique'. Lopez proves that the πρᾶσις (a besant devalued by one-sixteenth) was introduced by Nicephorus II, and the δύο πρᾶσις νόμισμα (a besant devalued by one-eighth) by John I; it is further shown that our text of the *Book of the Prefect* dates from the reign of the latter emperor. Marinesco contributes notes on some Byzantine ambassadors to the West in the first half of the fifteenth century. Massignon shows how tenth-century Baghdad regarded Byzantium from the financial, religious, and political points of view. Masson adopts the form εὐσεβέας for the Athenian scape-goat, and suggests that the sense is simply that of divine possession. Minorsky publishes Arab text, English translation, and explanatory notes of passages on the Byzantines from the Introduction to the *Properties of Animals* by Marzavi (twelfth to thirteenth centuries). Mirambel writes on the history and formation of MGr syntax, a comparatively little studied field. Palanque publishes a revised chronology for ministerial and regional prefects, A.D. 316-337. Pettazzoni illustrates early Russian belief in descent from the Sun-god, Dazbog, and adduces parallel conceptions from elsewhere. Pidal discusses the historical basis of the legend of the *Infantes de Salas*. Piganiol discusses the relation between the texts of the *Vita Constantini* and the *Triakontasterikos* of Eusebius. Pisani analyses I-E and other elements in the Albanian language, and traces its development in three historical stages. Polomé writes on 'Réflexes de Laryngales' in Armenian. Severyns discusses the summary entitled 'Ὅπως ποιεῖται ὁ Τροικός νόμος at f. 23^v-f. 24^r of MS. Vaticanus Ottoboni 58; its relation to Proclus, *περὶ τῶν Κεμπλῶν Νεγούτων μοναχῶν*; and its place in the MS. tradition of the *Iliad*. Sotiriou publishes an ikon of St. Peter from the St. Catherine monastery of Sinai, and shows that it is Alexandrine work of the sixth century. Unbegaun discusses the origin of the name 'Ruthenians', and how it became attached to the Russians. Vannérus suggests that the name *Heiden Tongeren* means 'Tongres-la-Païenne', rather than 'Tongres-la-Bruyère'. Vincent believes that the place-name *Rugnac* means 'endroit galeux', 'terrain dénudé, maigre, misérable'. Waszink suggests an ultimately Orphic origin for the myth of the Dreaming Kronos referred to in *Corpus Hermeticum* (ed. Nock-Festugière) X, 5, p. 115. Whittemore publishes a Byzantine Processional Cross, bearing a tenth-

century inscription, but of much earlier manufacture. Xyngopoulos publishes a twelfth-century ikon of the Constantinopolitan school, from the Loverdos collection. Zakythinos discusses Hellenistic origins of Byzantine state-organisation. Lévy supplies Hellenistic historical notes to the *Second Book of the Maccabees*.

Stengers ends the book on an unexpected note. In 1904 a Commission of Enquiry into the alleged ill-treatment of natives in the Congo sat at Boma. The proximate cause of the Enquiry was the publication in that year of a horrifying report by the British Consul, Roger Casement, who, twelve years later, expiated on the scaffold a dastardly treason against his fellow-subjects. The secretary to the Commission was none other than young Henri Grégoire! A worthy end to a worthy tribute!

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number VI. Pp. viii + 251, with 36 figures. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. \$7.50.

This volume of a series already justly renowned for the authority of its contributors and the abundant worth of its articles fully maintains the standard of its predecessors. Every contribution is from an author well known in his field; and several of the articles (Dvornik, Downey, Kitzinger, Anastos) are extracts from larger works in progress.

In *Emperors, Popes and Councils* Dvornik examines afresh the abstruse question of the emperor's precise function in ecclesiastical affairs, both doctrinal and administrative, in the early Byzantine empire. He finds that the emperor was universally allowed to be sole convoker of synods, which were modelled closely, both in form and procedure, on the Roman senate. Moreover, since he was, like his Hellenistic predecessors, God's representative on earth, he was universally allowed to be responsible for the spiritual welfare of his people, and hence for the maintenance of religious unity and orthodoxy, matters which vitally affected the state in its temporal aspect also. But he was never accepted by the Church as the authority in matters of doctrine, and indeed had no vote in the synods: he was defender, not definer, of the faith.

Grabar discusses *Un médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie*, now in the Hermitage at Leningrad. He identifies it as a prophylactic pectoral, probably made in Syria towards the end of the fourth century A.D. The central medallion presents three figures, the middle one of which is almost certainly Constantine the Great, in imperial vesture and being crowned by a celestial hand above his head. The flanking figures, who are, oddly, both female, make obeisance to him, and are clearly identified by their attributes as the Sun and Moon. Of special interest are the pre-Christian elements in the design, which G. is so well qualified to explain to us.

Downey, in *The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople*, discusses the respective claims of Constantine the Great and of his son Constantius to be the builder of this famous church. He traces the former back to the *Vita Constantini* of Eusebius, and points out that this information, along with 'a noticeable amount' of other material, cannot in fact be ascribed to Eusebius. On the contrary, the testimony in favour of Constantius as founder is far more trustworthy, and has the support of Procopius, Constantine of Rhodes, and Nicolas Mesarites, among other faithful witnesses. D. therefore accepts this version, and his arguments seem completely convincing. The article is admirably documented, and contains besides much valuable information on related topics, such as Constantine's 'Apostlehood'.

Kitzinger, in the first of three articles on *Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics*, studies the mosaics in the north and south transepts of the Church of St. Demetrius at Nikopolis (Actium). He establishes a strong probability that these mosaics date from the second quarter of the sixth century. The mosaic of the north transept is proved by its inscription to represent the earth with its trees and birds, surrounded by the teeming river of Ocean (a kind of *mappa mundi*). The corresponding mosaic of the south transept is puzzling: K. suggests that it represents the 'terrestrial paradise', and that the two figures of the central panel may be Enoch and Elijah, 'the only two human beings who have not known death'. The thesis is argued with great acumen, though other interpretations are, of course, possible. It is a pity that almost all the accompanying inscription, which no doubt gave the key to the riddle, is destroyed.

Anastos, writing on *The Immutability of Christ*, examines Justinian I's condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the twelfth anathema of the Fifth Oecumenical Council (553), with special reference to Theodore's contention that Christ was *πρωτότος* (mutable) until after the Resurrection. A. shows precisely what this contention signified, and that it involved a

completely unorthodox view of the Logos. Hence it was certainly heretical, and Justinian was fully justified in denouncing it.

Vasiliev ends the book with discussions of two purely historical matters: the *Second Russian Attack on Constantinople*, and *Hugh Capet of France, and Byzantium*. The first concerns the much discussed and recently revived problem of whether there was or was not a Russian attack on Byzantium in or about the year 907, as the *Primary Chronicle* states. No one could be better qualified to marshal the evidence and opinions *pro* and *con* than V., and he does so with his well-known thoroughness and encyclopaedic knowledge. He reaches a conclusion the sanity of which will give wide satisfaction: namely, that such an attack did take place, though assuredly not on the scale and with the triumphs claimed for it by Russian sources. On the evidence, we can get no further. V. seems to me to have said the last word.

His second study concerns Cardinal Gerbert's enigmatical letter (spring, 988) asking in the name of Hugh Capet for a 'filia sancti imperii' from Byzantium as a bride for Hugh's son Robert. V. shows grounds for believing that the letter was in fact never sent; and goes on to discuss what 'filia' of the imperial house Hugh could have had in mind. This leads on to a re-examination of the evidence concerning the identity of the famous princess Theophano, who was married to Otto II in 972. Was she, or was she not, as she purported to be, a daughter of Romanus II? V., relying on the inferential evidence of *De Cer.* 597/21, inclines to think that she was. As is well known, Ostrogorsky and Dölger take the opposite view; and where such doctors disagree, it is hardly for the reviewer to decide between them. V. might perhaps have let us know what he thinks of the evidence of Skutariotes on the point. He ends by rightly rejecting the claim of Liutgard, Countess of Holland, to be a daughter of Romanus II. How on earth could anyone called Liutgard be a Byzantine *τροπαιομένη*?

Altogether an excellent and valuable volume.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates. By GEORG OSTROGORSKY. (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII Abt., 1 Teil, 2 Band). Pp. xxiii + 496, 8 maps. 2nd ed., Munich, C. H. Beck, 1952. Sewn, RM. 36; bound, RM. 42.

This is the second edition of a work that has already become a classic. The first edition was not reviewed in these pages, because it came out in Germany during the war (1940), and was for a long time hard to come by in this country. The work forms the second volume of Part I of a *Byzantinisches Handbuch* in four volumes, planned as a section of Walter Otto's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*. The remaining three volumes were to be on *Land, Volk u. Sprache, Kirche u. Theologie, and Byzantinische Kunst*; but although O.'s contribution was substantially ready in 1937, none of the companion volumes has yet appeared. This, however, does not affect the value of *Geschichte des byz. Staates*, which is an historical synthesis complete in itself. The second edition is fifty pages longer than the first, and is by no means a mere reprint of it. Besides adding to and bringing up to date his notes and references, the author has recast a large number of his paragraphs, and in a few instances modified his opinions. To say that the second edition is even more valuable than the first is to give it the very highest praise.

It would be hard to think of a happier choice than that of O. to write this sorely needed book. By birth a Russian, by adoption a Yugoslav, speaking and writing German, French, and even English with equal charm and facility, he has at command all the resources of European scholarship in this field. There is scarcely any department in the long, complex history of Byzantium, whether political, religious, social, or economic, of which our knowledge has not been substantially promoted by his separate works. With the perfect equipment of a scholar he combines the happiest gifts of an historian, integrity, sanity of judgment, and crystal clarity of thought and expression, all in a very high degree. It is well that he has these gifts, for, without any one of them, he must have failed in the difficult task that he has set himself. He has succeeded in writing, in less than 500 pages, the history of 1100 years in a manner both intelligible and fascinating to the general reader, and also supremely valuable to the Byzantine scholar. That he has thought much on the method to be followed in writing a work on this scale is clear from his review of Bréhier's *Vie et Mort de Byzance* in *Byzantinoslavica* 10, 70. The danger to the non-specialist is that he may lose himself in a forest of unfamiliar facts (wars, political crises, palace intrigues), without being able to tell which are significant. Hence his path must be cut out and clearly finger-posted for him. The specialist is interested, not in facts (which he is supposed to know already), but in the interpretation and arrangement of the historian. Both there-

fore require a logical, coherent synthesis, shorn of the frivolous detail in which the mediaeval sources abound. A collection of events, if accurately recorded, may provide a useful *sprachotchnik*, or book of reference; it will not provide the general history, *obobshcheniye*, which O. here supplies.

With his 'non-specialist' in mind, O. tells his story *non per species sed per tempora*. This method, as well as avoiding otherwise unavoidable repetitions, greatly assists the general reader, since each section contains a summary of its political, religious, and economic background. But it imposes an additional burden on the author, who has to decide in each section how much space and significance to allot to each phase of Byzantine life, in order to produce a balanced picture of the whole. For the specialist, O. provides a documented summary of original sources in front of each chapter; a paragraph of bibliography in front of each section; and a quite invaluable series of footnotes to each page. Nothing escapes O. He has read everything, and remembered everything. With a justice and fair-mindedness that are beyond praise, he has sifted each contribution, however slight, commended its virtues, or pointed to its flaws. Seldom indeed has a work of this scope rested on surer foundations, or availed itself of a more comprehensive field of research.

This is not all. O. sees that it is not enough to select from existing source-material. It is occasionally necessary to rewrite it, so as to make it intelligible to a modern reader (*Byzantinistika*, 10, 71). It is obvious that this right must be conceded, and equally obvious that it can safely be conceded only to those with the widest knowledge and sanest judgement. Where sources are conflicting and fragmentary, it is fatally easy for a researcher to write stories which, purporting to be history, are in fact no more than agreeable fiction. In this perilous field the reader may follow O. with entire confidence. He has no ideological *parti-pris*, no preconceived conviction of what 'must have happened'. His many-sided, well-informed approach leads on from fact to fact, and his reconstructions are thus always trustworthy. One example may suffice. In the late summer of 913 the Bulgarian tsar Symeon appeared before the walls of Constantinople. His plan was to seize the imperial crown from the sickly child who wore it, and to found beneath it a Slavo-Byzantine empire, a plan which, 400 years later, floated before the eyes of the Serbian conqueror Dusan. The Byzantine regent and patriarch, Nicholas, who, from motives which are not now easy to discern, bore an inveterate hostility to the legitimate house, was disposed to fall in with this design. He invited Symeon within the walls. He promised that Symeon's daughter should marry the legitimate sovereign. He conferred on Symeon the title of emperor, and with his own hand placed a crown on his head. But the regent had overreached himself, and retribution was prompt. A wave of indignation at the concessions he had made to the barbarian swept him from his office, and restored to power the empress-mother Zoë, who governed as her son's consort during the next five years. Such is the sequence of events that O. himself has restored from a chronicler's rignarole of a practical joke and a child crying for his mother.

It is not possible to do more than indicate the main divisions of O.'s work, with very brief comment on them. For O., 'Das Zeitalter Justinians bedeutete nicht . . . den Beginn einer neuen Ära, sondern das Ende einer grossen dahinscheidenden Epoche' (65); 'Die Jahre der Anarchie unter Phocas bilden den letzten Ausklang der Geschichte des spätromischen Staates . . . Jetzt beginnt die byzantinische Geschichte im eigentlichen Sinn, die Geschichte des mittelalterlichen griechischen Kaiserreiches' (71). The thesis is no longer new, and is now generally accepted (*cf.* Grégoire, *Byzantion* 16, 550). O. is not blind to the continuity of tradition which carried on from the old epoch into the new: 'Römisches Staatswesen, griechische Kultur und christliche Glaube' (22) were the foundations after as before; and events such as the 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, the crowning of Leo I by the patriarch (50) and the 'starke Betonung des kaiserlichen Absolutismus' under Justinian (64) profoundly affected later Byzantine history. None the less, the empire of Heraklios and his successors was essentially different from that of Justinian; racially, geographically, socially, linguistically. The Slavs had driven a wedge between east and west (68), the Arabs had hemmed in the empire on the east and south, and the Armenians, that brave and highly gifted race whose fate it was to perform their highest achievements in the service of an empire and a culture not their own, had begun with Heraklios himself to play a dominant part in war and administration. The Latin had given place to the Greek as the tongue of church and state. And the system of *themata*, military provinces based on a free, land-holding peasantry, had superseded the old Roman system of *latifundia*. Whether the 'thematic' organisation of the empire did or did not originate with Heraklios himself, as O. (78, 82) believes, is

still disputed; *cf.*, most recently, Baynes, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 67, 380-1; and Pertusi, *Cost. Porf. De Thematibus* (1952), 110: 'se non vogliamo fare un mito dell' imperatore Eraclio, occorre sbarazzarci una buona volta dall' attribuire a lui la "creazione" dei temi . . . che non ha alcun fondamento storico' (which is farther than most of us would be prepared to go in confuting any statement whatever made by O.). It may be in point to remember that Heraklios came from Carthage, where the germ of the thematic system had already been planted by Maurice in the last years of the sixth century. But the question does not affect O.'s main contention, that the accession of Heraklios marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Mediterranean world.

The *Themenverfassung*, of course, brought with it a far-reaching social reform. But O. will still have nothing to do with the heresy, recently revived as an article of faith by Soviet Byzantinists (*cf.* Levchenko, *Viz. Vrem.*, n. s., 2, 326), that the *xoplov* of free peasants, presupposed by the *vépos γεωργικός*, owed its origin to immigrating Slavs; and he defends his view in an expanded note (109, n. 3). All he will admit is a general rejuvenation of the empire by Slavs who repopulated it in the sixth and seventh centuries. Even this may be to go too far. The evidence is admittedly scanty. But where Slavs are mentioned (*e.g.* Theoph. 366/16-20; Joh. Cam. *De Excid. Thess.* 514/11-515/31; *De Admin. Imp.*, ed. Moravcsik, cc. 49, 50/1-70), they seem to be doing more harm than good; and their contribution was in any case incomparably less than that of the Armenians.

The final achievement of the Heraklian house was the repulse of the assault of Muawiya in 674-8, which O. rightly sees as a 'Wendepunkt von welthistorischer Bedeutung' (102). But the Arab danger was by no means at an end, and the Bulgarian danger constantly growing. To meet them, the empire had recourse to the dynasty of Leo III, which indeed beat back the invaders, but revived the days of Christological controversy by its ikonoklasm. In explaining the origins of this movement, O. is, of course, in his element (129-33, 138-9); and he lays his finger on the vital significance of this controversy for relations between east and west (132-3). Restoration of Orthodoxy could not heal the breach. The universal state was divided in two empires, and, half a century later, the universal church in two papacies (150, 181-2).

The rise of the great middle-Byzantine empire O., following Grégoire, dates from the last of the Amorians, the unhappy Michael III (842; a more accurate date would be 856). It continued to expand during a century and three quarters, and coincided with the period of almost wholly Armenian supremacy. The Abbasid caliphate tottered and fell. Bulgaria, at the cost of fearful sacrifices, was reduced, first to a Byzantine vice-royalty, then to a Byzantine province. When Basil II died in 1025, there seemed no end to the probable expansion of Byzantine power. Yet the expansion had been over-hasty and too dearly bought. O. is, as always, clear and effective in exposing the social and economic cancer which was eating into the heart, behind so fair an outward seeming, the malignant growth of the 'Feudalmächte' (220-2). To combat it, the Macedonian sovereigns could only resort to palliatives. The land-laws of Romanus I and Constantine VII, excellently conceived in theory, could be enforced only spasmodically, if at all, in practice (219-22). An alternative was to create a loyal imperial navy from the populace of the capital, which could be relied on at least to protect the palace and person of the emperor at a crisis, and act as a counterweight to the Armenian troops devoted to the military barons of the east. O. rightly draws attention to the rise in status of the high admiral during the first half of the tenth century (202); see also Theoph. Cont. 383/5, and compare Leo Diac. 64/25 with the parallel passage in Cedr. II, 370/14-15.

By the eleventh century this dichotomy had fatally weakened the idea of legitimacy, and imperilled the unity of the whole imperial structure; (O. is perhaps premature in discerning this contempt for legitimacy among the feudal barons as early as the middle tenth century (239): Nikephoros II married the Augusta, Zimiskes the daughter of Constantine VII, and Bardas Skleros piqued himself on descent in the female line from the brother of Basil I; see Anon. *Synopsis Chronike*, 158/6-10). O.'s successive paragraphs which explore the gradual slackening of state control over finance, and the consequent decay of the whole economic foundation (*e.g.* 257-8, 263-4, 292-6, 311-4, 320-1, 382-6), are most illuminating. He sees that the roots of decline go deeper than mere events or personalities (*Byzantinistika*, 10, 71). The gallant efforts of Comneni and Palaeologi were time after time stultified by the hard facts of a continually contracting economy, which no financial reforms could relieve of burdens too great to be borne.

The skill with which O. guides us through the desperately complicated history of 'Byzanz als Kleinstadt' (378 ff.) is quite

remarkable. The pages describing the rise of the short-lived empire of Dushan are naturally pre-eminent. It is not possible to comment more fully on this brilliant section of the book; but many will feel on reading it that for the first time they have traversed this particular piece of country without becoming hopelessly lost in it.

This review is a nearly unqualified eulogium, and designedly so: not only because the book deserves it, but for another reason as well. One is often asked, by those for whom Bury's *Gibbon* is too formidable and the penetrating little analysis of Baynes too abstract, what work in English will give them a complete and coherent account of Byzantine history and civilisation. It is clear that, if only there were an English version of it, Ostrogorsky's *GBS* would be the answer. This review ends therefore with a plea for such a version. Since the above was written, the second edition of A. A. Vasiliev's *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1952) has appeared, and this goes far towards filling the gap. But a translation of O. remains an urgent desideratum.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Justinian and his Age. By P. N. URE. Pp. 262, 16 pll., 5 maps. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 2s.

Professor Ure has dealt with his subject in a novel and stimulating way. The age of Justinian is rich in contemporary authorities, and for the most part he has let them speak for themselves. Chapters II to IV on the Wars are a summary, with frequent quotations, of Procopius' books on the Wars. Chapter V on the Peace with Persia consists of extracts from Agathias and Menander Protector. Chapter VI on the Bureaucracy is largely composed of summarised translations from Cassiodorus' *Variae*, the Digest, the Novels, and Lydus' *de magistratibus*. In Chapter VII on Church and Circus he quotes extensively from the Novels and Procopius' *Secret History*, while Chapter VIII on the Laws consists mostly of summaries of the former, and Chapter X on Theodora, Antonina, and John the Cappadocian of extracts from the latter. Chapter IX on the writers quotes extensively from their works, and Chapter XI on the buildings is mainly a summary of Procopius' *de aedificiis*. Writing in his own person the author confines himself to the necessary minimum of description and narrative required to put the ancient authorities in their setting, and to reflections, of a rather moralising character, on the character of the age.

The book is rather superficial. Viewing the period through the eyes of the contemporary authorities, the author tends to ignore all aspects of it in which they were not interested. He tells the reader nothing, for instance, of the economic life of the empire. He ignores the *coloni* who supported the aristocracy and the church by the rents that they paid and the state by the land tax. In his account of the bureaucracy he does not mention the *suffragium*, the root cause of the financial extortion and judicial corruption which disfigured the administration, though in this case Justinian's Novels vividly illustrate his struggle against the abuse. In his long account of the wars he does not tell the reader anything of the armies which fought them, how and where they were recruited, how they were paid, where their officers were drawn. Nor does he tell us anything of popular religion, which is so richly illustrated by contemporary hagiography.

Despite these defects—and a number of inaccuracies in matters of detail—the book is an excellent introduction to the period for the general reader. By apt quotation it gives a vivid and intimate picture of many sides of life under Justinian, and it reveals to the reader the richness and diversity of the information which we possess on his reign.

A. H. M. JONES.

Le Péloponnèse Byzantin jusqu'en 1204. By A. BON. Pp. xii + 231. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 800 fr.

Greece is at last progressively finding its way into the realm of medieval studies. From a limited number of researches undertaken during the past hundred years, we know that it continued its existence after Hadrian and Herodes Atticus, and even had a history before Byron. We do not now dismiss ten centuries of south-eastern Europe quite as casually as Voltaire tossed off 'le byzantinisme', nor do we re-create Balkan history by relegating its last five blankly to an Ottoman limbo. Yet the gradually increasing interest in this field has neither had much influence on the popular conception of Greece, nor even notably dented the ignorance of some historians. Our knowledge of man is the weaker for supposing that Greek history, with its peculiar illumination of the human condition, ended with the arrival of Mummichus and the Legions. For the history hitherto largely locked in pedantic Byzantine annals, crabbed popular chronicles, and the obscure archives of Italian cities describes not only Greece, but an intricate, interlocking pattern of

nations, coalesced or pitted against each other, playing itself out upon her ever strategic soil.

Every step is welcome that brings this long period closer to our view, or helps to show the continuity of a race whose life was made to stop so abruptly by the aesthetic predilections of the Renaissance. Professor Bon's study of the Peloponnese from the end of Antiquity to its conquest in the wake of the Fourth Crusade is to be hailed for clarifying the murkiest of its centuries since pre-history itself.

Not an easy task. Professor Bon has set himself to piece together a history largely unwritten. The variety of his sources is of particular interest: few of them are written either. The bare framework of events is provided by the fragmentary references to the province of the Morea in such writers as Procopius, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Cedrenus, Theophanes, Phrantzes, and Michael and Nicetas of Chonae: contemporary sources too scant and contradictory to indicate much more than the abandonment of the Imperial provinces, in the full blaze of Byzantine civilisation, to the status of a ring of buffer states. During a residence of twenty years in Greece, Professor Bon has been stimulated by this scarcity of historical record to subject it to some of the incontrovertible proofs or disproofs of archaeological and topographical investigation. In a time when most of the specialised fields of knowledge have gone separately into purdah, it is heartening to find in the author both a historian and an archaeologist, with the enviable quality—rare in either—of profoundly understanding the country he writes about. His knowledge of the life, customs, and language of the Greek people to-day, a living vessel of tradition, gives him (without anywhere blurring his scholarship) a way of understanding how events have taken place in the past, and lends a blessed atmosphere of common sense to his analyses of those events or periods which have been either distorted or lost to view.

His contribution has been to set side by side all the relative primary and secondary sources, and to equate them with whatever material evidence—church architecture, coins, documents, nomenclature of towns and villages—may be claimed to date from the post-classical and early Byzantine period. His cautious but searching method reveals to us how, in the first centuries of our era, the Peloponnese, by-passed by the Via Egnatia linking the two Romes overland through Macedonia, fell gradually out of the stream of commerce and communication, into the state of agricultural self-sufficiency, unimportant in the structure of the Empire, in which it was to remain until the arrival of the crusaders in the thirteenth century. Its ancient cities became villages, or disappeared from the map, while the memory of the classical past faded out before the spread of Christianity, decentralisation, and the steady infiltration of new inhabitants. It was against these that Justinian fortified the two bottlenecks along the traditional invasion routes, Thermopylae and the Isthmus; but from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the ninth century there continued the uneventful incursion of nomad Slavic tribes, about which little has been known heretofore than what differing reports tell us, that for a period of two hundred and eighteen years the Peloponnese was either entirely, or not at all, slavonised. Professor Bon adds some interesting evidence to support both sides of the controversy, noting the effect of these invasions in the local disappearance of Byzantine coins; the vanishing of old place-names and the appearance of new; the presence of small hoards; the lack of official documents; and the absence of Byzantine buildings earlier than the seventh century—all of which would indicate a period of destruction, the loss of political contact with the capital, and the flight of the Greek population to mountain or coastal cities.

More impressive than Greece's susceptibility to invasion has been her capacity for assimilating the invaders. M. Bon deals at length with the civil, ecclesiastical, and military organisation of the Peloponnese which, soon after 800, re-emerged to history under centralised Byzantine rule; with the artistic renaissance exemplified by its church architecture; and the commerce, which grew up once again round its ports, and attracted the ominous attentions of Venice. This, together with the strangely unwarlike character of the population, the displacement of an independent, land-owning peasantry by powerful lords committed more to self-aggrandisement and private wars than to any systematic defence of the Empire, were the main factors in bringing down destruction on Byzantium at the hands of the largest army ever gathered under the sign of the Cross.

Professor Bon's study of an obscure millenium lacks only that value which would have accrued, as he himself admits, from the thorough archaeological examination of some of the sites which figure in his narrative. His researches on Acrocorinth and the castles of Central Greece have produced the first chronology of medieval fortress architecture in that country. It is to be regretted that he was not able in this volume to give fuller

treatment to those early Byzantine citadels whose walls, all over Greece, tell us, more eloquently than written records, of the centuries when a Christian civilisation was born out of the death of the Ancient World. We may look forward, however, to the forthcoming sequel, in which M. Bon will deal with the Principality founded by the Frankish crusaders in the Peloponnese in 1205.

KEVIN ANDREWS.

Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art. By K. WEITZMANN. Pp. xii + 218, 60 pll. Princeton: University Press, 1951 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 78s.

This book represents a further stage in the publication of Dr. Weitzmann's theory of Byzantine book illustration. In his *Illustration in Roll and Codex* his purpose was to deal in a more general way with origins, and to demonstrate the existence of book illustration from the Hellenistic period onwards, from which the Byzantine versions could derive. We now come to the Byzantine versions themselves, the existence of classical prototypes being assumed. Dr. Weitzmann takes as his basis a group of eleventh-century illustrated manuscripts, of the Commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnus on two of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, and of the *Gynaecica* of Pseudo-Oppian; of the former group the principal manuscripts are Jerusalem Cod. Taphou 42 and Vatican Cod. gr. 1947; of the latter Marciana Cod. gr. 479. His aim is to demonstrate the derivation of many of the miniatures from an original classical source. The ultimate sources are assumed to have been editions of classical authors, and the most important means of transmission copies of them. The clues of existing texts and of parallel supposed copies in other arts are followed up to the point where they indicate such an ultimate ancestor. The most important of these is claimed to be the illustrated *Bibliothèque* ascribed to Apollodorus, but Dr. Weitzmann also claims that the evidence points to illustrated editions of a Heracles cycle, an *Achilleis* similar to that of Statius, cycles of illustrations to the *Iliad*, to the plays of Euripides, to Bucolic poetry, and to a version of the Dionysus story, Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander Romance, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. This main section of the book is supported by a similar treatment of those ivories in the Goldschmidt-Weitzmann group of 'Antikisierende Kästen' with similar motives.

Continuity of this sort from the Hellenistic to the late Roman period may be assumed, and can in general be demonstrated without difficulty; the same thing from the Hellenistic to the Middle Byzantine is another matter. It is here that the difficulty lies. Dr. Weitzmann goes through each group of manuscripts subject by subject, refers the illustration to the text to which it seems most suited, and from this sum deduces an existing or lost original. One cannot help feeling that he has proved too much. His conclusions involve the existence of a huge number of manuscripts of which there is no trace; in some instances, e.g. the Bellerophon and the Pelops and Oenomaus scenes, the reasons for supposing the existence of any text besides the Pseudo-Nonnus are not convincing; and in one—Athena springing from the head of Zeus—the supposition of copying throughout the classical period is frankly incredible. The theory as a whole seems too exclusive. It is possible to agree on the antique origin of many of the scenes—it is in most cases inevitable that one should—and still feel that in a milieu like that of Middle Byzantine Constantinople other originals besides these hypothetical illustrated manuscripts may have existed.

But even if Dr. Weitzmann's theory of origin and transmission is not altogether acceptable, this book provides a very full picture of the nature of this Middle Byzantine Art. This was a learned art. It often repeats much of the antique manner; in Iconography it even more often borrows wholesale from the antique; but in doing so it is always selective. It adapts its borrowings to its own ends, and the range of these borrowings goes far beyond originals in the narrow field of Pagan mythology. There are scenes and figures with origins in 'aristocratic' psalters (figs. 114-16 and p. 108), in Octateuchs (e.g. fig. 101 and p. 97-8), and in contemporary histories (e.g. fig. 134 and p. 117). The number and variety in types of manuscripts used as sources, or which are parallel copies from a lost original, is considerable. In some cases the process has plainly been one of copying; in some, one of the repetition of stock-in-trade motives, such as the figures in Imperial robes, or the idols on their columns; others, such as the Quarrel at the right of fig. 143, the 'Power of Love' scene in the Marciana Oppian, are certainly Byzantine, and may be original.

The manuscripts themselves confine the book almost exclusively to mythological scenes, but the classical origin extends also to the hunting group in the Pseudo-Oppian (figs. 114 (part), 127-31). Almost all this group is taken from the Ro-

man hunting genre, most often preserved on Roman mosaics, notably from North Africa, though it must have been common in other arts as well. It bears on Dr. Weitzmann's theory of transmission that the many similarities between examples in the comparatively small field of Roman and late Roman mosaics are believed to be due to the use of Model Books standing in somewhat the same relationship to them as the illustrated Apollodorus and the rest are said to stand to these Middle Byzantine miniatures. The theory has been brought forward to explain Roman mosaics as early as the Barberini example from Praeneste and as late as Kabr-Hiram in the sixth century. For the former Schmidt (*Das Barberinische Mosaik*, 1929, 80-1) suggests such a book based on Aelian *ἡσπ. 360v* or Nicander *ἡσπ. 60v*, but most Roman mosaics are far from such a prototype, and Rostovtzev (*Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, 1, 311 n. 34) suggests credibly that illustrated books on zoology may often have been the origin. The usual difficulty, in fact, is exactly that of finding any possible prototype, and it may be that Bethe (*Buch und Bild im Altertum*, 75 f.) is right in supposing the existence of illustrated rolls with no text at all (his supposed source for the reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius).

It is Dr. Weitzmann's theory that book illustration dates from the early Hellenistic age; (by clear implication) that these prototypes can in part be reconstructed by combining the Middle Byzantine illustrations with the earliest and most suitable text; and therefore that ultimately the history of classical book illustration can be written. This last may or may not be true; as Dr. Weitzmann himself says, it is, at least, a very long way off. What is certainly true is that no one has done more groundwork for it than Dr. Weitzmann himself. This new study is of great value for the understanding of Middle Byzantine art, and the extent of the Classical heritage, however transmitted, in the libraries and the University of Constantinople. The general character of the Macedonian Renaissance is well understood, but the degree and nature of the dependence on the Classical past have never been made clearer than they are here in the vital field of book illustration; Dr. Weitzmann's summary of one kind of influence the Roman Empire really had on the Byzantine is of great and general value.

GERARD BRETT.

The Hymns of the Octoechos, Part II. Transcribed by H. J. W. TILLYARD. *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Series Transcripta*, Vol. V. Pp. vii + 214. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1949. 18 Dan. crowns.

Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium. Transcribed by H. J. W. TILLYARD. *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Series Transcripta*, Vol. IV, American series, no. 2. Pp. xli + 129. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1952 (London: Hugh Rees Ltd.). 25s.

The Octoechos is the service book of the Orthodox Church which contains the Sunday Offices starting with the Vespers on Saturday. The hymns of the Octoechos are arranged in a sequence for eight consecutive Sundays, the hymns of the first Sunday being in the first Mode, those of the second Sunday in the second mode, and so on. After the eighth Sunday the sequence is repeated through the cycle of the ecclesiastical year.

The hymns are to be found in the *Sticheraria*. These are collections of monostrophic hymns sung during the Office after the cantillation of a verse from a psalm; they form the last part of these bulky Codices, of which only a small number has come down to us in a complete state. Professor H. J. W. Tillyard has given a full description of the content of the Octoechos in the preface to Volume I published in 1940. His transcriptions are based in the main on two sources; on Codex Vindobonensis theologicus 181, written by Joannes Dalassinos in 1217 or 1221 and Codex Atheniensis 974, dating probably from the thirteenth century. In addition, a number of other MSS. have been consulted and are referred to in the apparatus criticus.

Volume II contains: (1) the Stichera prosomoia, (2) the Morning hymns of the Emperor Leo, (3) the Resurrection Verses, (4) the Dogmatic hymns for Our Lady by John Damascene, and (5) the Staurotheotokia or hymns of Our Lady of the Cross. The two last groups are the largest and also, from the artistic point of view, the most important. As Professor Tillyard rightly remarks, hymns of the first group, the Stichera Prosomoia, do not belong to the original Octoechos; they were added at a later date and 'do not observe the rotation of the eight modes'.

Professor Tillyard's publication of the Hymns of the Octoechos deserves the highest praise. The present writer has followed his efforts to solve the problems of Byzantine musical notation for more than thirty years and had the privilege of collaborating with him during the last twenty years; he knows the difficulty, particularly in richly ornamented hymns, of deciding where the scribe misread or omitted a musical sign.

Professor Tillyard's notes, appended to each hymn, are masterpieces of textual criticism; they provide the student with all the material he needs, to see how the transcription was done, where corrections had to be made, and to make his choice of variant readings.

The publication of the two volumes of hymns of the Octoechos is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of Byzantine music. It also makes it possible to trace connections between the texts and the music of the Eastern and Western Churches. Such a connection, for example, can be seen between the texts of the Staurotheotokion Πασιπρωτην τῇ σπουδῇ—to which Professor Tillyard has added a Latin translation—and the Latin Complaints of the Blessed Virgin which culminate in the Stabat Mater.

The American Series of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae owes its existence to the generosity of the late Thomas Whittemore, Director of the Byzantine Institute in Boston, who wanted 'to fill the gap caused by the temporary interruption of the publication of the MMB in German occupied Denmark'. This fact explains the layout of Tillyard's publication which was outside the general plan of the main series of Transcripts. Printing difficulties during the war and the death of Whittemore delayed the publication for nearly ten years.

The Hirmologium from the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is of later date than the famous Hirmologium Cryptense of which we now have a magnificent facsimile edition. (MMB Facs. vol. III). The collection from the Trinity MS. therefore enables students to see the changes in the melodic structure which are due not only to local usage but also to the development of hirmological chant from a simple, mostly syllabic pattern to a more elaborate one. The Introduction gives a concise survey of the significance of the musical, rhythmical, and dynamic signs; the Commentary deals with ambiguities in the notation and errors of the scribe. Important variants are given at the end of the transcription of each Ode. An English translation of the text of a model stanza which precedes the music, and a Latin version printed under the Greek text, will facilitate the use of the transcriptions by musicologists who are not familiar with Byzantine Greek.

Together with Tillyard's *Handbook of Middle Byzantine Notation* (1935) the *Twenty Canons* provides a perfect introduction to the study of the style of the melodies of the Canons and of their notation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Professor Tillyard may be congratulated on his latest publication; it is a work of the highest standard.

E. J. WELLESZ.

Les grecs de Cargèse (Corse). Tome 1, Partie linguistique. By G. BLANKEN. Pp. xix + 322. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1951. Fl. 17.50.

In the year 1675 a company of Greeks, men, women, and children, to the number of six or seven hundred, under the protection of Genoa sailed away from Vitylo in Mani; the recent taking of Crete by the Turks having been a very heavy blow to the position of the Christians in Greece. The emigrants reached Genoa; then Corsica, and there they rested in the village of Cargese built to receive them. The immigrants brought with them the local Mani dialect of the Greek language, and this they were helped to retain by the liturgical use of Greek, although as the price of their protection the Genoese insisted on their abandoning their orthodox faith, which they did slowly and reluctantly, becoming Uniates. In the midst of an Italian-speaking population the Greek language, very certainly from the middle of the nineteenth century, has been in rapid decline, and there are now only a very few people left to speak or even to understand it. Our author speaks of only one family in which Greek is spoken regularly; when I was at Cargese in 1926 there were said to be two.

It is to this disappearing form of Greek that Dr. Blanken has devoted this substantial and learned volume; a second volume, to contain historical material and an *index verborum*, is to follow. Of this present volume pp. 1–XIX and 1–86, introductory material and a chapter on the phonetics of the dialect, were published already in 1947 under the title, *Introduction à une étude du dialecte grec de Cargèse*; the present volume adds to this a morphology of the language and chapters on syntax and lexicography; it ends with a few dialect texts and historical documents.

The reader may think that more than 300 pages and a second volume to follow is rather much for the Greek of Cargese. But the dialect is itself interesting, and the fact that it has been split off from the dialect of Mani nearly three hundred years ago makes a comparison between the two useful for the recent history of both of them. This use of the contemporary dialects for the reconstruction of the history of the language was well pointed out by the late Professor George Hatzidakis, and I take a few examples from this Mani-Cargese area. In Mani there is a

curious imperative passive in -ω, ζούσῃς for ζέσῃς, and so on, and Mirambel in his book on the dialect of Mani regards this, though for reasons which I do not follow, as not very old. Its absence from Cargese, where the ordinary ending, -ου, -ου, is used, does, however, suggest that it shaped itself, I think from the aorist indicative in -ω, in Mani after the departure of the settlers for Cargese. Similarly, there is a set of words like μάτι, eyes, in which in Mani an epenthetic ι appears before the consonant—generally a dental or p—and the ι itself disappears, leaving only a softened pronunciation of the τ or other consonant. These forms, well attested for Mani, are not heard at Cargese, and would therefore seem to be in Mani a recent formation. Again: the future in Mani is expressed not by εἶ followed by the subjunctive, but by the earlier combination εἶ + and the subjunctive. That at Cargese we find neither of these, but the earlier medieval form with εἶ + and the subjunctive, indicates that three hundred years ago Mani was still using not even εἶ + but εἶ + with the subjunctive. Medieval and contemporary Cypriote is the only other case I know of in which we can get, in that case directly, at any dialect in two successive chronological stages: the only pity is that the fewness of the Greek-speakers at Cargese must leave many gaps in the tradition of the dialect.

These remarks will, I hope, show students of the modern language the importance of this carefully written book, in which all the information has been brought together and thoroughly studied. Several difficult questions, notably that of the disappearance of final sigma, are treated very judiciously. The lexicographical chapters are excellent and learned, and now that the great Athens lexicon has advanced no further than β, of the very greatest service. We learn, for example, that τὸ λαμπρόν, that which is bright, is the word used for fire; here and, so far as I know, only in Cyprus. Here and in Tsakonian only does κίπρις mean not to stoop but, like κίπρις, κίπρις, to go to bed. It is natural to regard such usages, now isolated, as survivals from a time when they were much more widely spread, and they suggest to us that the medieval vocabulary of the spoken language may have been widely different from that in use today. I have tried to show the general interest of this book, and it remains only to say that to get its full value it should be studied side by side with Professor André Mirambel's *Étude descriptive du parler mainote méridional*, Paris, 1929.

R. M. DAWKINS.

Forty-five Stories from the Dodecanese. Edited and translated from the MSS. of Jacob Zarraftis by R. M. DAWKINS. Pp. xi + 560. Cambridge University Press, 1950. £5 5s.

This recent book of stories from the Dodecanese published by Professor Dawkins consists of forty-five stories from the islands of Cos, Leros, and Astypalaia, which were taken down by Jacob Zarraftis on behalf of Dr. W. H. D. Rouse some forty years ago. Professor Dawkins has edited, translated, and annotated these with scholarly precision and a wide knowledge and appreciation of Modern Greek folk-lore.

This interesting collection falls into three main groups: (a) pure fairy tales (nos. 1–17); (b) Wit and Wisdom stories, illustrating the rustic philosophy of village life (nos. 18–31) and (c) stories of what might pass for real life (nos. 32–45). As Professor Dawkins points out in his excellent introductory chapters, only three of these stories may be certainly held to have a written origin or to depend upon a literary tradition (nos. 24, 31, 45), and very few of them seem to have a foreign (Islamic, Italian, North Balkan, or Jewish) origin. The great bulk of this collection belongs to the Eastern part of the historic Greek area, and is a remnant of the stories current in Greek Asia Minor before the Hellenes of that region were conquered by the Turks; they continued to be current there until the Greeks were finally expelled in 1922. He supports this view with much important linguistic and other evidence. And indeed the spirit which permeates these stories is essentially Greek. The centre of the picture is always occupied by human beings; supernatural beings and descriptions of landscapes are kept in the background. The family ties are strong, especially between mother and children, the social virtue most admired is hospitality, elegant manners are praised but not always displayed, charity is extolled and practised, and the priest is regarded very much as any other person. Moreover, all the stories have a happy ending; vice is punished, and virtue and intelligence always rewarded. The narrative is, of course, on the whole very simple, and many of the stories may appear rather dull to the modern reader, but there is always a certain liveliness in the dialogue and frequent comic relief. What is striking in this collection, in view of the long centuries of Turkish domination of the islands, is the extremely slight contribution of anything Turkish.

Of the many interesting linguistic and folk-lore elements in this book perhaps the most remarkable is a relic of the ancient world, for such points of contact with antiquity are relatively rare in Modern Greek folk-lore. This is the survival in story No. 33 (The Fairy's Revenge) of what appears to be the legend of Erysichthon. In the Coan story the son of the king of Myrmidoniā had the grove of the fairy Dimitroula cut down and was punished by the fairy with a ravening hunger; he died miserably after selling his son and trying to sell his daughter in order to get money for food. The name of the outraged fairy, Dimitroula, the punishment with ravening hunger (and even certain details, the blood shed by the tree, the weapon left sticking in the tree, the appearance of Hunger to the guilty man in his sleep, etc.) recall the legend of Erysichthon as treated by Callimachus in his Hymn to Demeter and by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. The two ancient versions differ, and in the Coan story there are points of contact with both. It appears probable, therefore, that Hellenistic poetry had taken the Erysichthon legend from popular lore and that in the Coan story we see a survival of the original local myth. For in its pursuit of originality Alexandrian poetry often drew on local versions of Panhellenic myths and the island of Cos had, as is known, a close connexion with the great Alexandrian poets.

The chapter on dialect and the glossary which conclude the book are of great help to the reader. There are in the latter a few misunderstandings of meanings (e.g. *κατηλοβαρτισμένος* does not mean 'baptised below a church lamp', but means the child hurriedly baptised—because in danger of death—by making the sign of the cross with a finger dipped in the oil of the lamp hanging in front of the icons), which are almost inevitable in a field of studies where good dictionaries hardly exist. But there are also some excellent new derivations and explanations of words (e.g. *παραβόλῃ* from *παράβωλα*, the round sticks to which in a loom the sets of warp, *τὰ πύρια*, are fastened).

This work, so admirably produced by the Cambridge University Press, is indeed an important contribution to Mediaeval and Modern Greek studies.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

Legende von Homer, dem fahrenden Sänger. By FRITZ SCHADEWALDT. Pp. 62. Potsdam: Eduard Stuchnot, 1942. DM. 10.

In 1942 the noted Homeric scholar Professor Fritz Schade-waldt contrived to publish in Germany a revised edition of his lively and beautifully printed translation of the *Vita Herodotea* and the *Certamen*, with eleven powerful etchings illustrating scenes of the story, and a kind of introduction at the end. There he maintains the view, probable within limits, that the late documents depend on sixth-century sources in the tradition of Homeridae, and indeed that some of the narrative may well be actually true, not only of early, impoverished Greek singers, but sometimes of Homer himself, though he was one who sang in palaces, and was hardly a poor man, and though his blindness is not a true part of individual biography, but a general attribute. He finds space to observe that Melesigenes means not 'son of the river Meles' but 'one who cares for his own people'; and that if, in the documents, older and newer material occur together, that is just something characteristic of human affairs. He translates the Greek hexameters into German hexameters which seem to me as lively as his prose. I should not have thought the probabilities concerning the *Vita* and the *Certamen* could have been expressed so shortly, though on the whole I agree with Allen myself. But it is hard to doubt that the artistic little publication has served, and can continue to serve, the interest of a good kind of 'humanism' very successfully, and very much where it is needed.

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis. Ed. by A. TURYN. Pp. xii + 403. Oxford: Blackwell, 1952. 32s. 6d.

This is a photographic reproduction of the edition published by the Polish Academy. Its history is:

A. Epinicia (only), New York, 1944: photolithographic reproduction from sheets (at that time still unpublished) of B. Reviewed by E. S. Forster, *JHS* LXIV, 121.

B. Carmina cum fragmentis, Cracow, 1948. Reviewed by H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* LXXI, 267 f. (review relating to fragments only, and referring to Forster for epinicia).

C. Carmina cum fragmentis, Oxford, Blackwell, 1952: photolithographic reproduction from B.

It remains only to thank the present publishers for making this otherwise rather inaccessible edition available.

Empedokles. By WALTHER KRANZ. Pp. 392, 3 pl. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949. Sw. Fr. 13.80.

The author has a better right than most to discuss Empedokles, seeing that he is the reviser of the standard *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* and an enthusiast for the Akragantine sage. He gives an account of his surroundings, life and doctrine, and his influence, direct and indirect, upon posterity, which has this defect, that so much is crammed into 112 small pages as to make quite hard reading, despite the interest of the matter and the clarity of Kranz's style. Following on this come the life of the philosopher from Diogenes Laertius and the fragments, the whole in a German translation. This much a classicist may fairly criticise; the rest of the book is not germane to this periodical, for it deals with the imaginative treatment of Empedokles' death by the poet Hölderlin. But in the first part, where so much is factual and an honest warning is sounded (p. 5) that a certain amount of conjecture is necessarily employed, there is little to object to, unless it be the over-abundance of material, already mentioned. Merely to list a few differences of opinion on minor and unessential points would be of little value.

H. J. ROSE.

Sophocles the Dramatist. By A. J. A. WALDOCK. Pp. viii + 234. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 16s.

This little book by the late A. J. A. Waldo, that remarkable man who was Challis Professor of English Literature in the University of Sydney, was completed in 1949, only a few months before his death. His theme is that Sophocles is first and foremost a dramatist, that the plot of the play is his main preoccupation: it is our study of Sophocles the dramatist that will enable us to appreciate what the great poet and profoundly wise man has to say. Waldo writes with a deep appreciation of great poetry; one supposes that he was not a professional student of Greek, but always retained some of the Greek he learned as a young man, and read the poets again and again. He was a man of ripe scholarship, who knew well the great works of later literature and could draw upon a rich store of knowledge and illustrative material.

Sometimes W. overstates his argument: and so he perhaps solves too easily some of the serious difficulties of interpretation of this wonderful and difficult poet. But it is a most lively and interesting book, written in a lucid, vigorous, and flexible style, in which the author can express easily anything he wants to say. It is to be hoped that very many students of Greek drama will read it.

M. HARTLEY.

Plato's Charmides. By T. G. TUCKEY. Pp. ix + 116. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 12s. 6d.

This essay appears posthumously in the *Cambridge Classical Studies* series; the author, a Scholar and a Bye-Fellow of Magdalene, was killed in action in 1944. The editors of the series acknowledge the help of the Rev. R. F. Hipwell in preparing the manuscript for publication, and the Rev. G. K. Tibbatts contributes a moving foreword on the author's personality.

The main aim of the work is to establish the unity of the *Charmides* as representing a stage in Plato's developing thought. Its early date is rightly emphasised, to the rejection of all attempts to find implied in it the Theory of Forms. The author divides his analysis and exposition between the ethical and political bearings of the successive definitions of *σωφροσύνη* and the logical problems involved in the discussion of *ἐπιστήμη* *ἐπιστήμης*. He brings out in particular the significance here of the formula *τὸ τὸ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον* in relation to its later use in the *Republic*. The dialogue is commended as a first-rate introduction to Plato's work, showing him deeply influenced by the personality of Socrates and by political disillusionment, and at the same time imposing upon himself 'a stern discipline of thought', involving 'a careful scrutiny of certain verbal ambiguities' (p. 106), in the attempt to arrive at a philosophical system. The author's argument is at all points clear and his conclusions judicious; and the essay, though inevitably slight in scale, stands as a valuable contribution towards future work on the dialogue.

D. TARRANT.

Platon: Les Lois. Texte établi et traduit par É. DES PLACES; introduction de A. DREIS et L. GERNET. Vols. I and II (Association G. Budé). Pp. ccxvii + 70 x 2, 154 x 2. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951. Price not stated.

In these volumes, the eleventh and twelfth of the Budé Plato, a valuable beginning is made upon the *Laws*, carrying the text and translation as far as the end of VI. Professor DREIS in his

general introduction is at pains to stress the elements of consistency between the *Laws* and Plato's earlier work, especially the *Republic*; a remark on p. lxxix is typical—'Les Lois, derrière l'identité persistante et la divinité de l'Intellect, supposent encore l'identité et la divinité des Formes ou Idées'. He gives a useful bibliography. Professor L. Gernet contributes a second introductory essay on the legal and constitutional content of the work.

The text, mainly conservative, carries a very full apparatus. The translation is graceful and readable; the explanatory notes, brief but valuable, deal frequently with points of reading. Due attention is paid to recent work on the dialogue. Examples of useful exegesis are the notes on πῦρ, 687 e; ἡν, 763 c (reference to L. A. Post in *ASP*); and the Homeric quotation at 777 a. The rest of the Budé *Laws* will be awaited with keen expectation.

D. TARRANT.

Aristides: To Rome. Translation with notes and introduction by S. LEVIN. Pp. 31. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950. \$1.

This translation of Aristides' panegyric on Rome is, so far as its author knows, the first to appear in English, in which language there is notably little written on the oration. I have certainly never heard of another rendering of the full text, and the present one is therefore very welcome.

In his preface Mr. Levin makes what many will consider an unfortunate decision, for he disclaims any attempt to write in a style comparable with the original, his reasons being that no such style exists in modern English and that striving after literalness would actually disguise the meaning. To an English reviewer this seems not strictly true if the term modern is allowed to include Victorian English or its American equivalent; and even in our own generation ceremonial oratory in the presentation of the great for honorary degrees has been known to recall Aristides. It is also misleading, for such a mannered form of writing as ancient panegyric is not only a style but amounts nearly to a cast of mind. If this cast of mind is a peculiarly alien thing in America, it needs to be presented with all the greater care. The reader is hardly brought into contact with it by such expressions as 'double-crossed', 'screened', 'emergency militia', or even 'prizefighter'. If these are honest modern names for things differently named by Aristides, they should appear in commentary and not in translation. Mr. Levin seems sometimes so anxious to show the modern reader that he sees through his author as to strip him of his essential manner.

The Introduction and Notes are slight, but give the necessary minimum of information for the general reader who wants the background sketched and the allusions explained, whether literary or contemporary. Among modern authorities consulted Rostovtzeff, Wilamowitz, A. Boulanger, and the *CAH* naturally appear, but, for criticism of Aristides' festive picture, Heitland (*Last Words on Roman Municipalities*, 164 ff.) might have been quoted to show a wider public that classical historians do not swallow the panegyric whole, but in their zeal for truth can sometimes make insufficient allowance for the set form of ancient encomium. In a historical estimate it would have been worthwhile to say more of other Greek writers of the second century A.D. who treat the same matter rather differently, such as Dio Chrysostom in his orations *On Kingship* and Plutarch in his *Præcepta reipublicæ gerendæ*. Among articles quoted on the text there is no reference to V. Bartoletti 'Per l'encomio di Roma di Elio Aristide' (*SIFC* XLIII, 1935, 209 ff.).

E. D. PHILLIPS.

La 'Successio' di Marco Aurelio. Struttura e spirito del primo libro del 'Pensieri'. By F. MARTINAZZOLI. Pp. 212. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1951. Price not stated.

Martinazzoli's study of the first book of the 'Meditations' is pleasant and scholarly enough, though, at the end of it, it is doubtful whether we have gained very much by way of new insights. He suggests that Marcus Aurelius' purpose in writing the book was partly to depict the figures of his parents, friends, and teachers as a memorial of gratitude, partly to extract from them a moral lesson which he might pass on; in this sense M. can speak of its testamentary character. He dates it to the last days of the emperor's reign, and regards it as springing from his sense of impending death.

The examination of the style of writing is careful and carries some points of interest. M. shows that though there are examples of rigidity in the style there is also at times an almost Tacitean tendency to 'inconcinnitas', and on these grounds (no doubt rightly) rejects at I 5, 1 the correction which Far-

quharson naively introduced to secure a balanced antithesis. There is a particularly full account of the use of the substantial adjective and infinitive in place of nouns of action and quality. In general, there are shown to be three influences upon the style of writing: Attic, the Koine, and Latin. The last explains some peculiar details of style. This whole section, though a little laboured, is the most useful part of the book.

When M. writes his general conclusions upon the spirit of the first book, he tends too much to the vaguely idealistic. It is perhaps unfair to quote a peroration, but the final words about 'modest reserve and virile energy', 'the fruits of the classical spirit, filtered across the experience of the centuries, in their autumnal richness' are not atypical.

JOHN FERGUSON.

Plotin und Lycopolis. By F. ZUCKER. (Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1950, 1.) Pp. 20. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950. DM. 1.50.

In this little pamphlet Dr. Zucker discusses which of the two towns called Lycopolis in Egypt is likely to have been the birthplace of Plotinus, and reasonably concludes that the probabilities favour the nome-capital of that name in Upper Egypt, the modern Assiut. He goes on to consider, interestingly though without any very conclusive result, which section of the population Plotinus may have belonged to and to present some varied information about the life, education, etc., of the Greek-speaking population of Lycopolis and similar towns in the centuries round about his lifetime. It is all quite interesting, but not particularly helpful to the understanding of the *Enneads*.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Studien zur Namenkunde vorhellenistischer und hellenistischer Zeit. By FRIEDRICH ZUCKER. (Sitzungsberichte der deutsch. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1951, nr. 1.) Pp. 32. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952. \$0.60.

In 1937 Professor Zucker gave us, in his commentary to his publication of the garrison-stelai from Hermoupolis Magna (*Abh. Berl.* 1937(6)), what is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the study of the proper names of Egypt in the late Ptolemaic period. Now, in far smaller compass, he opens the way for further research in an equally coherent but far larger group of documents, of the early Ptolemaic period, the papyri of the Zenon dossier. (This forms Part II, pp. 6-26, the bulk of the paper; Part I, pp. 3-6, raises an interesting question of the topicality of the proper names compounded with Ὀυσιππο-, in the late sixth and fifth centuries, and Part III, pp. 26-32, deals with theophoric names in -ἰσοφ and -ἰσοφω.) Z.'s professed purpose is only to show the possible fruits of such research, and to this end he makes a selection of a few (10) Greek names, and some dozen non-Greek names which occur in the correspondence, and investigates their origins and affinities. It need hardly be said that the work is extremely thorough and the documentation very full. (To his interesting note, pp. 14-15, on the proper name Ἀλυπτος, add the instances (one of whom is a Thessalian) of that name from the Tombs of the Kings, Baillet, *Inscr. grec. et lat. des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*, Index, s.v. Ἀλυπτος; and to his references to Zeno's correspondent Βούβολος add *PKyl.* 502).

The main value of this work is as an indication, both in general and in detail, of where further research in this field is needed. As a contribution to that most patent desideratum, a new *Dictionary of Greek Proper Names*, it is, if only a drop in the ocean, a very satisfactory drop.

P. M. FRASER.

Manuel des particules grecques. By D. LABÉY. Pp. ix + 86. Paris: Klincksieck, 1950. 300 fr.

This brief manual is intended as a guide to the use of the particles, especially in Attic Prose (Plato and the Orators). First, there are general remarks: a particle is defined as a word which can mark a strong pause in the sentence, as at a full-stop (not very satisfactory—but what definition is?); then classification of types. There follow the particles, simple and combined, taken in alphabetic order, and explained with examples—a greater number would be desirable. Last is a section on some groups not entirely made up of particles (as ὅλα ὅμως).

There is certainly a need for a simple and reliable introduction to the subject. But, welcome though brevity is, the author seems to have overdone it. Thus the student will look in vain for ὅλα with the imperative in exhortation, and πού

is absent entirely (though *ἐῖναι* is in). More serious, the information is not always correct. The use of *τοί* is by no means rare in prose (pp. 9 and 44), as may be seen in Plato. Xenophon's introductory *ἀλλὰ* is called exhortative or exclamatory (p. 21). I cannot see the temporal force of *ἐν* in Plat. *Rep.* 373d (p. 30).

The author thinks that fewer particles were employed in colloquial speech, and that they belong especially to the written language, where they take the place of vocal intonations (pp. 1-4). He compares them to modern punctuation in writing. This is surely quite mistaken. Why are they less abundant in Thucydides and Aristotle than in dramatic dialogue or Aristophanes?

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

War and Civilization. By A. J. TOYNBEE. Selected by A. VANN FOWLER from 'A Study of History'. Pp. xii + 165. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1951. 10s. 6d.

In this short book of some 60,000 words Mr. Fowler has collected Dr. Toynbee's principal passages on War: on the idealisation of the soldier and the military virtues, on the rise, development, petrification, and downfall of successive military techniques, and especially on the repeated fatal results of military conquest not only for the vanquished but also for the victors themselves.

Very little of this material could find a place in Somervell's abridgment; and the subject is one which has an unflinching attraction, even for anti-militarists. Bernard Shaw could not resist a Bluntschli or a Caesar; and Dr. Toynbee's passages of military history are characterised by a revealing gusto. The book should be popular among readers of 'Somervell' who have not felt able to afford the complete work.

The book ends with that passage on the failure of 'the saviour with the sword' which contains probably the highest incidence of metaphors and similes per page in the entire work. Perhaps some day some Ph.D. candidate will make a graph of them. He might also consider whether they do not sometimes darken counsel rather than otherwise.

A. R. BURN.

ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ, ΤΟΜΟΣ Α'. ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ-ΕΛΛΑΣ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΗΔΙΚΩΝ. By J. S. PAPA-STAYROU. Pp. viii + 272, 24 pll., maps in text. Thessaloniki, 1950. Price not stated.

This work, by the Professor of Ancient History in the University of Salonica, is the first part of a text-book of Ancient History for university students. The present volume covers the period to 506 B.C. About one-third is devoted to the Middle East, the rest to Greece, which the author has made the centre of his treatment. There appears to be no account of Cyprus or Ras Shamra (Ugarit); the Greek portion perhaps devotes a little too much space to the earliest (pre-colonisation) period. As some account is included of literature, religion, art, and philosophy, the treatment is of necessity brief, and at times reads very baldly; but the narrative seems up-to-date enough. The Introduction gives a very useful survey of historical study and historians (of the ancient world) in ancient and modern times; there are very useful lists of ancient sources, and bibliographies for each chapter. The bibliographies vary in degree of up-to-dateness and fullness—that of art, literature, and philosophy might be increased and modernised with profit. There is rather a lot of misprints in these lists, in English and German names and titles. The plates are not too well chosen or arranged, reproduction and printing of them are execrable. Otherwise printing and get-up are good.

R. J. HOPPER.

Alexandre le Grand. By G. RADET. 8th edn. Pp. 452. Paris: L'artisan du Livre, 1950. Price not stated.

This book, now reprinted without alteration, was briefly reviewed, on its first appearance, in *JHS* LIII, by J. G. M., whose notice ended with the words: 'It may indeed be described as a modern version of the Romance of Alexander, with a tendency to psychological analysis in place of the chivalric fervour of the Middle Ages.'

The story is told with great gusto, with a minimum of military detail and without source-criticism; Radet kept that for his articles. He believed in Kleitarchos, and uses Curtius extensively. The present reviewer found his rhetoric 'Asiatic' and cloying; it is therefore fair to add that J. G. M. found the book 'attractively worded' and spoke of the 'general charm of the panegyric'.

A. R. BURN.

Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques. II. Recherches sociologiques. By M. LAUNY. Pp. 674. Paris: de Boccard, 1950. Price not stated.

Part One of this monumental investigation was reviewed in *JHS* LXX (1950), 95-6, where the contents of this concluding volume were foreshadowed. Its theme is the soldier as an element in Hellenistic society, and L.'s range of enquiry and conscientious thoroughness make his book a standard authority which will not easily be superseded. Specialists will have reason to be grateful for his detailed examination of such questions as the social condition of the soldier, with his many lists (e.g. wage-rates, gymnasia in Egypt, soldiers' clubs, etc.) rounded off with a 150-page prosopography of all members of a Hellenistic army whose origin by city or ethnic is known and a very full general index. But the book is more than an aggregation of detailed enquiries. Since the quality of Hellenistic society was determined by and dependent on its fighting men more than any other single type, L.'s work is an outstanding contribution to the study of the Hellenistic world, and every scholar will do well to read and ponder the eight sombre pages (1097 ff.) in which his conclusions are set in the perspective of world history. It is melancholy to recall that the author was killed in a motor accident in July 1951.

E. G. TURNER.

τὸ ἐτήσιο γεωργικὸ εἰσόδημα τῆς Λέσβου στὴν ἀρχαϊότητα. By A. P. MANTZOURANES. Pp. 15. Mytilene: Τυπογραφία 'Ταχυδρόμος', 1950. Price not stated.

Mr. Mantzouranes follows earlier studies on the history of Lesbos with a praiseworthy attempt to estimate the agricultural productivity of the island in antiquity. But the evidence, as he recognises, is very slight; and consequently the conclusions have less force than one could wish. Two documents are examined in some detail: the value of the *kleroi* taken for the Athenians in 427 B.C., on which the lack of statistics hinders the determination of the effect on the economy of Lesbos of this tax on land; and the fragments of a land register of the time of Diocletian (*IG* XII, 2, 76-80), in the discussion of which the identification of properties, on the basis of modern place-names, is useful.

T. J. D.

Atlantis. Grösse und Untergang eines geheimnisvollen Inselreiches. By W. BRANDENSTEIN. Pp. 105, 9 text figures. Vienna: Gerold & Co., 1951. OS. 32.

Plato's story has a purpose, to show that his ideal Republic had been realised in an early Athens and had proved its mettle by repelling an attack from Atlantis, which had thereafter sunk into the sea. Brandenstein admits this, and he argues very sensibly that even if a huge island once sank in the Atlantic, a theory for which he finds no scientific evidence, there can have been no human memory of an event so remote. But the rest of his case seems unlikely to win much favour. Plato, he thinks, would not have sought to confirm his ideal state with a concrete example which was fictitious, and indeed he could not have done so, as the literary genre of the fictitious *True History* had not yet appeared (pp. 40-2, 49): anyhow, if he had been free to invent, he would have invented better, giving relatively less space to Atlantis and not destroying the innocent Athenians with their guilty enemies. As it was, he was using a saga, one going back to the Athens of Mycenaean times, the same for which the pre-Greek deities Poseidon and Athena competed for their gifts. The name Atlantis is connected with a pre-Greek *ἀντλος*, Brandenstein supposes, and has nothing to do with the Titan Atlas or with African mountains. The old saga had a narrow horizon, he says, and meant Minoan Crete (already fabulously exaggerated, though not yet provided with elephants and some other embellishments). Various things like the site of the capital and the netting and sacrifice of bulls suit Crete well, and did not Theseus end the tribute paid to the Minotaur?

It was only after forming these opinions that Brandenstein's attention was drawn to K. T. Frost, *JHS* 1913, 189-206, who had made many of the same points about Crete, but thought that the original story was an Egyptian version of the overthrow of Crete, heard in Egypt by Solon though not recognised by him as such. By this assumption Frost was driven to 'extraordinarily complicated hypotheses', and so found little acceptance, despite clever observations, Brandenstein thinks (p. 109). It seems not unfair to pronounce a somewhat similar judgment on his own effort.

The reviewer may be excused further discussion, as he has indicated plainly enough elsewhere (*History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, 90-3) how he himself would place the story in its proper context and explain the local colour so liberally used for this fascinating Utopia.

J. O. THOMSON.

Die Küstenbeschreibung in der griechischen Literatur. By R. GÜNGERICH. Pp. 31, 1 folding map. Münster: Aschendorff, 1950. DM. 1.50.

This little book contains a *catalogue raisonné* of the *Περὶ πλῆθος*, *Περὶ ἀνέμων*, and *Ἀνέμους* which are known to us directly or by reference, and brief characterisations of the more important ones. From his otherwise complete list Güngerich omits Timosthenes' *Περὶ Ἀμύνων* (on which see Gisinger in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.); and he merely mentions without discussion the *Περὶ Περλοῦ* of Hecataeus. Of modern works on the subject, the author states that he did not have access to Berthelot on Avienus and to Broche on Pytheas; in addition, Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Carcopino's chapter on Hanno (*La Meroc Antiqua*, pp. 73-155) escaped him; but in general his bibliography is well up to date. Among recent contributions to the subject Güngerich puts on record Köstermann's suggestion that Avienus used Juba as an intermediate source (*Hermes*, 1933), and Palmer's admonition that the chronology of Arab and Abyssinian potentates form an insecure basis for dating the Red Sea Periplus (*CQ*, 1947; but he also distrusts Palmer's use of Indian regnal dates).

Exempli gratia, a few short excerpts from surviving *Περὶ πλῆθος* (say from Hanno, from the Red Sea Periplus, or from the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*) would have been welcome.

Altogether, this is a useful introduction to a little-known genre of Greek literature.

M. CARY.

Das ludovisische Relief. By E. LANGLOTZ. Pp. 27, 8 pp. of illustrations. Mainz: Florian Kupferberg Verlag, 1951. Price not stated.

An interpretation of the subject and religious content of the Ludovisi Throne, which L. suggests represents, not Aphrodite rising from the sea, but a goddess taking a ritual bath in a shallow basin, attended by temple ministrants. The suggestion was made by Casson in *JHS* 1920, but is now reinforced by more profound material and stylistic arguments; there is also much useful matter in the footnotes on ritual baths, cults of Hera, and other matters. L. holds, as he has already suggested elsewhere, that the reliefs formed a wind-break round an altar. May it not be that they stood on the end and sides of the basin itself, so that the subject was adapted to the object which they decorated? L.'s photographs show that the main relief should be seen with a top light, not a side light; one may go farther and suggest that it was not intended to be looked up to, as it would on the top of an altar, but rather slightly down to, as it would if it stood almost on ground level. Perhaps Ashmole's suggestion (*JHS* 1922) that they may have stood round a square hole in the ground at Locri is not too wide of the mark.

T. J. DUNBARR.

Griechische Epigramme aus Kreta. By A. WILHELM. (*Symbolae Osloenses*, Fasc. Suppl. XIII.) Oslo, 1950. Pp. 83.

This small work, among the last to come from the pen of the great scholar whose name it bears, before his death in August 1950, at the age of eighty-five, contains thirteen notes of varying length on *cruciae* in (with one exception) Cretan sepulchral epigrams. Some of the suggestions Wilhelm makes are convincing, all ingenious; but one sees here, as in other writings of the last years of his life, a growing tendency to find a way out of difficulties by the ready assumption of an error on the part of the engraver: letters, words, indeed a whole sentence (p. pp. 25-6) are alleged to have been omitted. As usual, the amount of illustrative material brought together is quite astonishing, and testifies yet again to the unique command of all relevant sources possessed by the author whose death, after sixty years of unceasing activity, sometimes in circumstances of great difficulty (v. G. Klaffenbach, *Gnomon* XXII, 1950, 415-18) closes an epoch in epigraphical studies.

P. M. FRASER.

Copenhagen. Antik-Cabinettet 1851. Udgivet i Hundredaaret af Nationalmuseet. Pp. 197, numerous text figures. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1951. Price not stated.

This work in Danish on the early history of the collections of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen, issued on the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of the Museum, consists of three chapters: one by Niels Hermansen on early Danish collectors; one by Niels Breitenstein on Christian VIII's 'Vasacabinet'; one by Marie-Louise Buhl on that part of the oriental collection which is older than 1851. The greater part of the book is occupied by Breitenstein's chapter on the vases. The vases in Copenhagen are well known and published in *CVA*, but there is useful information here on the means by which they came into the Royal collection, and an attractive picture is drawn of the interest of King Christian VIII, and of his agents and correspondents. The book is attractively produced and abundantly illustrated.

T. J. D.

Βιβλιογραφικὴ καὶ ἱστορικὴ ἔρευνα γύρω ἀπὸ τὸν Περσὶ Πέντε Μελέτες. By STEPHANOS J. MAKRYMICHAELIS. Pp. 23. Athens: Bibliophilos, 1950.

Christophoros Perraivos (?1773-1863) is notable for his association with Rigas Velestinlis, and for being the (supposed) author of the *History of Suli and Parga*. Mr. Makrymichalis' five short studies contain: I, the argument that the first edition of the *History* (1803) was printed, not, as the title-page states, at Paris, but at Florence; II, the explanation of a substitution-cypher used by P. in some of his letters; III, the contention that the *History* was not written by P. at all, but by a Pargiot named Mavrogiannis; IV, some further remarks on I in the light of the discovery set forth in III; and V, the claim that the anonymous 'Libel' on P., printed between 1810 and 1820, was written by a Pargiot called Kaloulis Tsiganos. The third, and most important, of the studies, if its arguments are sound, convicts P. of a very heinous theft. But there still seem to be several points to be cleared up.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Byron's Maid of Athens: Her Family and Surroundings. By C. G. BROUZAS. Pp. 65, 4 pll. Philological Papers (Volume 7), West Virginia University Bulletin, Series 49, No. 12-VI, June, 1949.

Teresa Black, *née* Macri (1797-1875) is of interest for a single contact made during the childhood of her long life. For two short periods in the years 1809-10 Byron lodged at her mother's house in Athens, fell in love with the twelve-year-old daughter, wrote to her the song *Maid of Athens, ere we part*, and at last made an abortive offer to buy her for £500. Mr. Brouzas goes into her life, relations, acquaintances, and circumstances with immense and painstaking detail, and promises further studies in the same field. It seems likely that his thirst for research has blinded him to the relative insignificance of his theme. The pedantry of some of his 160 footnotes borders on the farcical. But his text is amusing reading for Byronists, and contains many picturesque details that the general reader will be grateful for knowing. The most important section (pp. 35-41) is that which shows that Byron, contrary to what is generally stated, went back to Mrs. Macri's house after his return from Istanbul (17th July 1810), and stayed there till his sudden departure for the Morea ten days later. It is likely that during these ten days he made his offer for Teresa, and, on her mother's refusal, took himself off in a huff, and never saw the Maid again. A prosopographical index would have doubled the value of the work.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

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1.

1. Inscribed Stele in Agora.



2.

2. Agora, Interior of Bowl.



3.

3. Cave of Nymphs on Pendéli.

ATTICA.



1. Mycenaean : Shaft Grave E.

THE PELOPONNESE.

2. Argos : Group from Pithos Burial.



3. Mycenaean : Vase from Shaft Grave H.





A.



B.

MYCENAE 1952.

- A. Prehistoric Cemetery. Ivory Plaques, Late Helladic II. (Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.)
 B. House of the Oil Merchant. Inscribed Clay Tablet (no. 102), Late Helladic IIIb. (Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.)



a. Cyprus Museum: Bronze pony-carriage (1/1).



b. Kouklia: impression from L.C. III finger-ring (3/1).



c. Cyprus Museum: from Timins collection.



d. Meniko: terracotta votive.



e. Salamis: marble head of Aphrodite.



f. Amathous: Bichrome V amphora.



a.

b.

MARBLE PORTRAIT-HERM IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (see p. 138).



COLUMN-KRATER IN DUNEDIN: OBERSE (see p. 140).



COLUMN-KRATER IN DUNEDIN: REVERSE (see p. 140).



THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1952-53.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the session:—

Finance.

The increase in the rent of our premises over the last six months of 1952 was covered by London University in accordance with their guarantee referred to in the last annual report. With this assistance and the continuance of the good, though heavily reduced, sales of back copies of the *Journal*, the year's account closes with a surplus of £350.

The cost of Volume 72 of the *Journal* was £1,325. Volume 73 will be of approximately the same length, and we are aiming to keep the cost at the same figure.

Receipts for the Special Fund to meet dilapidations in our premises have passed the handsome figure of £2,000. After the eradication of dry rot from the Library and the settlement of the more urgent work on external dilapidations, the balance standing to the credit of the Fund on December 31st was £684. This will certainly not be sufficient to meet our full liability. To find the balance, the two Societies can only draw on their reserve.

The Society has received a bequest under the will of Sir Frederic Kenyon of £100.

Membership figures, as shown below, are encouraging; but it is disappointing to note the small proportion of members (250 out of 1,014) who have found it possible to undertake the usual Covenant on behalf of the Society. It will be remembered that the Covenant affords the Society, on each £2 subscription, an actual income of £3 12s. 9d.

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1952, are shown below, with comparable figures:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1939	1,003	141	222	325	1,699
1950	987	137	183	377	1,684
1951	991	123	174	376	1,664
1952	1,014	123	197	376	1,710

Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death during the session of Sir Frederic Kenyon, a past President of the Society, and also the deaths of D. R. Chalmers-Hunt, Miss A. E. Crowe, Miss A. G. Dunham, G. T. Hirons, Miss C. E. G. Martin, G. Scott, Miss Virtue Tehbs, and Professor Rostovzeff.

The Joint Standing Committee of the Hellenic and Roman Societies.

London University decided on May 20th to set up a Classical Institute in association with the two Societies, and has formally offered to the Societies the scheme approved at the Annual Meeting of June 20th, 1952. By this agreement the Societies hand over to the University as essential equipment for a Classical Institute a collection of books of reference, viz.: (a) bibliographies, dictionaries, indexes, encyclopaedias, plain texts and corpora of epigraphical and archaeological material; (b) selected collections of pamphlets and offprints; (c) selected periodicals. These books will be confined to the Library.

In return the Societies will receive: (1) free quarters for the rest of the Library which will be

available to borrowers (*i.e.* members of the Societies) as hitherto; (2) free quarters for the offices of the Societies; (3) a grant in aid towards the publication of their *Journals*.

The offer has been accepted.

In the meantime we have received the Senate's grant towards our increased rent. But the question of our quarters could not be delayed, and the Committee recommended that the two Societies should take up jointly the Lease of 50 Bedford Square offered by the Bedford Estate at £1,600 for a period of seventeen and a half years.

Hon. Secretary for U.S.A.

Professor Sterling Dow has agreed to represent the Society in America and has been appointed Hon. Sec. U.S.A. As such he is a member of Council.

Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Volume 73 is published as a tribute to the memory of Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge.

The Council has this year embarked on a new venture in publishing Professor D. L. Page's long article on *Corinna* as a separate Supplementary Paper. It is hoped that members will welcome this new activity.

We expect that it will be possible to increase the size of the *Journal* in 1954.

International Federation of Societies for Classical Studies.

The Society's delegate to the Meeting to be held in Naples this year will be Professor A. W. Gomme.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

November 7th, 1952. Dr. F. H. Stubbings on 'Greek Legends and Archaeology'.

February 27th, 1953. Professor L. Edelstein on 'Posidonius Re-examined'.

May 1st, 1953. Professor H. T. Wade-Gery on 'Persia and Greece'.

June 19th, 1953. Professor T. B. L. Webster, Presidential Address 'Art and Literature in the Athens of Theophrastus'.

Provincial Meetings.

Meetings were arranged in collaboration with the Classical Association and with the Classical Association of Scotland at the following centres: Birmingham, Durham, Edinburgh, Exeter, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, Reading, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, and papers were read by Professors E. R. Dodds, H. D. F. Kitto, E. G. Turner, T. B. L. Webster, R. P. Winnington-Ingram, Mrs. Webster, and J. S. Morrison.

Administration.

Ten members of the Council who retire in rotation under rule 19 are: R. M. Cook, Miss D. H. F. Gray, G. B. Kerferd, H. C. Oakley, Prof. D. L. Page, Prof. C. M. Robertson, F. H. Stubbings, G. A. D. Tait, Prof. Dorothy Tarrant, Mrs. A. D. Ure.

The Council have nominated as Members of their body for the next three years: J. M. T. Charlton, R. J. Hopper, G. S. Kirk, R. L. Meiggs, Prof. H. W. Parke, Prof. J. B. Skemp, J. A. Spranger, Prof. H. T. Wade-Gery, A. G. Woodhead, Prof. R. E. Wycherley.

For election as President of the Society: Professor Dorothy Tarrant.

Professor T. B. L. Webster has been elected a member of the Standing Committee for the next three years.

The Council thank C. T. Edge, F.C.A., for acting as honorary auditor, and have pleasure in nominating him for re-election.

The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	1950-51.	1951-52.	1952-53.
Books added	343	470	441
Books borrowed.....	4,559	3,757	4,126
Borrowers	664	632	610
Slides borrowed.....	5,035	3,662	4,029
Slides sold	517	907	815

A good deal of much-needed binding has been made possible by transferring the credit balance from the Slides Account. In addition, a large number of books have been repaired on the premises by the Library Assistant, and all leather-bound books have been treated with leather preserver.

Mr. T. J. Dunbabin has been elected a

member of the Library Committee, and Mr. P. E. Corbett and Mr. G. T. W. Hooker have been elected members of the Slide Committee.

The Slide Committee is now concentrating on the improvement of the topographical slides in the Societies' collection. Some new slides of Greece are already available for borrowing. A start has also been made in building up a small collection of coloured slides.

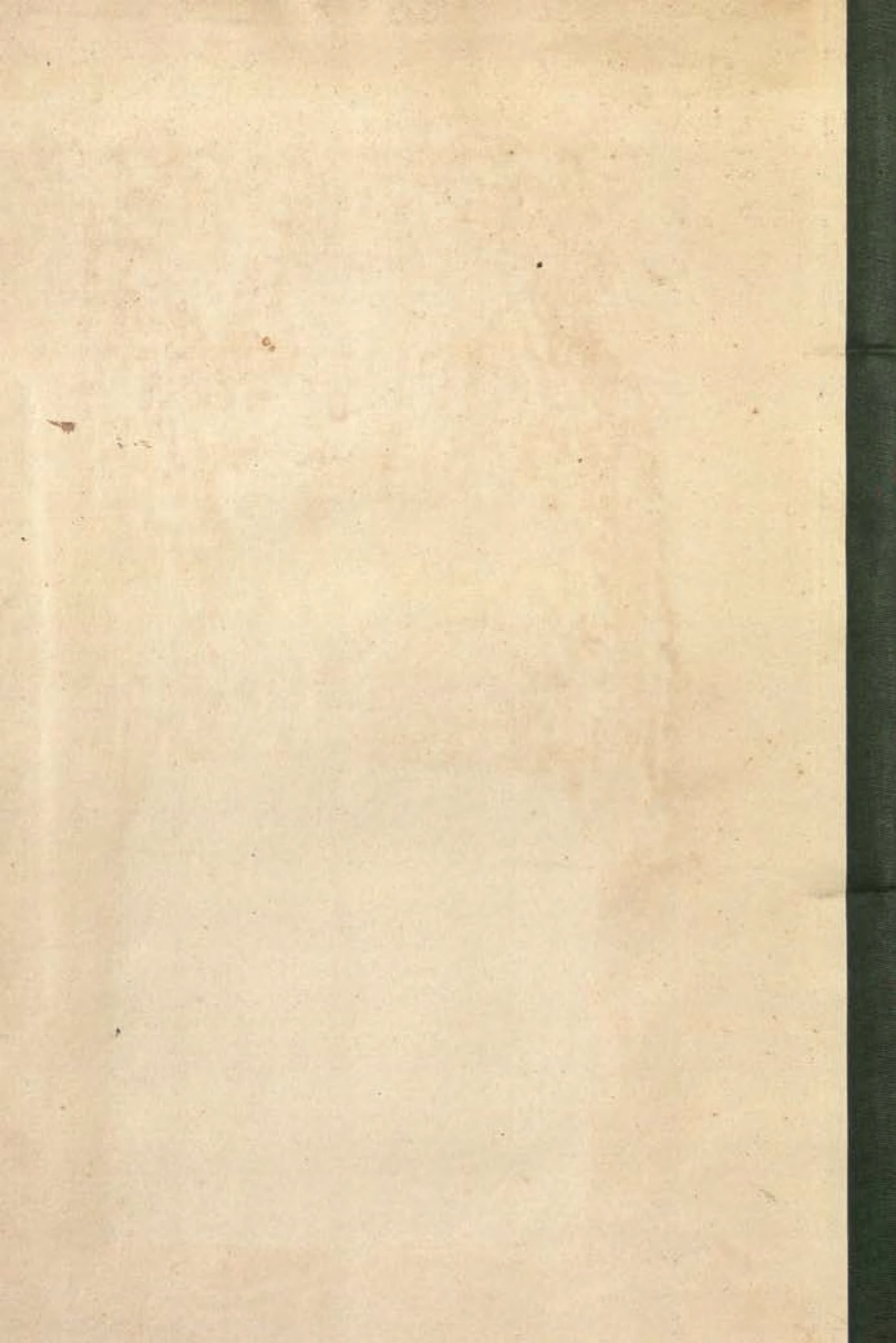
The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following: Dr. A. Alföldi, Dr. E. Bielefeld, Freiherr Fr. W. von Bissing, Dr. H. Bloesch, Mr. G. C. Boon, Mr. R. Browning, Dr. A. W. Byvanck, Mr. B. Callipolitis, Prof. M. Cary, Mr. C. Clairmont, Mr. D. T.-D. Clarke, Mr. P. Dikaïos, Dr. V. Ehrenberg, Mr. R. A. H. Farrar, Prof. P. Fraccaro, Dr. A. J. Gossage,

Dr. H. Hepding, Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins, Dr. G. Klaffenbach, Dr. C. Ktistopoulos, Mr. W. Lameere, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Prof. A. D. Nock, Mr. E. D. Phillips, Prof. C. M. Robertson, Dr. C. F.-A. Schaeffer, Mr. H. S. Shield, Miss M. V. Taylor, Prof. E. G. Turner, Dr. A. W. Van Buren, Dr. O. Vch, Mr. M. Ventris, Mr. C. C. Verneule, Mr. G. P. Zafiropoulo, The Classical Association, the Italian Institute Sociedade Martins Sarmento, Society for Macedonian Studies, University of Cagliari, Wellcome Historical Medical Library.

Thanks are also due to Mr. A. L. Mayfield for help in bringing the index of articles in the *Journal of Roman Studies* up to date, and to Mr. E. W. Handley, Professor O. Skutsch, and Mr. R. D. Williams for help in examining the classical texts in the Library Catalogue.

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